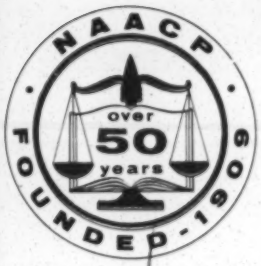
Nobbie



T. O. OK

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Room 107
Atlanta, Ga.
Telephone: MUrray 8-8868-9

February 23, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your cordial invitation for me to attend a luncheon on February 28 at the Marriott Motor Hotel to hear Attorney General Katzenbach. I do plan to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby Hurley

Ruby Hurley
Regional Director

RH/mw

448

file

American Baptist Convention

Office of the General Secretary

Edwin H. Tuller, *General Secretary*

J. C. Herrin, *Assistant General Secretary for Work in the South*

P. O. Box 188
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514
Telephone (Area Code 919)
942-2804

5 March '66

Dear Ed,

Just a belated note to say I'm glad you're where you are, I regret the snow that kept me from the last meeting, and I look forward to seeing you next time if not sooner - Good wishes

Cordially
J. C. Herrin

March 7, 1966

The Reverend Duncan Hunter
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
8705 Camille Drive, S.E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter

Do you know Reverend C. Emory Burton, formerly of the North Alabama Conference and now of Thorntown, Indiana? If so, would he be, in your opinion, an apt candidate for Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations?

I hope that you and your family are well.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 31, 1966

Mr. Hal Hunton
Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20230

Dear Mr. Hunton:

Paul Anthony has asked me to send you the dates of the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. That meeting will be on April 19 and 20, beginning at 2:00 P.M. on the 19th.

I understand that you would like to have up to an hour on the agenda to present the Community Relations Service's new advertising campaign. We shall be glad to have you do so.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience which day would be most suitable for you. If you prefer to come on the 20th, you should plan to be here that morning.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 15, 1966

Mr. Stanley T. Hutter
1705 W. Clinch, Apt 6
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Hutter:

Your letter of April 10 to Mr. Paul Anthony has been given to me for reply.

The state councils on human relations which are independent of the Southern Regional Council but with which we cooperate, do have positions available from time to time. We are always interested in helping them meet their personnel needs.

We would be pleased to receive from you a resume including your biographical data, your academic training, your work experience, and 3 or 4 references.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

ES - plse answer

1705 W. Clind, Apt. 6
Knoxville, Tenn.
April 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am interested in working in the area of civil rights and human relations, and I am writing you at the suggestion of Mark Israel of the Tennessee Commission on Human Relations. I am currently employed as a social worker, and I have been with the Tennessee

-Department of Public Welfare since March, 1965. I would like, however, to get into work more actively involved in civil rights, and I would appreciate any suggestions which you might be able to make.

I am a college graduate, single, and draft-free. I will send a resumé on request.

Yours very truly,

Stanley T. Hutter

April 18, 1966

Mr. Stanley T. Hutter
1705 W. Clinch, Apartment 6
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hutter:

Your letter of April 10 to Mr. Paul Anthony has been given to me for reply.

The state councils on human relations, which are independent of the Southern Regional Council but with which we cooperate, do have positions available from time to time. We are always interested in helping them meet their personnel needs.

We would be pleased to receive from you a resume including your biographical data, your academic training, your work experience, and three or four references.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

May 23, 1966

The Reverend Hartford C. Inlow
413 Meier Drive
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Dear Mr. Inlow:

We have received, through Peter C. Robertson of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, your resume' and a letter stating that you desire employment in the field of human rights.

We do not have at this time positions to be filled which suit your training and requirements. We will keep your resume' on file for future reference and referral upon inquiry from other agencies.

We appreciate your manifest concern for human rights and the problems of human relations.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

(504) 775-6300

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
SOUTHERN BRANCH POST OFFICE
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

File

May 23, 1966

Answered

Mr. Ed. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Have been thinking over the weekend that I need the benefit of your experience concerning the most effective way to handle the financial disbursements for the full-time executive director. You have had the experience of serving as a state executive, and can also see it from the regional council.

When, and on what schedule will funds be sent from the Southern Regional? What are the proposed budget allocations?

Sincerely yours,

MLHarvey

Martin L. Harvey, Treasurer
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

/m

May 31, 1966

Dean Martin L. Harvey
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Dean Harvey:

Thank you for your letter of May 23rd concerning financial arrangements.

As soon as I receive official notice of Mrs. Miller's employment by the Board and acceptance, we will send you the amounts due on LCHR's regular grant-in-aid and expanded grant. Both grants are paid in quarterly installments, but normally fall due on different dates. You will receive a total of $4,100 at once, then $800 on July 1 and October 1, and $2,500 on August 15 and November 15.

Arrangements for disbursement vary a little, but I believe that in all state councils checks are written in the office. In most cases the books are kept by the secretary and reviewed by the Treasurer. Usually two signatures are required on checks: the Executive Director's or President's, countersigned by the Treasurer or Secretary. In Alabama we arranged it so that checks were valid with any two of four signatures--which was helpful at vacation season.

SRC required monthly financial and membership reports and quarterly program reports as conditions of grant payments. We also require an annual audit.

If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Mrs. Patricia B. Miller

June 3, 1966

Dean Martin L. Harvey, Treasurer
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Southern University
Southern Branch Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Dean Harvey:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $4,100.00. $1,600.00 of this amount is for the first two quarterly payments of our regular grant program appropriation for the Louisiana Council. The remaining $2,500.00 is the second quarterly payment on the expanded-program grant.

Both payments were conditional upon staffing of the Louisiana Council, of course, and it is with special pleasure that we forward this payment because of Mrs. Miller's acceptance of the position.

Please sign the enclosed receipt carbon and return it to me. (This is a requirement of our auditors.)

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Dr. James Oliver
Mrs. Patricia B. Miller

THE SOUTHEASTERN DISTRICT
of the
Unitarian Universalist Association
Room 422 — 1145 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

REV. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PHONES:
OFFICE: 872-2032
HOME: 373-7498

12

September 9, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Enclosed is the questionnaire you sent me. I am sorry for the delay in completing this for you but I have been away for most of the summer and also have had secretarial staff problems.

I hope this will be of some benefit to you.

Cordially,

Clifton G. Hoffman

Clifton G. Hoffman

H:dwa

A

F

Service by Collins

Funerals Since 1903
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415 NORTH FARISH STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
948-7223

SEPTEMBER 26, 1966

MR. PAUL ANTHONY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTHE STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR PAUL:

CONCLUDING DETAILS IN CONNECTION WITH OUR OPENING THIS WEEK-END MAKE ATTENDANCE AT TUESDAY'S COMMITTEE MEETING IMPOSSIBLE.

MY BEST WISHES FOR A GOOD SESSION.

REGRETFULLY,

Mrs. M. L. Harvey /s

MRS. MARTIN L. HARVEY

/TT
ENCLS

September 26, 1966

The Reverend Phil Huckaby
429 Calhoun Drive
Florence, Alabama

Dear Phil:

To my regret we did not get a chance to complete our conversation during the Alabama Council Board meeting on the 17th. I was very interested in your inquiry and want you to know that I am eager to supply any information I can and to help in any way possible.

In general, the human relations field is growing by leaps and bounds. For instance, in 1960 only 30 cities in the United States had adopted ordinances creating human relations commissions. By August of 1965 at least 263, or 45 percent of those with over 30,000 population had established official local community relations commissions. Besides, as you know, the federal government has been snapping up men and women from every source for this field of work, especially since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This is to say that once one gets into the field and gains some experience the chances of continuing to earn a living at it are pretty good. It is, I suppose, not as secure as the ministry, but to my mind that speaks well of it! The problem for anyone who, like yourself, has been in one field for a long while and then thinks of changing to another is to break into the new field at a salary anywhere near the old one.

It was good to see you again.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

December 8, 1966

Mr. Allen Harrman, Coordinator
Law Enforcement Training School
Extension Division
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Harrman:

I enjoyed meeting you when we sat next to each other at the South Carolina Council meeting on Tuesday. Thank you for your valuable contribution and for the genuine concern you expressed which I sensed personal as well as professional.

I thought you might like to know that the Southern Regional Council has a special project in Crime and Corrections. Mr. John Boone is Director for this project. He is on leave of absence from the federal prison system while in this position. I have taken the liberty of giving him your name and address, just in case there are future occasions of mutual interest.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 27, 1966

Mr. Arnold Harris
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Harris:

Under separate cover we are sending you the promised copy of our magazine, New South, containing the article by Charlayne Hunter which I mentioned, along with copies of some clippings and articles on miscegenation. I hope this material will be of some help.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

October 4, 1966

Dr. O. T. Ivey
Smiths Station
Alabama

Dear Dr. Ivey:

We have received from Jerry Roden a request for confirmation that we have on file your correspondence concerning provisions for the Southern Regional Council and the Alabama Council in your will. We have, and shall honor your wishes fully.

We do agree, however, with Mr. Dunbar's suggestion that this provision be properly drawn up by an Alabama attorney if that has not already been done.

I miss seeing you at meetings of the A.C.H.R. Board.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

cc: Jerry Roden

March 4, 1966

The Reverend Donald E. Johnson
4611 Braeburn Drive
Bellaire, Texas 77401

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have located your letter and resume and in keeping with your request, am forwarding it to Dr. C. G. Gomillion, President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Dr. C. G. Gomillion

ROBERT T. HARRIELL
CLERK OF SESSION

MRS. R. E. SHILLCUTT
SECRETARY-TREASURER

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
201 WEST FOURTH STREET TELEPHONE FR 4-7677
NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

J. HAROLD JACKSON, MINISTER

March 7, 1966

file

Mr. Ed Standfield
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

This is the biographical information which you requested:

J. Harold Jackson - Born December 4, 1927, in New Orleans, La.

Schools: Graduate of Fortier High School of New Orleans, La.
Louisiana State University, B.S., 1951
Union Theological Seminary, B.D., 1954

Experience: Seminary Field Work in Churches in Richmond Va., 1951-54
Student Assistant to Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Baton Rouge, La., Summer, 1953.

Pastorates: First Presbyterian Church, Jennings, La., 1954-58
First Presbyterian Church, Helena, Ark., 1958-64
First Presbyterian Church, N. Little Rock, Ark. 1964-

Marital Status: Married to the former Sarah Wakeman of Baton Rouge, La.
Has three children: Priscilla, 11 years of age
Lewis, 9
Julie, 6

Military Service: U.S. Army, Ski and Mountain Climbing Instructor, 1946-47
Activities: Worked with Boy and Girl Scout Programs
Served as Chairman of Phillips County Service Unit, Salvation Army
Various offices in Ministerial Alliance.
Present Moderator of Synod of Ark.

I enjoyed the opportunity of getting to know you, and look forward to a continuing friendship.

Sincerely,

Harold

J. Harold Jackson

JHJ:mrs

Still no decision on the Ark. Council situation.

March 9, 1966

The Reverend J. Harold Jackson
First Presbyterian Church
201 West Fourth Street
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter and for biographical information. I trust that some decision will be reached about the Arkansas situation soon. If we can't get you in through that gate I would like to talk to you about another.

Is your secretary-treasurer the mother of Joyce Shillcutt who was in my class at Arkansas College?

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 9, 1966

Mrs. Marie Jackson, Chairman
Women's Service Committee
St. Andrews Episcopal Church
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

I have a telegram from Mrs. Grace Hooks stating that your committee would be happy to distribute paperback books as a part of your program.

I had called Mrs. Hooks to inquire about the number of children involved in the program of her Cultural Enrichment Committee of the East Alabama Council on Human Relations and, in the process, told her about this "paperback books" proposal which we are preparing to submit to a foundation. This will be a proposal for an experimental program, and we were wanting information about the Cultural Enrichment Program in order to use it as an illustration of the possibilities. The point is that we are still very far from the point of being able to ship the books as Mrs. Hooks suggested in her telegram.

If and when we do get the program underway we shall welcome a proposal from your group.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM ®

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

PA

1130P EST MAR 7 66 AA008
NSB570 NS LLC406 NL PD JB TUSKEGEE ALA 7
REV ED STANFIELD, DIRECTOR FIELD ACTIVITIES
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FIVE FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST ATLA
WOMENS SERVICE COMMITTEE ST ANDREWS EPISCOPAL CHURCH HAPPY
TO DISTRIBUTE PAPER BACK BOOKS PART OF THEIR PROGRAM SEND DIRECTLY
TO CHURCH CARE REV VERNON JONES MONTGOMERY ROAD TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALA ATTENTION MRS MARIE JACKSON CHAIRMAN SERVICE COMMITTEE
GRACE HOOKS.

file with copy of letter to Mrs Jackson return to ES

SF1201(R2-65)

April 18, 1966

Miss Frances Jordan
2411 Stafford Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Miss Jordan:

It was a pleasure meeting you in Washington.

I am inquiring about the pamphlet idea we discussed and will let you know what response I get.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 21, 1966

Miss Frances Jordan
2411 Stafford Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Miss Jordan:

I have made inquiries about the possibility of a reassuring pamphlet for the parents of children attending integrated schools, particularly in rural areas. You will recall our conversation about this in Washington.

Those to whom I have talked feel that, at best, it would be too soon to offer reassurance responsibly at this time. The feeling seems to be that there may in fact be some initial side-effect of school desegregation that are undesirable. At any rate we have no basis at this time for assuring parents that there will be no serious problems. We are convinced, of course, that the problems of change are nothing compared to the ruinous cost of a segregated system of education.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 29, 1966

Miss Frances Jordan
Family Relations Specialist
Agricultural Extension Service
North Carolina State University at Raleigh
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

Dear Miss Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of April 27.

We would be glad to look at a draft of the sort of pamphlet you have in mind to help Negro and white parents of children entering integrated schools. This is a good idea, for it could very well be that I have not properly understood and conveyed to others on our staff your idea.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

14807 Tabor Avenue
Maple Heights, Ohio 44137
June 13, 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am considering developing the following topic into my doctoral dissertation at Kent State University: "The Mayor's Committee on Racial Relations: A History of Four Northern Cities from World War II to the Present." I would try to get into New York, Chicago, and Detroit. The Cleveland Community Relations Board has already opened its doors to me. Can you be of any assistance? Do you have any suggestions?

Sincerely,

Raymond J. Jirkans

Raymond J. Jirkans

RJJ/i

July 11, 1966

Mr. Raymond J. Jirkans
14807 Tabor Avenue
Maple Heights, Ohio 44137

Dear Mr. Jirkans:

Your letter to us concerning your research for your doctoral dissertation has been referred to me. I note that the "Mayor's Committees" which you intended to study are all in northern cities. Inasmuch as ours is a regional agency, I don't believe that we will be able to assist you in any significant way.

I suggest that you write to Mr. John Feild, Director, Community Relations Servicing of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, 1707 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

7

September 12, 1966

Mr. Howard L. Jones, President
Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools
East Northfield, Massachusetts 01361

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of September 6 and for letting us know that The Independent Schools Talent Search Program is also seeking Negro boys to enter southern secondary schools.

I look forward to hearing from Mr. Simmons and shall be grateful for any information he can send us.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JEF:mlm

bcc: Messrs. Paul Anthony
John Ehle

NORTHFIELD AND MOUNT HERMON SCHOOLS
EAST NORTHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 6, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Mr. Henry Berne, a member of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, has told me that you may be seeking as many as 18 Negro boys who are ready, willing, and able to attend a private secondary school in the south.

Mr. James Simmons, Executive Director of The Independent Schools Talent Search Program has a similar effort underway and might be helpful to you. I am sending him a copy of this letter so he, in turn, can send you some information about ISTSP.

Faithfully yours,

Howard L. Jones

HLJ/aac
cc Mr. James E. Simmons
Dr. Henry Berne

SEPTEMBER 15, 1966

TO: PAUL ANTHONY
BOB ANDERSON

FROM: ED STANFIELD

WOULD YOU MIND LETTING ME HAVE YOUR REACTION TO THE ATTACHED MATERIAL, PARTICULARLY ANY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS MISS JORDAN ASKS?

WOULD A PRINTING AND WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF THIS OR SIMILAR MATERIAL IN LEAFLET FORM SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE?

E S - looks good to me - perhaps the Coles - SNC pamphlet might be added at end -
we would have funds for a nice offset job if there was demand

PBA

F

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE
NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND LIFE SCIENCES

FAMILY RELATIONS SPECIALIST
ZIP 27607

September 14, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

My co-worker has prepared a brief statement concerning families of children in integrated schools which we would like for you or a member of your staff to evaluate for us. As you recall, you were hoping to prepare a pamphlet for publication which would be of help to Negro and white parents concerning this matter. The mimeographed sheet has been distributed to Home Demonstration Clubs, Negro and white, in North Carolina. Before expanding it into a larger, more complete form, we would like to hear from you if what we have said is true on the basis of what research and observations your agency has made. Are there other points which could and should be considered? We would appreciate any help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Fran

Frances Jordan
Family Relations Specialist

FJ:et

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS, NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT RALEIGH, 100 COUNTIES AND U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COOPERATING

PROJECT LETTER NO. 21

INTEGRATED SCHOOLS AND OUR FAMILIES

As more and more of our children go to integrated schools the majority of us parents have to admit that we have not thought seriously enough or long enough about the feelings and tensions that we must share as our children bring these tensions home from school. Our white children are now growing up in a world in which they have to deal with colored peoples as equals, and our Negro children are growing up in a world that is in many ways strange to them. Are we prepared to act as a good family by supporting each member during these times of stress?

Let's begin by thinking of our children, both Negro and white. At school they find themselves in new groups, or they are in groups that receive new members who are different in color. In such a situation the attitude of teachers is important, but according to a report by fifteen psychiatrists the child's reactions to such social situations at school are shaped to a great extent by their experience as a member of a family. This simply means that the child has absorbed the family's ways of feeling about other groups.[1]

Think about your own family as your child goes to an integrated school. Whether Negro or white your child probably feels that if he becomes very friendly with a new social group he will be disloyal to his own family. Thus, even the most well adjusted youngsters are likely to get upset and make mistakes in their behavior which ordinarily they would not make.

The Negro child going into a previously segregated school might be unduly suspicious of his new group. One Negro boy entered a previously white school and stayed for football practice. After the practice he accepted a ride home with four of his new friends. Later the boy reported that he became very much afraid as he sat in the rear seat beside two white boys. He imagined their taking him off for a beating and was relieved when they stopped at his house and waved him goodby.

At times a Negro child may imagine bad treatment when it does not exist in fact. All children are bound to be rejected at times. He will need help from his family before he can feel accepted again. One Negro girl in a largely white school was talking in the hallway with the one white girl whom she considered to be her best friend. Then a group of white girls came up and spoke to them. Seemingly without realizing it the white girl faded into the group and was soon gone. Do we Negro and white parents take time to imagine how that one lone girl feels as she is left alone in the hallway of a public school? If we try, what can we do to help?

One thing we parents must do is face our own feelings in this situation. If we are Negro parents we are likely afraid that our children will be hurt physically and emotionally. Just how much rejection and humiliation will my child have to face, and how much should I expect him to face? Will my child be treated fairly by the teacher? And deep inside we are afraid that our child may not be able to compete satisfactorily with the other children in reading, writing, and math.

If we are white parents we are afraid of losing status in the community if we are too much in favor of integration in the schools. Then, of course, we are afraid of the wider social contacts our children will face. Our fears tell us that the children may learn lower moral standards, that their education may be hampered, and finally, that intermarriage may result.

Some of these fears are realistic. A Negro child may be hurt physically or emotionally, and a white child will have to face wider social contacts than most of us parents faced in our youth. However, the report of those fifteen psychiatrists mentioned earlier assures us parents of the following facts:

1. Children of neither race need suffer in their studies unless overcrowded classes and poor teaching causes the difficulty.

2. Delinquency and communicable diseases are related to underprivileged neighborhoods and not to race.

3. Studies in areas of desegregated housing indicate that after the first sense of loss of status the people quickly adjusted and went about their business of living. The same quick adjustment is taking place in most of our schools.[2]

4. Available information seems to indicate that the extramarital mixing of races goes down as the Negro people gain social status. Sometimes Negro and white may wish to get married. We may point out the difficulties involved, but most of us will agree that a legal marriage now and then is much better than the large number of illegitimate children of the past.

But, specifically, what can we do to help our children? First, we can do our best to help them feel that they are loved, wanted, and happy members of their own family. The strength to adjust to a new group largely comes from the security we have in the family of which we are a part.

Second, we can assure our child that he can be a friendly member of that larger group at school and at the same time be a 100% loyal member of his family. As parents of white children we can encourage them to show kindness and to become acquainted with the Negro students. The children have much to gain from knowing a wider range of people.

Third, we can encourage our children to act mature rather than to depend upon prejudice to appear superior or race as an excuse for inadequacy. One Negro mother is quoted as saying to her child on his first morning of attending a desegregated school: "Don't try to act superior. Only inferior people try to act like there are people beneath them. Prove your worth; people will accept you, that is, the decent ones will."[3]

Fourth, we can be ready to try as a whole family to understand and support a child who has been hurt or who has himself acted unwisely and caused trouble. When our child comes home bringing feelings of rejection or fear or resentment toward the group in school it is the task of the family to "pick him up," encourage him, and send him back to school ready to try again to make a go of it with his group. We can listen and try to understand, regardless of how wrong the child may be, without taking a stand in favor of a mistake.

Of course the list of specific suggestions could be endless. But one final suggestion is that Negro and white parents can help the children to know something of the history of his own family. It will eventually be helpful when the school makes it clear that Negroes were Americans almost as soon as whites were Americans. But it will help even more for a child to be able to tell a story about his own grandparent.

We can expect some inevitable stresses and strains in a time of social change of the magnitude of school integration. But if families will stick together and perform as families, we can take this time of change as a time of opportunity. We can reverse the damage done by segregation, and we can give all our children the many benefits of a much wider cooperation with more and more types of people.

References:

1. Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation, May, 1957.

2. A. B. Auerbach, "The Meaning for Parents", Annual Proceedings of Conference and Institute, Child Study Association of America, March 9-10, 1964.

3. Valen, Bonita H., The St. Louis Story. A Study of Integration, Freedom Pamphlets, pp. 33. Quoted by Dan W. Dodson, "Rearing Children to Meet the Challenge of Change" p. 6.

Van Til, William, Prejudiced - How Do People Get That Way? Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, N. Y. 22, N. Y.

Kurland, Norman D., Ph. D."Integrated Schools: A Progress Report" Parents Magazine, September 1965.

DISCUSSION GUIDE

INTEGRATED SCHOOLS AND OUR FAMILIES

1. What are some things we do at home that tell our family members how we feel about people of other races?

2. How can we prepare ourselves for the integrated world in which we are beginning to live?

3. How can we resist the pressures from the crowd so we can make the adjustments to this new world?

4. How can we help children to trust people who are different from ourselves?

5. What admirable talent have you seen recently in a person of another race?

Questions for Youth Groups

1. How can we help our parents accept integrated schools?

2. How can we show our parents that we can be friendly with a new social group and still be completely loyal to the family?

3. Would it be dishonest or just wise if we decided to tell our parents only the good things that happen in our integrated school?

October 5, 1966

Miss Frances Jordan
Family Relations Specialist
Agricultural Extension Service
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

Dear Fran:

Our wheels grind slowly here, sometimes, and I am only now able to give you a response to your letter of September 14. I asked two others on our staff to read the mimeographed "Project Letter" you sent, in order to have the benefit of their comment.

The concensus seems to be that it is good, worthwhile expanding, and worth distributing as widely as possible to the parents of children attending integrated schools.

Concerning the mention of possible interracial marriage, one commentator felt that it was good as far as it went, but should either be expanded or dropped. My own feeling is that the question should be dealt with, since it will be in the minds of many in the "target" group anyway. The line you have taken strikes me as a good one and perhaps an elaboration on it would be better than dropping it.

We will be interested to see what you come up with. If you would like comment from us on a draft of the expanded version, we would be happy to look at it. I understood you to say that you have no problem of funds with which to print it. Please keep us posted on the progress of the project, the uses to which you put your pamphlet, the response you get, etc.

I assume that you saw the study Dr. Robert Coles did for us in 1963. A copy of his report is enclosed.

Best wishes,
Ed Stonfield

May 3, 1966

Mr. Douglas Kelley
Executive Director
Encampment for Citizenship, Inc.
2 West 64th Street
New York, New York 10023

Dear Mr. Kelley:

I received today an inquiry from Miss Sally Cantor of 1794 Windemere Drive, Atlanta, concerning the Southern Appalachian Center for Education in Democracy. At her request I have sent her an application form.

I noticed in our files a letter from you to Mr. Al Ulmer offering twelve half scholarships to applicants which SRC might recommend. In the event that a half or full scholarship is still available, I would recommend one for Miss Cantor. Sally, who is seventeen and a junior in high school, has a keen interest in intergroup relations. She received a National Conference of Christians and Jews "Good Neighbor Award" for her work with a group called "Operation Understanding." She was the first teen-ager to be so honored locally.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
bcc: Mrs. Betty Cantor

May 10, 1966

Mrs Sony F. Kaufer
Director of Publications
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Kaufer:

Thank you for your letter of May 5 relative to our order for 1000 copies of Countering Extremism.

Enclosed is a list of the names and addresses of the state councils on human relations with a notation beside each of the number of copies to be sent.

Also enclosed are shipping labels with these addresses on them. We have prepared one label for each twenty-five copies.

Please note that 100 copies are to be sent to the Southern Regional Council.

Yes, please bill the total order to my attention.

Yours truly,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
Encl.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

May 5, 1966

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Harry Fleischman has turned over to me your order for 1,000 copies of Countering Extremism.

We should be happy to direct these mailings to the state councils if you will let me know how many copies you want sent and to whom. It would be most helpful if you could send us three or four already-addressed shipping labels to be used for each council's mailing.

I am assuming that we are to bill the total order to your attention rather than to bill each of the councils individually for their quantities.

We are very pleased to learn of the good reception accorded our manuscript and we hope you will find the pamphlet a valuable tool.

Sincerely,

Sonya F. Kaufer

(Mrs.) Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, George 30303

SFK:amg

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Norman Hill won't come

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

17 17

MEMORANDUM

Date: September 12, 1966

To: Ed Stanfield

From: E. T. Kehrer, Chairman, Southern Interagency Conference Steering Committee

Subject:

As you know the Steering Committee decided to invite Dr. Lewis Killian of Florida State University to speak at the Fall meeting on September 20th. This will involve approximately $150.00 in expense. Ted Freedman of ADL has already pledged $50.00 toward this amount and I would like to ask other members of the Steering Committee if they could also assist.

ETK:sjs
opeiu #21
afl-cio

September 26, 1966

Mrs. Iris Kelso
Education Specialist
Total Community Action, Inc.
704 International Building
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

Dear Mrs. Kelso:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 22 and for the recommendations of Negro boys for southern prep schools.

These have been forwarded to the appropriate person and I am confident that some of those recommended will receive further inquiry and consideration.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

October 6, 1966

Mrs. Iris Kelso
Program Specialist in Education
Total Community Action, Inc.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Kelso:

Thank you for sending us the names of Leonard Merriman, III and Dwight Albert Smith as prospective prep school students. We are calling them to the attention of the appropriate persons.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

December 30, 1966

Dr. Lewis Killian
Institute for Social Research
Florida State University

Dear Dr. Killian:

After so unconscionable a lapse of time we have finally come up with a rough transcription of your address to the Southern Interagency Conference here in Atlanta on September 20. You will recall that we agreed to submit it to you for corrections before making any use of it. The transcription is enclosed.

Bob Anderson, Editor of Publications for the Southern Regional Council, has indicated that he would like, with your permission, to use excerpts from it for a section of our magazine, New South, in which we regularly print significant quotations from recent speeches.

We do not at this time plan any other mass reproduction of the speech, but a few of the people who attended the meeting--Ted Freedman, Al Kehrer, Charles Wittenstein, and others--have indicated that they would like to have Xerox copies, if you would not object.

Le me take this opportunity to thank you for the address. I hope that our paths will cross again in the not-to-distant future.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosure

March 2, 1966

Mr. Heslip M. Lee
Executive Director
Salisbury-Rowan Community Service Council, Inc.
P.O. Box 631
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dear Happy:

I am very sorry to have missed you yesterday. For one thing, I wanted to tell you that I'm still appreciative.

They tell me that time has not withered you, nor custom staled your infinite variety. Glad to hear it.

Be sure to give me another chance at seeing you next time you are here.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 21, 1966

Mr. Bob Luitweiler
c/o Bob Swann
Voluntown, Connecticut

Dear Bob:

It was good to see you in Washington last week and to have the chance, if only briefly, to discuss your proposal for a national investment corporation for southern development.

I continue to be interested in the idea of such a corporation and have passed your proposal around this office to get other people's reaction to it. Here are a few of the ones I have received.

1. Private money cannot begin to solve the problems of the rural South. Only federal monies, and in large amounts, can begin to stabilize the situation. It would be better to spend the money you raise to inform the average U.S. citizen of rural problems and to push for legislation that would confront these problems then to buy small amounts of land.

2. The person who would invest in such a proposition would not likely want his money back soon nor would he be investing for a profit. Therefore, the idea of a foundation guaranteeing investments is not a sound one.

These were the two main complaints of the proposal by those with whom I shared it.

I have several suggestions of my own. The problem of FHA loans and their insistence upon a clean title to the land is of course a real one. In addition, however, FHA relies heavily upon the individuals ability to repay the loan. Herein, it seems necessary to me to stress the necessity of some type of money-making employment which will either precede or at least accompany the building of the homes. Perhaps this comes in the more complete plans for the cooperatives you referred to later in your paper.

The question of who should do this land purchasing, the government or a private corporation seems to be a valid one. It could be answered if you stressed that the corporation is designed to show what can be done. Why not use a number of families, say 1,000, and talk in terms of them. In this way some idea of the amount of land, money, people, time, etc. would be easier to imagine. You could have a goal for investment purposes and could also dissuade the critics of the idea you are doing something the government should do.

I hope we can continue writing about this. I am anxious to learn of the results of your goddard meeting.

Cordially,

Al Ulmer
Director of The Community Organization Project

AU/pf

May 13, 1966

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ledeen:

Thank you for your response to my inquiry about the possibility of a short-notice meeting with Mr. Kelley or Encampment for Citizenship.

His request to us came so late that I am not at all surprised that a meeting is impossible. I suppose they are short of applicants and this was an attempt to remedy the situation.

Thank you for your thoughtful consideration.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 12, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Ed:

We have conferred about the possible meeting with the representative from Encampment for Citizenship with students in the area and feel that we cannot include this in the very busy schedule which the staff has set up for the next few weeks.

In addition to Speed-Up we are also recruiting for the American Friends Service Committee project in Sumter and attempting to find counselors for Upward-Bound at Claflin College in Orangeburg. The opportunities for student involvement this summer are exciting.

We have always promoted and recruited for Encampment for Citizenship and consider it an exceptionally valuable experience for students. All of us regret that the limitations of time make Mr. Kelley's visit impossible for us at the present time.

Best of wishes.

Cordially,

Libby Ledeen

Elizabeth C. Ledeen (Mrs. T. J.)
Program Director

June 15, 1966

Mr. Rufus A. Lewis
801 Bolivar Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Our treasurer tells me that I should have a statement from the company from which you chartered the bus to carry people to the School Desegregation Conference in Birmingham. If you will send me such a statement, we will remit the cost of charter.

It was good to see you Saturday. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

February 23, 1966

Mr. Gordon Manser
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46 Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Manser:

Mrs. DeLeslie Allen said, at the Regional Consultation in New Orleans, that we should send you an account of our expenses. My expenses in attending the consultation were as follows:

Roundtrip air fare (tourist)	$62.90
Limousines (Atlanta and N.O.).....	6.00
Total	$68.90

Since I used my Southern Regional Council air travel credit card, please make the check payable to "Southern Regional Council." You might send it to me, however, so that I can be sure it is properly credited.

Thank you for inviting me to participate in the consultation. It was helpful to me.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 23, 1966

Mr. John R. Martzell
Executive Director
Louisiana Commission on Human Relations,
Rights and Responsibilities
Pentagon Courts, Building "C"
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Martzell:

I was in New Orleans last week and tried to call you at the suggestion of Mrs. Leo Mervis, who did not realize that you had already moved to Baton Rouge.

Mrs. Mervis said that you were aware of the New Orleans Community Relations Council, but might not be aware of the existence of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. Theyletter was organized about eighteen months ago and, with some initial aid from the Southern Regional Council, hopes to employ an executive director and open an office in the near future. The office location has not yet been determined.

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations, like the New Orleans Community Relations Council and other state councils in the region, is a biracial, voluntary association of Louisiana citizens for the purpose of promoting -- by research, education, and negotiation -- equal opportunities for all peoples in the state. The president of the Louisiana Council at this time is Dr. James R. Oliver, P.O. Box 2992, Lafayette, Louisiana.

I am sorry that I missed meeting you, and I hope that I may call on you at the first opportunity. If we at Southern Regional Council can assist you in any way, please call on us. We wish you well in this important assignment.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Mrs. Leo Mervis
Dr. James R. Oliver

Encl.

February 24, 1966

Miss Nell C. Henry
Brochure Editor
The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Miss Henry:

In reply to your letter of February 21 to Miss Manderson, who has transferred to another department, the only college we know of which is conducting Summer Human Relations Work-shops is Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama. Their workshops are under the direction of Father Albert Foley.

Enclosed is a current list of the member agencies of the Southern Interagency Conference,

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

TENTH ANNIVERSARY YEAR

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

281 THE ARCADE • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114 • TELEPHONE: 781-6630

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•*Signifies Charter Member*

February 21, 1966

HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

Summer 1966

The Council on Human Relations will soon publish its Fifth Annual Brochure listing all 1966 Summer Human Relations Workshops to be held in Colleges and Universities throughout the United States.

If you plan to hold such a Workshop will you please fill out and return the enclosed card. The deadline for listings is March 7, 1966.

Miss Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Miss Manderson:

The above memorandum is going out to about 400 colleges and universities. Meantime we wonder whether you know of Workshops which will be held at colleges which we have not reached. In former years you have suggested colleges in which workshops were to be held, so that we could follow up for definite information.

Once you sent us a page entitled "Cooperating Organizations" which we found very useful. If you have an up-to-date list of that sort we shall be glad to have it.

Sincerely yours,

Nell C. Henry

Nell C. Henry (Miss)
Brochure Editor

Contributions are tax deductible

March 7, 1966

The Reverend Powers McLeod
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
P.O. Box 6531
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. McLeod:

Do you know Reverend C. Emory Burton, formerly of the North Alabama Conference and now of Thorntown, Indiana? If so, would he be, in your opinion, an apt candidate for Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations?

I hope that you and your family are well.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 11, 1966

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr.
Allan-Grayson Realty
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Massell:

Thank you very much for giving me an hour of your time. Our conversation was very helpful to me.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 21, 1966

Mr. Wade M. Mackie, Director
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Wade:

Enclosed is our check for $400.00 which, as agreed, you are to have cashed in small bills and bring to Alexandria on Saturday to pay expenses of participants in the school desegregation conference.

We understand, pursuant to our conversation, that you will have each recipient of funds sign his name, give his address, and the amount of money received for approximate distance traveled at 6¢ per mile.

I have made plans to attend the conference and will arrive in Alexandria at 8:01 P.M. Friday evening. Would you make a reservation for me at the Bentley or another hotel that you would recommend.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

P.S. To meet requirements of our auditors, would you please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me?

March 28, 1966

Mr. James J. McGuire
Associate Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Mr. McGuire:

I shall be out of Atlanta on April 14th, 15th, and 16th and am required to attend a day-long meeting of our executive committee on the 18th.

I believe I could arrange to have lunch with you on the 18th, if our business could be conducted in so brief a time. Otherwise, would it be possible for you to remain for a more leisurely meal that evening? Please let me know.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Director
John P. Sisson

8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 Telephone 482-5792

March 25, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

I am working with Jack Sisson in the Southern Field Service office in New Orleans. Since my work is primarily in Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia, I would be interested in talking with you regarding your operation in these states. Hopefully, we will be able to explore avenues of mutual endeavor.

I will be in Atlanta from April 14 through April 18. May I hear from you at your earliest convenience regarding an appropriate appointment time during my stay there?

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I remain

Sincerely,

James J. McGuire

James J. McGuire
Associate Director

March 30, 1966

The Reverend Charles L. McCullin
Brookstown Baptist Church
6066 Evangeline Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. McCullin:

I understand from our mutual friend, Will Campbell, that you might be interested in seeking employment outside the pastoral ministry, perhaps in the human relations field.

From time to time we have need of able men for positions with our state councils on human relations. We try to keep a file of information on prospects for these positions for referral to appropriate state councils. If you would like to submit biographical data and a resume of your employment experience, we would be happy to have it particularly any experience that you have had as a volunteer or otherwise in connection with human rights or human relations. It would also be helpful if you could supply us with 3 or 4 references.

I might mention that many of our state council executives or former ministers find this kind of work very satisfying.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

~~1016 Burgundy Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70116 Tel 523-2301~~

8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Director
John P. Sisson

Telephone 482-5792

March 30, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you very much for your prompt reply. I would be more than pleased to have dinner with you on the evening of April 18.

I shall call your office upon my arrival in Atlanta. In the meantime, many thanks, and looking forward to seeing you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

James J. McGuire

James J. McGuire
Associate Director

file

YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA • CHAPEL HILL

R'ced 5/6/66

May 4, 1966

YM-YWCA STAFF
Nancy P. Elkins
Norman F. Gustaveson
Anne E. Queen

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Since our last correspondence with you in late February, I am very pleased to inform you that we have been successful in our effort to raise the necessary funds for a second edition of our scholarship booklet for Southern Negro students. In fact, we have been successful even beyond our wildest dreams.

Shortly after our last letter to you in late winter, we contacted the Ford Foundation in an effort to determine whether they would be receptive to the idea of backing this project. In the intervening months, we have been in increasing contact with them, culminating last week with the formal notification that we have been granted $6,400. This grant, which is renewable yearly up to four years, is to be used in the development of our scholarship guide, in its distribution, and in a determination of its ultimate usefulness.

In addition to the Ford grant, we have been able to secure certain other funds from individual donations from within North Carolina. At present, there is a distinct possibility that we will be able to obtain an appropriation of $800. from the Student Government on the University of North Carolina campus.

We would hope to use the funds pledged by the Southern Regional Council in a variety of ways. In all probability it will be necessary to hire part-time a secretary to help with the immense amount of typing necessary before the second edition. Personal visitations to high schools in an effort to determine more precisely what types of information are most needed might also be a possibility. It is still our intention to transfer our master plates to you for your use as outlined in our earlier correspondence.

file — General Corres.

Sincerely yours,

Tony Mason

Tony Mason, Chairman
YMCA Human Relations Committee

dm

SIC SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION CENTRE

Human Relations Committees of the YMCA and YWCA of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

February 24, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your letter of February 22. Both the permanent staff here as well as our committee feel that the "incentive" approach in securing commitments for the second edition of our booklet is perhaps the best approach. We will most certainly keep you and the Council informed as we obtain these pledges.

All the members of this committee feel that the Southern Regional Council has been more than generous in the great number of very satisfactory alternatives which you have presented us. We greatly appreciate this support.

I hope to have definite news on the possibility of grants from two local sources in the next week; I will keep you posted on developments.

Sincerely yours,

Tony Mason

Tony Mason, YMCA Human
Relations Committee

file with previous correspondence

February 22, 1966

Mr. Tony Mason, Chairman
YMCA Human Relations Committee
U.N.C. YWCA
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Mason:

Thank you for your letter of February 11, concerning assistance in publication of your scholarship booklet.

We note that you are going to try to arrange a combination of sources of funds and prepare your publication on that basis. It trust that you will keep me informed of your progress in securing tentative commitments. If it appears that you will be able to produce the booklet as proposed, we will honor our tentative commitment of up to $500100.

Incidentally, for purposes of our accounting and to avoid any supposition that we can be considered as a charitable foundation, we probably would want our aid to take the form of a contract for a certain number of copies or use of the plates, as you mentioned.

If you should find it impossible to arrange the necessary funding combination, we would still be willing to help with our existing staff and facilities, as outlined in my letter of Februmry 7th.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Norman F. Gustaveson

YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA • CHAPEL HILL

Scholarship Information Centre
UNC YM-YWCA
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

February 11, 1966

Mr. J. E. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Our committee is very pleased with the three propositions you presented us concerning our scholarship booklet in your letter of February 7th. After due consideration, I can report to you that we favor the second alternative, that is, a contribution of about $500.00 from the Southern Regional Council.

We have been seeking financial support from several sources throughout the region including Youth Educational Services in Durham. It is our hope that with several grants such as yours, we will be able to reach our goal of between $2,200.00 and $2,500.00.

In the proposed second edition all contributors to the project will be recognized in a special section.

Because of the nature of the Scholarship Information Center, we wish to try and print the guide locally and have orders cleared through this office. The Center is set up as a dynamic fact gathering and distribution agency. Bulletins (samples of which I am enclosing) concerning various aspects of high school, college, and graduate study will be distributed fairly regularly. We feel that it would be awkward to have the booklets in Atlanta and the bulletins in Chapel Hill.

Yet we do, however, plan to let groups such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Voter Education Project in Columbia use our lithograph master plates free and in whatever way they wish. In this manner, they can distribute our information to students we could not reach through schools or individual mailings. We would be happy to let you use the plates for your own distribution desires.

We hope that this meets with your satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

Tony Mason

Tony Mason, Chairman
YMCA Human Relations Committee

dm

YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA • CHAPEL HILL

February 11, 1966

YM-YWCA STAFF
Nancy P. Elkins
Norman F. Gustaveson
Anne E. Queen

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

On behalf of the YMCA-YWCA staff I would like to thank you and the Southern Regional Council for your interest and support in one of the projects of the Scholarship Information Centre. I think the students involved in this project have shown exceptional imagination and commitment in getting this program underway.

I have been working with this committee and will continue to work with the students and faculty who are working on this project. I can assure you that we on the YMCA and YWCA staff are committed to this project and will work to encourage its growth and success.

Again, many thanks for your enthusiastic support.

Sincerely yours,

Norman F. Gustaveson

NFG h

Norman F. Gustaveson

February 7, 1966

Mr. Tony Mason, Chairman
UNC-YMCA Human Relations Committee
Young Men's and Young Women's
Christian Associations
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Mason:

I have shown your proposal for publication of an enlarged and improved edition of Financial Aid for Southern Negro Students to Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. He and I are both impressed with the edition already prepared and feel that it meets a real need. We want to suggest some alternatives to you.

First, you are probably aware of "Youth Educational Services," which is affliated with the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Mr. Mike Lawler is the principal officer of this group, and their current address is P.O. Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham. It is possible that they would have money to underwrite such a project, if you should feel that you could work in cooperation with them without undue loss of identity.

Second, although we cannot find funds to underwrite the project to the extent of some two thousand dollars, an alternative would be to reduce the scope or arrange a combination of sources of financing. We probably could find about $500 to contribute.

A third possibility which, if viable from your point

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of view, seems most promising from here would be for the Southern Regional Council to publish your compilation. In this way we could obtain the larger printing and distribution that you have in mind, but by using our existing facilities, staff, postage budget, etc., we could simply absorb at least half of the cost suggested in your budget -- which otherwise would require locating additional funds. We could supply all of the copies you need for distribution in North Carolina and elsewhere, but would have to handle distribution through the rest of the South ourselves. The publisher would have to carry our imprint as publisher, but the more prominent "billing" could be given to your organization: something like "Compiled by the University of North Carolina YM-YWCA... Published by Southern Regional Council."

Let us know what you think.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Bulletin #2

COLLEGE SOPHOMORES, JUNIORS, even FRESHMEN

If you're interested in some kind of graduate or professional program after graduation, a good time to get your foot in the door is THIS YEAR. You can do this mainly by making the fullest use of your summer:

(1) If you attend summer school at a University, successful completion of a few courses there (don't take a heavy load), will greatly improve your chances of getting into the University's graduate school later, as well as give you an idea whether you want to. You and the University get a chance to look each other over, to some extent, (in spite of the fact that summer sessions are rather different from the academic year). It gives you useful contacts and an idea of the variety of different brandes and subjects you can go into later. (For instance, departments and fields of study at UNC include the following: Biophysics, Communication Center, Dental Research, Folklore, Information Science, Institute of Fisheries Research, Institute of Latin American Studies, Medical Sociology, Microbiology, Psychometrics, Urban and Regional Studies. Some college students never even hear about these. Yet there's no reason why you shouldn't get into one of these fields.

Even at a tough university, it's mostly quite easy to get into the summer school. Some suggestions (for instance): Tulane University, University of N. C. at Chapel Hill, Duke University in Durham, Vanderbilt, University of Alabama, University of Mississippi, Washington University, Mo., Chicago University. Inquire about a possible scholarship or loan for the summer at that University.

(2) There's a variety of summer jobs, and for most of these you should write and apply soon. Many summer job experiences, ranging from research jobs and training fellowships that tax your book knowledge to the fullest, to routine clerical jobs in a research or professional environment, besides providing income for the summer can

Give you an idea what a profession is about,
Hence give you ideas as to what you want to take up
and what elective courses to take next year in preparation,
Teach you things you can never learn in class,
Give you useful contacts,
Open doors to graduate and career opportunities to you in the future,
And be an interesting change.

Oftentimes a department of a medical school, or a city Department of Health (or of anything else), or a firm, etc., likes to take you on for two or three successive summers with the idea that you may later study and work there full time, if they like your work and you like what they have to offer. Without that first summer they'll never know and you'll never know.

Scholarship Information Center
University of North Carolina YMCA-YWCA
Human Relations Committee
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Bulletin #3

- College Students -
GRADUATING THIS YEAR?

Many deadlines are imminent; get your grad school applications in immediately.

The following departments at the UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA graduate school are excellant, and rather hard to get into (at least B average, and good GRE score required): Physics (Prof. Eugen Merzbacher, Chm.), Chemistry (Prof. R. G. Hiskey), Statistics (Prof. George Nicholson), Mathematics (Prof. W. E. Jenner, Chm.)., Dept. of Botany, Psychometrics Institute (Prof. William Wynn), and others. The music Dept. has some very good people, e.g. in voice, and offers a lot. Vice Pres. Branch has some applications for U.N.C. A good major in any subject who is strong in mathematics should apply to Prof. John W. Tukey, Chm., Dept. of Statistics, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. if interested in grad work (for PhD) in statistics pure or applied to any subject. Recommended for a strong Chem or Biology major: Dept. of Biol. (write Prof. Donald Kennedy, Chm.), STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford, Cal. For excellent statistics dept. at Stanford: Prof. Lincoln Moses, Chm. DUKE UNIVERSITY is a good grad school too.

GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN MEDICAL SCIENCES, PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL STATISTICS have these advantages:

(1) Usually a bit easier to get into than major grad schools
(2) Lots of fellowships ($2,400 plus tuition) available.

The National Institutes of Health of the U. S. Public Health Service provide these, because the need for people trained in medical and public health research is so great. The courses, mostly given at a School of Public Health or a medical school, are not MD courses, but PhD, DSc, or MPH (Master of Public Health) etc.

E.G., at University of N. C. School of Public Health, Chapel Hill, N. C., apply to Dr. D. A. Okun, Chm. Dept. of Environmental Engineering for admission and a fellowship for PhD studies in any of the following: Biology, Ecology, Chemistry, Microbiology, Radiological Hygiene, Air Polution, (etc.). You can also write to Dr. Robert Mah in the same dept. (he's a microbiologist) who will be glad to answer any questions you have about the various programs. Then there's the MSPH. Master of Sci. in Public Health in Biostatistics: Apply for admission and fellowship to Dr. Herbert A. David, Dept. of Biostat.

The Medical School at UNC also has PhD programs. So do all the major medical schools and schools of public health. Courses include those listed above and some of these: BIOCHEMISTRY, PATHOLOGY, ANATOMY, PSYCHOLOGY, MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY, PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, SOCIAL WORK. Lots of government money available. For a list of programs get Public Health Service Grants and Awards, Part II, Training Grants, Traineeships and Fellowships - get it from N.I.H., U. S. Public Health Service, Bethesda, Md. 20014. Apply to Chairman, Dept. of whatever it is at the medical school. You find most of the above programs given at these: UCLA medical school, Chicago Univ. medical school. Some at the med schools at Jackson and Birmingham. Also apply at the following if interested:

Columbia University School of Public Health, Dept. of Biostatistics, John W. Fertig, Chm., 168th St. and Broadway, N. Y. C.: The MPH program there is very good and is relatively easy to get into. Only prerequisites are a year of calculus, probability and statistics, some biology and a fairly good average; strength in something else can substitute for biology or probability and statistics. A good program in PHARMACOLOGY: Dr. Avram Goldstein, Chrman, Dept. of Pharmacology, Stanford Univ. Medical Center, Stanford, California.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY MAJORS are needed in research and in public health. Lots of training programs psychology, soc. work, med. sociology, etc. are financed by the Natl. Inst. of Mental Health. The Psychology Dept. at UNC has lots of NIMH fellowships.

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

~~1210 Burgundy Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112 - 581-2001~~

8017 Palm Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Director
John P. Sisson

Telephone 482-5792

MS
PF-file

May 5, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Ed:

It was delightful having dinner with you during my recent visit to Atlanta. It was stimulating to learn of your new programs in voter registration and education, labor, and urban affairs. I am very interested in keeping in contact with you regarding the progress of Moreland Smith, as we are contemplating the establishment of an urban affairs department.

I am sending the names and addresses of your state council staff members to our council presidents, so that our people can get in touch and cooperate with the state council operations. As soon as we finish revising the list of our own councils, I'll forward a copy to you immediately.

Our Education Department is conducting several workshops for teachers on human relations this summer. Some of them will be in the South. You might want to contact Sr. Mary Peter, NCCIJ, 1307 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, for a listing of these workshops. If you received the latest NAIRO mailing, however, it contains a small brochure with a listing of all the workshops sponsored by our conference for this summer.

Let's keep in contact, Ed, we we develop thoughts regarding the operation in future for our respective councils. With many thanks for your splendid hospitality and warm welcome,

Sincerely,

Jim (.RV)

James J. McGuire
Associate Director

May 16, 1966

Mrs. Leo Mervis
34 Audubon Road
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Helen:

I wonder if you are going to the Executive Committee meeting in Baton Rouge on Saturday. If so, could you pick me up at the airport and let me ride with you? I can get a flight that arrives there at 10:46 a.m. (or I could get an earlier one) and we could argue all the way to Baton Rouge!

How about letting me know by return mail? Don't change any plans, of course. It's simple for me to fly on into Baton Rouge or rent a car.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file

May 17, 1966

Mr. Tony Mason, Chairman
YMCA Human Relations Committee
YM-YWCA, University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Tony:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $500.00 which is our contribution to the Scholarship Information Center. We understand that we are to be permitted to use your master plates after you have published your compilation of scholarships available to Negroes.

Please sign the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to me to acknowledge receipt for our auditors.

I must say that I was astonished to learn that you had secured such a sizeable grant, renewable for four years, when only three months ago you were hoping to raise a mere $2,500 budget! Would you be interested in assisting us with part of our publishing program? Seriously, we are delighted to know that the foundation shared our opinion of the value of what you have done and are proposing and that you have been able to find this substantial backing.

We assume that you have expanded your program and we would be interested to know -- simply for our own information -- what your present plans are.

All good wishes for the success of your endeavor.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Enclosure

Waddell & Reed, Inc.

Principal Underwriter UNITED FUNDS, INC.

KANSAS CITY ▪ NEW YORK

Reply to:
R. R. MOTON, JR.
Division Manager

859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

file

5-21-66

Dear Mr. Stanfield,

Enjoyed and appreciated your presentation immiasely at Brookley, on Thursday last.

It was happy to have a copy, I would so much like to have one.

Sincerely

Bob

SIC SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION CENTRE

Human Relations Committees of the YMCA and YWCA of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

May 23, 1966

PA fyi
ES

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

On behalf of the Scholarahip Information Center, I wish to thank you and the Southern Regional Council for your assistance in helping us to fund our project here. We, too, were astonished at the generous grant made to us by the Ford Foundation. I only hope that we will be able to continue both Ford's and the Southern Regional Council's confidence in the work that we are doing.

Since much of our correspondence in the late winter, the whole concept of the scholarship information clearinghouse we have here has undergone considerable modification. This in part accounts for the amount of the Ford grant.

The Ford money is to be used for certain specific items only. One of the major uses of this money will be to offset costs incurred by printing 10,000 copies of the scholarship guide and distributing them throughout the South. There is also an allowance for the necessary research leading up to the second edition of the booklet.

One of the newer activities of the Center has been the development of special college information bulletins. These bulletins are being mailed on to colleges, high school counselors and interested individuals. Hopefully these bulletins will serve to disseminate specialized information on new scholarship programs or on very promising college programs for disadvantaged students. The Ford grant also made a small allocation for one part-time secretary.

Part of the rationale behind the bulletins is to supply information (often of a rather specific nature) tailor made for the problems of a particular area in the South. This will entail contacting groups in various areas in the South to determine the specific needs of the students. We have already been able to establish lines of contact in many areas, but the job is only partially complete. There was no provision made in the Ford grant for this activity; it is in this area that the Council's funds will be used.

As you can see things are still in a state of flux here as to where this will eventually lead us. I feel that the spontaneous character of the work we are doing will in the long run be highly beneficial in that we can

plan our activities to meet the demands in many areas of the region.

Our immediate plans are to continue work on the second edition of the scholarship guide with the goal of a publication date sometime in early September. At that time we will arrange to have our litho master plates sent to the Council. Furthermore, either I or someone else will keep you informed of our progress throughout the summer.

Thank you very much again for both your help and interest in our work.

Sincerely yours,

Tony Mason

Tony Mason

June 6, 1966

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
2522 Seventy-Seventh Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Miller:

While thinking about a period of orientation for you in Atlanta, it occurred to me that this might very well be joined with a Community Leadership Laboratory that is being held here the last week in July. Several of our state council directors will be attending. The Southern Regional Council will pay the tuition, if the respective state councils will pay the $140.00 room and board for the week.

If enough of the Directors take advantage of this opportunity, we hope to set up one of our periodic state council staffs meetings, either during or after the laboratory. If this were done, you could perhaps come a week early,--say, the 15th--and spend a week in the office and visiting the offices of allied agencies. Altogether this would provide an excellent orientation for you, I think.

If this does not fit your schedule, we can make other arrangements, of course. If you feel the need for some orientation before that time, we could fly you over for a week right away and then you could return for the laboratory.

Let me hear how things are going,--and how we can help.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

June 24, 1966

Mr. Andrew Marrisett
1901 N. 18th Place, Apartment E
Birmingham, Alabama 35234

Dear Mr. Marrisett:

Your letter of June 23 to Mr. Paul Anthony has been given to me.

We do not have an opening for a field worker at this time. I will give your letter to the director of our Community Organization Project, who is out of town today, on the off chance that he would know of something in Birmingham. Frankly, though, the chances seem pretty slim at the moment.

We know of your leadership in The Movement and are sincerely sorry to hear of your present tenuous circumstances. We are especially sorry to hear of your baby girl's serious illness.

Be assured that we shall have you in mind and will let you know if we hear of a suitable opening.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

cc: Al Ulmer

September 14, 1966

Mrs. Helen Mervis
34 Audubon Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Helen:

I asked Paul Anthony whether it might be worth your while to prepare a request for funds to finance an inventory of all the do-gooding agencies and projects in the New Orleans area. His reply was that we could consider a very modest grant, although he was under the impression that the Community Relations Council had money of its own in the amount we could consider.

If you could come up with some specific figures, details, as to what you are proposing to do, and perhaps a little background information on Dr. Lloyd, I think the project might get favorable consideration. (Especially if the New Orleans Council had previously given all of its money to the Louisiana Council, ha.)

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

September 23, 1966

Mrs. Helen Mervis
34 Audubon Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Helen:

This is the information about the Communication Conference which I said I would send to you. It appears that some of the concerns of the participants might be of a "churchly" nature. However, the principles of this sort of conference do not depend on the content. If this particular one doesn't appeal to you, you might write to

Mr. Oron P. South
120 Acklen Park Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

And tell him that you would be interested in attending a leadership conference at some time in the future.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

Attch.

ADVANCED SEMINAR ON

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

DuBose Conference Center
Monteagle, Tennessee
October 13-16, 1966

For persons who have previously participated in a "Communication Conference" or other similar learning experience (such as "human relations training", "sensitivity training", or "laboratory training"), this Advanced Seminar will be of value for those who are working within organizations (Church, on-the-job, or community) and who would like to be more effective as agents for change within such organizations.

The Seminar will focus on setting goals within an organization, and developing behavior that can help the organization to reach its goals. It will not help participants plan changes for others, but rather will attempt to help them plan the changes they need to make in themselves in order that they may assist others to change.

Specifically, attention will be devoted to:

- establishing goals and setting up priorities for reaching goals
- increasing ability of participants to involve others in goal-setting, problem-solving, and decision-making
- increasing ability to see an organization in terms of the behaviors that go on within it, rather than simply in terms of its official structure
- assessing one's own motives for change
- assessing the readiness of an organization to change

Time: Beginning with supper at 6:30 p.m. on Thursday, October 13, 1966, and concluding after supper at 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, October 16. Every participant is expected to arrive on time and remain for the entirety of the conference.

Place: DuBose Conference Center is located just off the main highway through Monteagle, Tennessee. All linens and towels are provided, and DuBose serves exceptionally fine meals.

Cost: $25.00 per person to be sent with registration form below. Make checks payable to William A. Yon

---

REGISTRATION

ADVANCED SEMINAR ON
ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

DuBose Conference Center
October 13-16, 1966

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____

Within what organization do you intend primarily to utilize your learnings from this conference?

What specific skill are you interested in developing that will enable you to be a more effective agent for change within this organization?

C O M M U N I C A T I O N

C O N F E R E N C E

DuBose Conference Center
Monteagle, Tennessee
October 13-16, 1966

- Sponsored by the Episcopal Dioceses of Alabama and Tennessee -

The Purpose of a Communication Conference is to make it possible for those participating to communicate themselves in new and more satisfying ways with other people. It is not primarily to learn something about communication. Its objective is behavioral, aimed at helping participants convert their intentions into action.

Specifically, each person attending may expect to have an opportunity:

- to increase his knowledge of how he communicates to others (How do others see you as you communicate? What do you lead others to think you want as a response to what you say?)
- to increase his knowledge of how others communicate themselves to him (Do others see you as being open to communication or closed? How do others shape their communications to you? What kinds of communication are you likely not to get from others?)
- to increase his understanding of how a group influences what is communicated among its members (What patterns do groups set as to what is permissable and what is unacceptable? How can these patterns be examined? How can they be changed?)
- to experiment with new ways of communicating with others in order to develop community among the members of a group.

How Does It Work? A Communication Conference differs from many other kinds of learning situations in that the individual participant is responsible for setting his own learning goals. Participants work primarily in groups, varying in size from two to twenty, in which the primary emphasis is placed on learning from what is being experienced in the group "here and now." The intent is for each person to learn how to examine his own behavior as he engages in communication with other people and to experiment with new forms of behavior. There are consequently few lectures, as this is not a "subject-centered" conference in the usual sense.

It pays off! A growing number of men and women have found a new freedom and openness in their relationship with other people as a result of this kind of learning experience. It has begun to make a marked difference in their home life, their relationships on the job, and the quality of life in their churches and other organizations of which they are a part.

Time: Beginning with supper at 6:30 p.m. on Thursday, October 13, 1966, and concluding after supper at 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, October 16. Every participant is expected to arrive on time and remain for the entirety of the conference.

Place: DuBose Conference Center is located just off the main highway through Monteagle, Tennessee. All linens and towels are provided, and DuBose serves exceptionally fine meals.

Cost: $25.00 per person, to be sent with registration form in advance.

NOTE: Persons who have previously participated in a Communication Conference or similar learning experience may make application for the ADVANCED SEMINAR ON ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE to be held at the same time and place as this conference. See separate informational sheet and registration blank.

COMMUNICATION

CONFERENCE

DuBose Conference Center
Monteagle, Tennessee
October 13-16, 1966

REGISTRATION

NAME_____ PARISH_____

ADDRESS_____ CITY_____

By whom were you contacted about participating in this conference?

Have you previously participated in a Communication Conference or similar learning experience? Yes_____ No_____

(If your answer is "yes", you may apply to be a participant in the ADVANCED SEMINAR ON ORGANIZATION CHANGE to be held in connection with this conference. See separate information sheet and make application on blank provided.)

Send with $25.00 fee by October 10 to:

William A. Yon
521 North 20th Street
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

COMMUNICATION

CONFERENCE

DuBose Conference Center
Monteagle, Tennessee
October 13-16, 1966

REGISTRATION

NAME_____ PARISH_____

ADDRESS_____ CITY_____

By whom were you contacted about participating in this conference?

Have you previously participated in a Communication Conference or similar learning experience? Yes_____ No_____

(If your answer is "yes", you may apply to be a participant in the ADVANCED SEMINAR ON ORGANIZATION CHANGE to be held in connection with this conference. See separate information sheet and make application on blank provided.)

Send with $25.00 fee by October 10 to:

William A. Yon
521 North 20th Street
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

September 23, 1966

Mr. Neil Maxwell
Wall Street Journal
Commerce Building
34 Broad Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Neil:

Enclosed is the material on the Klan in Virginia which we have on file from the Virginia Council on Human Relations. I hope it is not too late to do you some good.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Attch.

F

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT
2630 CHESTERFIELD BOULEVARD
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 23504
MADISON 3-0120

October 1, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

The enclosed letter sent to Rev. Carter describes our efforts to secure eligible applicants for the Preparatory School Scholarship Project.

Will you let me know the closing date for applications? Would there be any consideration given to a boy in the ninth grade? Will you also let me know the names of the schools in the program.

Please let me know if I can be of further help.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason

WTM/emw

Enclosure: One Letter

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT
2630 CHESTERFIELD BOULEVARD
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 23504
MADISON 3-0120

C
O
P
Y

October 1, 1966

Rev. John Paul Carter
The Plains, Virginia

Dear Rev. Carter:

Listed below are the names of five boys we are offering for consideration for the Scholarships Preparatory School Project.

They are as follows:

Name	Address
1. Wade Goss, a. Parents, Mr. & Mrs. Judge Goss	957 Majestic Avenue
2. William Allen Morris, a. Parents, Mr. & Mrs. William Morris	6134 Sedgefield Drive
3. John Wesley Zachary, a. Parents, Mr. & Mrs. Elmo M. Zachary	974 Galt Street
4. James Chapman, a. Parent, Mrs. Margaret Chapman	855 Henry Street
5. Herbert Brooks, a. Parents, Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Brooks	835 Bognall Road

There are six other boys whose names will be submitted shortly.

Would there be any possibility of a youth tad in the ninth grade being considered?

This is a tremendous opportunity of untold benefits and I hope very much that several of these youngsters will qualify.

October 4, 1966

Mrs. William Thomas Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Thank you for your letter of October 1 and for sending the names of five youngsters as potential applicants for southern prep schools.

We have been given no firm closing date for nominations. However, a large number of names have already been received and the selection process has begun. I would suggest that any other names you wish to submit be sent at once.

No consideration could be given to a boy in the ninth grade under the stipulations given to us.

We have not been given the names of the schools in the program, having been asked only to help find possible applicants. The youngsters and their families will be approached, of course, in terms of specific schools.

Thank you for your help.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

BCC: John Elle

F

October 11, 1966

Miss Ruth Mondshein
National Director of Program
B'nai B'rith Women
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Miss Mondshein:

Under separate cover we are sending to you, at the request of Mr. Ted Freedman, the following:

8 copies, "Racial Discrimination in Southern Federal Courts"

8 copies, "Southern Justice: An Indictment"

We appreciate your interest in the problems of equal justice in the South.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities

cc: Theodore Freedman

October 13, 1966

Mrs. Patricia Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70806

Dear Pat:

This is just to commend you for the very good issue of the Louisiana Council newsletter, which came this morning. It was neatly done and informative.

I would appreciate it if you would send me two copies of the newsletter (as well as of all reports), in order that I may have one for my own files and one to circulate here in the office. Also, if you have not already done so, please be sure to send a copy to each state council.

I noticed that "detailed plans for membership and financial drives are available upon request." Would you send me a couple of copies of this, please? (I'm not planning a finance drive for LCHR over here, but would like to have copies in our files!)

Let us know if we can help in any way.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

10/31/66

P. Anthony —

This looks like a pretty good project, if we still need to use some of that student money.

Let me know what you think.

Original letter + my reply attached.

Ed L —

Ed – This is so bad it deserves no further comment from us. Your letter of Sept 1 was a good one. I'm getting tired of South Carolina!

Paul

P.S. – where did Henri Matisse come from?

file (Moisleith)

SPEED-UP

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C.

252-9327 PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS 252-9328

ADVISORY BOARD

Mr. Austin V. Edwards
Assistant Director of State FHA

Mr. Donald L. Fowler
Faculty, USC

Dr. Wil Lou Gray
Educator and Civic Leader

Mrs. Eddie Lou Holloway
Housewife

The Reverend Matthew D. McCollom
Methodist District Superintendent

Mr. Matthew J. Perry
Attorney

Dr. John F. Potts
President, Voorhees College

Dr. J. Sherrard Rice
Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Columbia

Mrs. Vashti W. Smith
Nursing Home Administrator

Dr. R. Wright Spears
President, Columbia College

Mr. I. P. Stanback
Insurance, District Manager

Most Reverend Ernest L. Unterkoefler
Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston

October 24, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director-Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Subsequent to mailing the last letters to you we have had a staff meeting and have finalized the plans for counties in which we will work this year.

Oconee
Pickens - These are going full steam now with about 50 tutors! In most cases however there will probably not be that many workers. Clemson College students are heading this through the campus Wesley Foundation.

Greenville - We hope to work through students at Furman University

Laurens - students from Presbyterian College are working - Wesley Foundation

Abbeville - students in local student council at Erskine College -real problems - the college is at least 14 miles from the community.

Richland - students from U. S. C., Columbia College, Benedict College, and Allen University

Spartanburg - students from Wofford College will work

Darlington - high school students are now tutoring with guidance from a local teacher. There is no college in the community.

York - students from Winthrop, Friendship and Clinton Junior College will work

Orangeburg - students from S. C. State and Claflin College will work

Sumter - students from St. Jude School (high school) and college students from Morris College

In some of these counties there will be more than one center at which tutoring will be going on.

This should complete the file information you suggested that you'd require to consider our needs. Please contact us if any more information is needed.

Sincerely,

Henri Monteith

(Miss) Henri Monteith
Acting Director

HM/sb

SPEED-UP

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C.

252-9327 | PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS | 252-9328

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Most Reverend Ernest L. Unterkoefler
Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston

October 21, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Below is the budget to accompany the letter mailed to you on October 20.

Local travle for 25 campus coordinators

25 miles/week each 10¢ mile

Total $1,250

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Henri Monteith

(Miss) Monteith,
Acting Director

HM/mb

my figures don't jibe with here. E

Counties - @ eleven

Tutors - 20/Center

Tutees - 30-40 / Center

Project runs - 8 months

$21

SPEED-UP

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C.

252-9327 PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS 252-9328

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October 20, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director-Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

In the latter part of August I wrote to you concerning the possibility of our obtaining funds for transportation to aid student run tutorials. Your reply of September 1st raised many questions and I hope that I can clarify these matters.

The SPEED-UP project was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity for a summer project only. So, at this time we are operating merely on funds left over from this project and have on our payroll only three persons-Project Director, Tutorial Director, and bookkeeper-secretary. We are acting more or less as a service organization ie, we supply the impetus and guidance that local councils need to get a tutoring project going, and they supply the work. Let me give you an example: In Clemson, S. C. students desired to keep a tutoring service going. (SPEED-UP worked in Clemson during the summer). They found students who wanted to tutor. We went to Clemson, gave a tutor training session, supplied them with tutoring manuals that had been developed during our summer project, supplied them with books, tape recorder and anything else that they needed. The tutoring and all work that they are doing is going on in SPEED-UP's name only. The leaders of this group are students who are very active in the Wesley Foundation on campus. None of them are paid.

We have come across these type problems in many communities where the college campuses are not proximal to areas where people are in direct need of a tutoring project. This is where we are limited ~~sense~~ since we cannot supply them with funds needed to cover gas expenditures to and from these communities.

There are campuses on which the tutoring will be carried on by the Student Human Relations Council and others where a religious group supply the work and workers.

We feel that the funds that your organization has could best be distributed from a central office and at this time SPEED-UP is the only state-wide tutoring service organization.

There is a definite need for tutoring services in South Carolina where the drop out rate is 55.7% loss grades 1-12, graduating class 1966, and rated 49th or 50th in most phases of the educational system. It would indeed be a tragedy if no one in the state rises to meet the needs of all elements.

SPEED-UP is the only organization in the state that can meet the needs of giving "know-how" to students who have definite convictions and desires to work in and for their State.

Project SPEED-UP is applying for more government funds, but any that might be donated from your organization would be kept entirely separate. Even our proposed budget to the OEO does not allow funds for campus tutorial travel as we do wish to have them donate as much of their service as possible. Many campus workers have asked us for travel funds and without them it is feared that tutorials will be limited in great measure, particularly as we try to reach those who are in the more rural areas.

A definite problems in Clemson involving transportation - one of the towns in which tutoring is carried on is about 10 miles from the college campus. This means at least 20 miles a day for some tutors. Some of them must make several trips a week to the community.

We are most hopeful that the Southern Regional Council can provide the funds to carry on this most necessary project.

Sincerely,

Henri Monteith

(Miss) Henri Monteith
Acting Director

HM/sb

file

September 1, 1966

Miss Henri Monteith
Acting Director
Project SPEED-UP
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Monteith:

Thank you for your letter of August 29 inquiring about possible funds to pay transportation costs for workers in your tutorial program.

I am somewhat familiar, of course, with SPEED-UP and know that it operated this summer as an O.E.O. demonstration project. It is not clear to me whether the continuation of your tutorials is to be financed by government money or not. You mention that the tutors would be working as volunteers, and I would assume that you are attempting to continue on a voluntary basis a part of the program begun this summer. Is that correct?

You understand, of course, that SRC is able to offer assistance only in those areas and kinds of programs indicated in our mimeographed catalogue, which I am sure you have seen. I am not sure that the project you have in mind would fit any of these categories, unless it is a project of a state or local student human relations council.

At any rate, we would need more information in order to consider your needs. Where will the tutorials

be? (In all 13 counties?) How many tutors will be involved? How many tutees? How much travel is involved? How long will the project run? How much money are you asking for?

Let me suggest that you re-examine the catalogue of aid available to determine if what you want to do is covered by any of the program areas for which we have help available. I enclose a copy for your convenience.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

Enc.

SPEED-UP

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C.

252-9327 PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS 252-9328

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President, Columbia College

Mr. I. P. Stanback
Insurance, District Manager

Most Reverend Ernest L. Unterkoefler
Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston

August 29, 1966

Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Project SPEED-UP has been involved in tutorials and community development for the past summer in 28 centers in 13 counties and would like to continue our service this coming year.

We would like to inquire into the possibility of our securing funds for transportation to continue our work in a tutorial program. Our funds are extremely limited and in order for our fall program to be effective we must provide some mode of transportation for our tutors who will, in all cases, be doing volunteer work.

We would appreciate any invormation and help that you can give.

Thank you for this kindness.

Sincerely,

Henri Monteith

(Miss) Henri Monteith
Acting Director

HM/sb

October 31, 1966

Miss Henri Monteith, Director
Project SPEED-UP
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Monteith:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter and the supplementary information about your request for travel money for SPEED-UP's tutorial project. This information will be quite adequate, I believe, for consideration of the request.

Mr. Anthony is out of town today, but as soon as he returns I shall discuss this request with him. You will hear from us shortly.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

November 2, 1966

Mrs. Helen Mervis
34 Audubon Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Dear Helen:

Your letter of October 22 was on my desk when I returned Monday from a field trip to Alabama. I was very glad to receive it.

First, let me say that I appreciated your frankness in our telephone conversation. (One can hardly be responsible without being frank, I think, and "charitableness" without candor is false.) I was a bit upset by your remarks, but not because you were honest. It was more a matter of being disappointed that Pat appears not to be as sensitive or quick to grasp and respond to a situation as I had hoped.

I do remember meeting Gary Lloyd. And I have to be grateful for his advice to you, despite compunctions about asking you to give aid to the Louisiana Council when I am well aware--as I am--that the CRC needs to be receiving help for the tremendous job to be done in New Orleans. I hope that you will take Dr. Lloyd up on his offer of counsel as to how you and the CRC might help. Louisiana as a whole is, in my estimation, one of the toughest states we have to tackle. The LCHR, being in effect brand new, is inevitably weak and disorganized. Even if the Executive Director were an experienced professional, the job would be frighteningly formidable.

The fact is, of course, that "professionals" in this field are scarce, much in demand, and able to command jobs better paying and more secure than the LCHR can offer at this time.

There as elsewhere we faced the necessity of developing our own professional. I am prepared to entertain the thought that Pat might hot have been the best possible choice. On the other hand she does have good points. One of them is administrative ability, and if she does little beyond laying a good organizational foundation on which a more savvy intergroup relations official could build, she will have done a good job.

All of this is to say that I surely do think you can be useful to the LCHR -- and not only you, but also the CRC as a whole. If nothing else (although I am sure it would amount to much more than this), making a special effort to swell the ranks at future membership meetings would be invaluable moral support.

While I am giving "advice" (you asked for it!) I might as well advise a little more patience with Pat. I well remember my own compulsion, early in my Alabama career, to do and say and propose something, faced as I was with an overwhelming situation and with volunteers who in fact knew much more about my business than I did! I like to think I settled down to a more constructive approach and pace. Perhaps Pat will, also.

I plan to attend the LCHR Board meeting in Baton Rouge on Monday the 7th and hope to see you then. If not, I'll try to call you on my way through New Orleans. You will be attending the SRC Annual Meeting here on November 16, no doubt, and we'll see you then.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

F

Community Relations Council
OF GREATER NEW ORLEANS

POST OFFICE BOX 51257 • NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70150

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34 Audubon Blvd.
October 22, 1966.

Dear Ed,

Do you remember meeting Gary Lloyd the day you and Pat Miller came to the house? He is on our Board by virtue of his interest, but also because his professional competence is so highly regarded by Tulane's School of Social Work, where he is on faculty. His youth belies his reputation as an administrative expert, and he has been of inestimable help to me. I lean on him heavily for advice and guidance, and told him of your call. His initial question was whether I leveled with you which I could honestly say I did. He was distressed that I felt LCHR would benefit from my non-participation because he felt Pat would need all the help she could get for a tough job. He wants me to reconsider, and offered to counsel with me on how I might help. I wanted you to know this, because I sensed I upset you with my remarks.

I'd like to reiterate that, objectively speaking, LCHR is justified in thinking CRC has not done enough, but our omissions are not based on rejction or even indifference but rather on pre-occupation with our own problems re growth and strength. I think we re beginning to make an impact on the community, but it s been almost a full-time job that has stretched me to the limit of my capacity and at the expense of certain other commitments I had made, for which I've been criticized.

The foregoing is intended to explain to you that I do not wish to evade responsibility, and that if you think I can be useful I would be willing to try. I will await advice from you.

Sincerely,

Helen

November 4, 1966

Miss Henri Monteith
Acting Director
Project SPEED-UP
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Monteith:

We have carefully considered your request for travel funds for tutors in SPEED-UP's tutorial project and regretfully conclude that the proposal does not come within the limitations under which we must work.

As I explained in my letter of September 1, we have modest financial aid available only in certain limited categories. The one that I mentioned as coming closest to yours was for projects of student councils on human relations. Indeed, we have funded a number of projects of the South Carolina student human relations group. What the donor of these funds primarily intended was to encourage student human relations organizations, and while the tutorial project uses students, it does not seem to be initiated and run by the student human relations council.

With all good wishes for the continued success of Project SPEED-UP,

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

November 21, 1966

The Reverend Powers McLeod
2252 Allendale Road
Montgomery, Alabama 36111

Dear Powers:

Paul said you mentioned a Methodist minister from near Mobile who is a likely prospect for a human relations council position. This is just to remind you to let us have his name and some dope on him.

It was good to see you at the meeting.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 19, 1966

Mrs. Robert H. Crossfield
534 Brookwood Terrace
Griffin, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Crossfield:

Please pardon my delay in answering your good letter of November 22. I have had to sandwich conversations about your project and requests in between a couple of bouts of illness and a heavy travel schedule.

After careful consideration, it is our honest opinion that the sort of unofficial poll which you propose, to determine whether or not Griffin's citizens what their pools opened on a desegregated basis, would be useless. As you pointed out in your letter the city commissioners would not be influenced by it one way or the other. Moreover, it would be very difficult to conduct it in such a way as to make the results incontrovertible evidence of the wishes of the majority of citizens -- even if the authorities were interested in the wishes of the majority of citizens. So much depends upon the wording of the questions, the choise of people to whom they are submitted, etc. Consequently we feel compelled to turn down your request for $100 to finance this poll.

As for your request for information, I am sending herewith copies of a number of recent newspaper clippings from all over the South which have to do with parks and pools and integration of them. It seems to me that the local council might more effectively prepare and document, from this and

other information, a public statement on the issue. Have it read at a meeting of the city council. Would it be possible to get news coverage? I have forgotten the exact circumstances, but you might explore the possibility of asking the Department of Justice to initiate a suit -- as it is reported was done in one or two communities. A sumpathetic attorney might suggest grounds on which you could at least threaten such action. In any or all of these ways you could keep raising the issue -- and it seems to me that raising a straightforward fuss would do more good, in this case, than a popular opinion poll. (What is the use of securing confirmation or denial of popular prejudices?)

I am afraid this is not being much help, but we certainly would like to help in any way we can. That is a tough job you have cut out for yourself!

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures

File
(with cc of reply)

534 Brookwood Terrace

Griffin, Georgia

November 22, 1966

Mr. Stanfield

Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Stanfield;

You will perhaps remember our conversation of some months ago concerning a public opinion poll our Human Relations group is interested in conducting. We feel that it would be most effective in the early spring. A thousand cards should give us a good sampling of opinion. We have investigated different kinds of mailings but find that a double post card costing eight cents is the most practical. Printing costs would be about twenty dollars. Thus for approximately one hundred dollars we could lay before the people of Griffin the choices of whether to open our swimming pools this coming summer on an integrated basis or leave them closed for the third year.

Neither the city commissioners nor the local newspaper are interested in sponsoring such a poll although most said they would be interested in the results. One commissioner said he would try to indict me for inciting a riot! (This is the commissioner that will be mayor next year.) He admitted that it wouldn't be legally possible however, but said that in his opinion anything that brings up touchy matters is bad and he would do all he could to prevent us from conducting the poll. You can see that the results of the poll will carry very little weight.

We have talked to a statistician at the University of

Georgia and he recommends a careful selection of names from the voting lists rather than the phone book, being certain to keep the percentage of Negroes and whites true to the Griffin population and balanced as to wards in the city. This sounds very difficult to us.

As to the content of the card we had thought of the following choices to mark:

1. I would like to see the public swimming pools opened on an integrated basis this summer.
2. I would rather the pools remained closed.
3. I am undecided on this issue.
4. There are children in this household.

The cards would not have to be signed and postage would be paid to return them to a box number. We would explain on the other half of the card the purpose of our group in sending out the poll.

We would like to ask three things of you, Mr. Stanfield. First, any further thoughts or opinions you have concerning this venture. Second, what assistance you could give us to finance the poll. And third, do you have any information about integrated pools here in the south, preferably in small towns. We would like to know attendance figures (percentage of Negro and white) and operateing costs, whether they lost money when they integrated, for how long, how it's working out now, etc.. Any information you can send us will be appreciated.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Robert H. Crossfield

December 21, 1966

Mrs. Helen Mervis
34 Audubon Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Helen:

I just want to send along the enclosed carbon copy of my note to Dr. Oliver, which says about all I can think of to say on the subject.

Let's keep plugging -- "If at first you don't succeed, ..." and all that rot.

Warm good wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:CL

Jimmy Lee Jackson

April 1966 Report

on the

Jimmy Lee Jackson Memorial Fund

Mrs. Viola Jackson

This brochure was printed through the courtesy of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, 289 Park Ave. S., New York, N. Y.

4/66-2M 334

Rec'd 5/9/66

ES

In April, 1965, the Inter-Citizens Committee decided to establish a Memorial Fund in memory of Jimmy Lee Jackson, who was shot by an Alabama State Trooper following a voter registration meeting on the night of February 18, 1965, in Marion, Alabama, and who later died. The purpose of the Fund is to provide a small income for Mrs. Viola Jackson, Jimmy's mother (also beaten by State Troopers the same night Jimmy was shot, and to whose rescue he came) by giving her $50.00 a month for as long as the Fund lasts.

With permission of the Committee, this Fund is being administered by the past Secretary of the Committee, Rev. C. Herbert Oliver. To date, the funds that have come in are as follows:

Inter-Citizens Committee	$100.00
Dr. Randolph Sailer, Birmingham, Alabama	50.00
Friends of the Mississippi Freedom Project, Oxford, Ohio	70.00
Clarke W. Crannell, Oxford, Ohio	10.00
Mary Lou Dorking, Kentfield, California	10.00
Rev. Alfred Heininger, Claremont, California	10.00
Ruth Stresow, Chicago, Illinois	10.00
H. N. Dukes, Berkeley, California	10.00
Anonymous	10.00
Harry G. Lefever, Harrisonburg, Virginia	10.00
David J. Loomis, University of Maryland	25.00
Commission on Religion and Race, United Presbyterian Church	100.00
Carolyn Allen, Columbus, Ohio	15.00
Louise V. Boyd, Portsmouth, Ohio	15.00
Rev. Carlos G. Fuller, Central Square, New York	5.00
Dr. Paul K. Jewett, Fuller Seminary, Pasadena, California	25.00
Dr. Andrew Schulze, Valparaiso University	10.00
Palm Sunday Interdenominational Musicale at Grace United Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Maryland, Rev. Robert Newbold, Jr., Pastor	200.00
Rev. and Mrs. John W. Miller, Columbus, Ohio	25.00

From April, 1965, to the present (April 1966), Mrs. Jackson has received a check for $50.00 each month. There is enough on hand to cover nearly two months. Would you kindly help keep the Fund alive by making a contribution today. Make checks payable to the Inter-Citizens Committee Jimmy Lee Jackson Memorial Fund, and send to Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, 253 Lincoln Rd., Brooklyn, New York 11225. Please note this: all contributions are deductible for income tax purposes. Words of deepest appreciation have come from Mrs. Jackson for your generous kindness.

With best wishes,

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver file

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

1106 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: 298-2644

KELLY MILLER SMITH PRESIDENT
CHARLES M. JONES VICE-PRESIDENT
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WILL D. CAMPBELL, DIRECTOR

March 17, 1966

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Mr. Campbell asked me to write you concerning the two men he spoke to you about on the phone.

The first is The Rev. Charles L. McCullin, Brookstown Baptist Church, 6066 Evangeline Street, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His office phone number is 355-4092; his home number is 355-5403. He is 38 years old, married and has two children. Mr. McCullin is a graduate of Louisiana College and holds a B. D. and a M.R.E. in counseling from New Orleans Theological Seminary. His wife is a qualified elementary school teacher.

The Rev. Eddie L. Smith is the second. He is at the Midville Baptist Church in Midville, Georgia. A native of Telfair County, he is a graduate of Mercer University. He has had teaching experience. Mr. Smith wrote a small book - The Chair, in which he advocated the abolishment of capitol punishment. He has spoken all over Georgia and other places on this subject. Some of the references he listed are: Hon. Ellis Gibbs Arnall, Newnan, Ga., Mr. Joe Goldberg, Waynesboro, Georgia, Dr. Robert Otto, Mercer University - Macon, Georgia, Hon. Donald L. Hollowell, Attorney at Law - 859½ Hunter Street, Atlanta, Georgia and Mr. R. E. Blakney, Principal - R.E. Blakney High School, Waynesboro, Georgia.

I hope that this additonal information will prove useful to you.

Sincerely,

Judith Patterson
(Mrs.) Judith Patterson
Secretary to Mr. Campbell

cc: Paul Anthony

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

Rec'd 4/20/66 ES - pls answer

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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April 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

We are most appreciative of the co-sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council and of the efforts of Mr. Ed Stanfield, as SRC representative, which contributed to making the state-wide Citizen Action Assembly a success.

Nearly 245 people registered and/or attended the Assembly, and, of those who were neither speakers nor consultants, approximately a third were from outside of Atlanta.

We are very interested in receiving any comments or criticisms that members of SRC who attended the Assembly might have. We would also like your suggestions for future action to improve and insure health and welfare services for children in Georgia. A copy of the Assembly Resolutions and Recommendations is enclosed.

Tapes of the Assembly are being transcriped at the National Urban League office in New York, and copies of the following speeches and sessions have been requested: Mrs. Helen Howard, "A Community in Need;" Mrs. Mary S. Weaver, "The Volunteer's Role in Relations to Intergovernmental Programs;" the first session on Day Care and Child Welfare; the presentations from the sessions on Maternal and Child Care and Mental Retardation. Please let us know if you are interested in receiving copies of these. Copies of Mr. William "Pete" Page's speech, "Intergovernmental Programming to Improve Health and Welfare Services for Children," are available now.

Again, thank you for your assistance in contributing to the Assembly's success. We will be in touch with you as plans for future action are developed.

Most sincerely,

Revelle

Revelle Pergament
Assembly Coordinator

cc: Mr. Edwin Stanfield

RP:m

CITIZEN ACTION ASSEMBLY
ON
HEALTH & WELFARE SERVICES
FOR
GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS, as follows, were set forth by the participants of the state-wide Citizen Action Assembly on Health and Welfare Services for Georgia's Children, April 1, 1966.

I. In considering welfare services, it is essential that we resolve to be aware and have concern for current programs, problem areas, and proposed changes in programs and legislation.

A. We resolve that the criteria for qualifying to receive Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) be re-evaluated to eliminate the high rigidity of requirements which deprive our children of basic essentials for their normal existence, and that steps be taken to increase the amount of the grants and the number of benefits (services).

B. We particularly recommend that the "substitute father" or "man in the house" clause be removed as a criteria for denying a family the right of assistance.

II. We recommend that the Georgia General Assembly be reconvened for the purpose of using surplus funds to increase health and welfare benefits; and that such benefits include the Georgia Department of Family and Children's Services launching a special project to distribute surplus foods, and that this Department increasingly use the Food Stamp Program as a more effective means of providing food to people in need.

III. We recommend that mandatory legislation be passed which will....

...require all school superintendents in all school districts to establish classes for retarded children, both educable and trainable, and that there be less rigidity in the accreditation of teachers for these special classes and an increase in the training of volunteer aides.

...establish a mechanism to insure the enforcement of child labor laws and practices throughout Georgia.

...insure enforcement of day care requirements at all centers in Georgia.

IV. We resolve that we be an Action Assembly and Committee, concerned with implementing and insuring adequate services towards improving the health and well-being of all children in Georgia, regardless of race, color, or creed.

A. To actively follow-up the groundwork laid by the Citizen Action Assembly:

1. Funds be sought and secured to develop a program which will bring services to those people most in need.

2. Upon receiving of funds, area meetings be held in the State, as the first phase of the Citizen Health and Welfare Program. These meetings will follow, in principle, the goals, purposes, and structuring of the State-wide Assembly.

3. An Advisory Board (Committee) be established to insure the fulfilling of program goals and plans, and that this Board be composed of a third civic leaders, a third representatives of communities in need, and a third professionals from public and private servicing agencies.

B. Upon establishing a state-wide structure, which will be composed of a state-wide committee with an advisory board, and area committees with boards and community delegates, we recommend the following programs:

1. Consultative services (public or private) be secured for community organizations requesting health and/or welfare programs.

2. Leaders of community organizations be encouraged to assist in educating the general public by interpreting health and welfare programs to their membership, encouraging volunteer service in areas of need, and devising means of disseminating information to the community-at-large.

3. Students should become aware of communities with health welfare problems; they should examine (research) services performed by local agencies, and, in general, analyze areas of need--geographical and problematic.

4. Young people should be motivated towards careers in public health and welfare, particularly in those areas in most need of trained personnel.

5. Local action should be taken to establish a community information center which would be responsible for....

   a) developing a community agency inventory for the purpose of coordinating and co-relating existing services and developing those additionally needed;

   b) devising an uptodate fact sheet on existing services and a means of disseminating this information;

   c) actively involving the people receiving services, and in most need of services, in the planning of methods for more efficient dispersing of services and in the planning for additionally needed services.

C. We recommend that, in cooperation with various citizen action groups in Georgia, public and private servicing agencies....

...examine their current procedures for distributing services, and, wherever feasible, devise means for simplifying procedures.

...make home services available or, where such servicing is not feasible, funds be available for those individuals who cannot present themselves to take advantage of services.

...consider decentralization and extension of services to improve the quality and quantity of services for those communities in need.

...provide the assistance of qualified personnel to train volunteers for services needing aides.

V. We resolve that we as individuals and representatives of our organizations will assume the responsibility for taking the above recommendations and resolutions to our respective communities, that we will actively participate in their implementation and in the elimination of all discriminatory practices existing in health and welfare servicing by public and and private agencies in Georgia.

April 18, 1966

May 3, 1966

Mr. John A. Pecoul, Jr.
2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19121

Dear Mr. Pecoul:

Thank you for having your booklet from the Placement Bureau sent so promptly. It was helpful and, I might add, impressive.

I have taken the liberty of sending your data to the chairman of the nominating committee of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations as well as to the chairman of the Louisiana Council committee. Frankly, I feel that the chances of an arrangement where-by the Louisiana Council Director could live in New Orleans are remote, and in many ways the North Carolina situation would be more suited to what seems to be your interests. It has more cities, for one thing, although none of them is as large as New Orleans or Atlanta. It also has far more colleges and universities, and the N.C. Council has a lot of people from academic communities in its membership.

All of this is simply to say that if your wish to live in one of the larger southern cities is at all negotiable, if you are otherwise interested, and if the North Carolina

Committee should approach you, I hope you would not dismiss the possibility at once.

Keep in touch.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

EEC
PF file

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

6 May, 1966

They are on our interagency list.

Edwin Stanfield
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield,

Just a brief note to thank you for the up to date listings on the councils on human relations. I will see that we have them all on our mailing list and that you have a subscription to THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT.

SSOC is beginning to take the initiative in southwide student programing and I hope that we can keep you posted on our plans.

If it is possible, I would love to receive copies of all forthcoming publications from your Atlanta office. By our knowing what research you are doing, we can serve our constituency better. We find it a real help to know where to send people for significant research papers.

Looking forward to keeping in touch.

Peacefully,

Jody Palmour
Office Manager

$100.00

John A. Pecoul, Jr.

2106 North Broad Street

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Travel Advance

Field Activities

May 16, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

May 16, 196 6

Mr. John A. Pecoul, Jr.
2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Pecoul:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $100.00 as an advance on your travel expenses to Atlanta and Raleigh.

As I told you, when you get to Atlanta, take the limousine to the Dinkler-Plaza Hotel, which is on Forsyth. We are about three blocks down the street, opposite the Journal-Constitution Building.

We look forward to meeting you.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

Enclosure

May 27, 1966

Mr. John Pecoul
2106 Broad St.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear John:

As Dr. Williams has written, Will Allred has accepted the offer of the position as Director of North Carolina Council on Human Relations. This means, of course, that we do not have among the state councils a suitable opening at this time.

In keeping with our conversation the Southern Regional Council would like to offer you a temporary and "open ended" position at our headquarters in Atlanta at a salary rate of $8,000.00 per annum. We understand that you could begin September 1. We are prepared to guarantee a minimum of three months' employment.

As Paul and I told you, this is the arrangement that SRC first made with me. There is no guarantee, of course, that it will work out as smoothly this time, but we are confident that, even if nothing develops within the SRC-state councils network, a few months with SRC would be a desirable pad from which to launch a career in human relations.

One implication of this is that we do value what you have to offer. I sincerely hope that you can see your way clear to accept this proposition.

If there are details you want cleared up, just write--or feel free to call. If you would like to return to Atlanta for a more leisurely visit and disucssion, we will arrange that.

We would like to have your response as soon as possible.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file

June 15, 1966

Mr. John A. Pecoul, Jr.
2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19121

Dear John:

We are delighted to have your letter of June 13 accepting employment with us. I am sorry that I was so vague about the group medical care policy. The premiums for the policy are paid by Southern Regional Council and there is no cost to you. The policy does include maternity benefits beginning, I believe, ten months after the coverage begins.

Your coming to Atlanta on June 27 and staying for a day or two is very acceptable to us, and I noted on my calendar that you will be here.

September 6 will be a fine starting date.

We will be happy to see you again.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

File

2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
19121

June 13, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

On the basis of the conditions agreed upon in your letter of June 8, 1966, I am happy to accept employment with the Southern Regional Council.

One minor point of clarification about the group medical care policy. Your letter says that coverage begins one month after employment. It is not clear whether this means that the policy is one provided by the Council for employees or one to which employees must contribute in order to be covered. Another point is whether this policy includes maternity benefits or whether a special coverage is necessary for this.

We would like to come to Atlanta later this month to get better acquainted with you, to look into housing, and to see the city. We would like to drive down, arriving in Atlanta Monday, June 27, in the evening and being available Tuesday and early Wednesday, if necessary. Would this be acceptable and convenient?

One final point about availability. I would prefer to keep open the possibility of beginning on September 6, the day after Labor Day rather than September 1 if that should become necessary for the completion of my academic responsibilities here at the university. Is this possible?

Thank you again, and I look forward to our meeting.

Yours truly,

John A. Pecoul, Jr.

John A. Pecoul, Jr.

June 8, 1966

Mr. John Pecoul
2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19121

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of June 2. I am sorry you had difficulty reaching me in Washington.

We are happy to assure you at least two months of employment after any mutual agreement to terminate our arrangement. As you well know and indicate in your letter we do not at all anticipate such a denouement. We are simply in the predicament of having you available for employment at the end of the summer, being confident that you have much to offer this field, and being without a specific, permanent, and suitable position at the moment. I can scarcely imagine that nothing would develop in this fast-changing field that would be mutually satisfactory.

Concerning health insurance and retirement benefits: We have a group policy with Mutual of New York for complete medical care. You and your family would be covered one month after your employment begins. Our retirement plan is one by which SRC contributes four percent of each employee's salary under a tax-shelter plan, also with Mutual of New York. It would not be reasonable to enroll you in this plan on a temporary basis, since it would have no cash value until after two years and is limited to employees of educational institutions and non-profit agencies. However, if you wish to enter or continue a plan that you have through the United Church of Christ, we will contribute four percent of your salary.

We will pay the cost of moving your household goods to Atlanta. We will also work with you on the temporary housing problem. It is possible that satisfactory living arrangements can be made, but if necessary we would go to a modest rent subsidy or pay the cost of storing your furniture.

We are glad to know that the favorable impression was mutual, and we look forward to having you with us. Please let me have your final acceptance at your earliest convenience.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file (Record)

2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
19121

June 2, 1966

Mr Edwin Stanfield
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

I tried to reach you in Washington and could not. I did get through to Paul Anthony and I assume that he related our conversation.

Briefly my concern was over the precise meaning of "temporary and 'open ended'" in your letter and in our conversation as opposed to "a minimum of three months' employment" in your letter. At worst "minimum" meant that if no openings developed in three months, then I would be without a job and adrift in Atlanta. To come on that basis would have forced me to begin looking for a new job "just in case" from the moment I arrived, and would not have allowed me to give full energy and attention to my work and future possibilities with you. I could not come under such an arrangement.

Paul Anthony assured me that you would not "leave me out in the cold" at the end of three months. "Minimum" means just that---at least three months of work and then more until such time as an opening develops or until we mutually agree that I should look elsewhere for work. At that point, I could again begin to look around while I continued to work with you for a brief period. I ask as a basic condition that the termination of employment not come until at least two months after such a mutual agreement. This would be the most unfortunate outcome of our arrangement and it certainly is not the one that I expect to occur.

Nevertheless, I want to prepare some kind of buffer to mitigate the consequence of such a possibility. That is why I make the two month notice a condition of my coming.

The salary rate of $8,000.00 per annum is acceptable, but I have some question about health insurance and retirement benefits in view of my temporary status. Paul Anthony indicated that your present programs would not cover me on a temporary basis. Would you be able to subsidize, in an amount equal to what you would contribute if I were permanent, my participation in other plans for which I am eligible through the United Church of Christ? Some such arrangement would also be a condition of my coming.

One final condition involves something we briefly discussed in Atlanta--the problem of temporary housing and moving expensives. We have very little furniture of our own---barely enough to fill one room.. Nevertheless we would have to move it to Atlanta and store it unless we found temporary housing that was partly furnished with , range, regrigerator, cabinets and so on. We have only a desk, a hide-a-bed, two chairs, a bookcase, a chest, some small appliances and many books. At any rate, as you suggested in Atlanta, I would have to ask for subsidy of moving expenses---which would be minimal--- and of extra costs for rent due to the indefinite time commitment.

Assuming that these conditions can be worked out, I am delighted to accept your offer of employment. I have read all the literature you gave me. What you are doing has stimulated and excited me. The need is obvious and possibilities are immense. To work in the context of the Southern Regional Council comes as close to my fondest hopes as anything could in our kind of world. I take it as a challenge and an honor to join you.

Finally, I should note that the decisive factor for me has been my opinion of you, Paul Anthony, and Dr. Wheeler as formed on the basis of our too brief visits. Quite apart from this outcome of employment the visit was excellent as a re-assurance that people of intellect, imagination, and integrity are deeply involved in crucial ways in making the history of the South change. That is something one hopes is true, but to have that hope confirmed as a fact is invigorating. Vigor has been big with me since 1960.

In short, and less cryptically, I look forward to working with you all as persons as much as I relish tackling the task you have defined.

Thank you once again.

Yours truly,

John A. Pecoul, Jr.

John A. Pecoul, Jr.

September 13, 1966

The Rev. Robert M. Puckett
184 Pine Street
East Aurora, New York

Dear Mr. Puckett:

Mr. Anthony has asked me to write to you concerning your request for reactivation of your application for employment with the Southern Regional Council or a related agency. We have found your biographical information sheet and have placed it in our active file.

We have no appropriate openings either in the office here or in any of the State Human Relations Councils at this time. As a matter of fact, this is rather unusual to have all of our state councils fully staffed. We never know when there will be a vacancy, however, and we shall certainly keep you in mind.

Meanwhile, if you would be interested in working for a government agency, let me suggest that you write to our Mr. Galen Martin, Executive Director, Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, Capitol Building, Frankfort, Kentucky. They are expanding their staff at the present time and might have an opening in which you will be interested.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

September 20, 1966

Public Affairs Research Council
505 Commerce Building
Box 2748
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Gentlemen:

In trying to assess the availability of public affairs information resources in the South, we have come across a number of your publications. We have not found any similar agencies in other southern states and cities and are concerned that they be established elsewhere. Are you aware of any?

We request the following information:

1. Your history from its beginning to the present.

2. Your founders and your present board and/or supervisory individuals.

3. Your past and present sources of financial support: government, individual, foundation, other?

4. The size and academic qualification of your staff.

5. The nature and scope of your research. (Does it include race relations and discrimination?)

Please include the Southern Regional Council on your mailing list for all free publications and send us information on costs for any other materials available.

Sincerely,

John A. Pecoul, Jr.
Research Department

JAP:mlm

September 20, 1966

Bureau of Governmental Research
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 701

Gentlemen:

In trying to assess the availability of public affairs information resources in the South, we have come across a number of your publications. We have not found any similar agencies in other southern states and cities and are concerned that they be established elsewhere. Are you aware of any?

We request the following information:

1. Your history from its beginning to the present.

2. Your founders and your present board and/or supervisory individuals.

3. Your past and present sources of financial support: government, individual, foundation, other?

4. The size and academic qualification of your staff.

5. The nature and scope of your research. (Does it include race relations and discrimination?)

Please include the Southern Regional Council on your mailing list for all free publications and send us information on costs for any other materials available.

Sincerely,

John A. Pecoul, Jr.
Research Department

JAP:mlm

File - Gen. Correspond

September 23, 1966

Mrs. Francis M. Perrin
4515 Lakeview Drive, N. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35810

Dear Marge:

Thank you for your letter letting me know what to expect at the United Church Women's meeting in Huntsville on October 7.

I don't know whether I will come up the night before or leave early enough to get there Friday morning. Also, I am not sure about the possibility of bringing Joyce and Mark with me since Mark is now in school. At any rate, suppose you just leave me to my own devices and I will be sure to get in touch with you when I arrive.

I probably will want to see some people from the local council while I am there.

I had a letter from Jim Tate the other day, and he tells me that things are going very well at the church from his point of view. I realize, of course, that things are never going well in a church from a preacher's wife point of view.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Sept. 18, 1966

Dear Ed,

Thank you for your letter saying that you will speak to the United Church Women. We still feel it is alot for you to do without any funds from the U.C.W.

As it stands now, the meeting will be on Oct. 7th at the Latham Methodist Church on Heatherly Rd. S.E. There is a coffee from 9:30 am. to 10:00 am. The meeting should start at 10:00 with a devotional by the women and then you would have the remaining time. We would suggest about 20 mins and then definitely some time for discussion.

The purpose of our year has been to try to bring into focus those evils are

hoping to do a Christian mission through their work. Our theme has been "Laity in Mission."

Of course the S.R.C. was in N'ville when I asked you, but I still think that there are very few people who are even aware of it and have no idea at all in what you are working towards in race relations. So I feel you could tell about the SRC and how you feel it has a mission for us all.

Our group may vary from 20 to 60 women and we have had a good many Negro women to participate in this group. However, at the meetings it is usually a very small percentage of women from each church.

You might be interested in knowing that First Presbyterian has voted to pull out of U. C. H.

We are helping out at a doctor's office and we doubt if he will be able to be there as much as he would like to be.

Would you like to come over and spend the night of the 6th with us or will you fly in. We would love to have you and Joyce. Let us know your plans and we can have someone like Frank, meet you.

Thank you for considering this undertaking. We would like some info. to give our publicity chr. for paper.

Love best to each of you

and we hope we will get to see you even if we can't get to hear you.

Sincerely,
Margie

We forgot to say that there is a business meeting of the U.C.W. after you speak so we would suggest you close by eleven a.m. or a little after. Thank you.

September 26, 1966

Mr. Daniel M. Paul, Director
Atlanta Field Office
U. S. Department of Commerce
400 Home Savings Building
75 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Paul:

Thank you for your September 23 acknowledgment to our request and remittance to cover a number of your documents.

Please change your records to show that all future documents intended for us be sent to the attention of our Research Department at the above address, and not to the Field Director.
Thank you for your attention.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Mary Lee McCallister
Sec'y. to Director of Field Activities

~~E S please answer - also refer him to Campbell + Morris~~

SOUTHWESTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
P. O. BOX 22068
FORT WORTH, TEXAS, 76122

Oct. 3, 1966

file

BILL PINSON
CHRISTIAN ETHICS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Abingdon Press has agreed to serve as publisher of a book entitled A History of American Preaching.

The committee in charge of preparing the book has asked me to write a chapter entitled "Preaching on Civil Rights and Race Relations since 1954."

Would you please help me on this project in the following ways:

1. Send any information you have related to "Preaching on Civil Rights and Race Relations since 1954." Especially do I need sermons which have been preached on the subject. I will be happy to receive such sermons in any form (on tape, mimeographed, typewritten, printed, or in longhand).

2. Evaluate preaching on this issue as seen from your perspective. (For example, has there been much preaching on this subject? Too much? Too little? What changes have you noted about such preaching since 1954? In quantity? In emphasis? Which religious groups have been outspoken in favor of segregation? Of de-segregation? Which have been silent?)

Your replying to my request within the next two weeks will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Pinson

Bill Pinson

BP/kh

October 13, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlies Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,000.00, the quarterly payment due on our Rural Advancement Project grant to the Georgia Council.

Please sign the enclosed copy and return it to me at your convenience.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

Enclosures: check
carbon copy

TENTATIVE AGENDA

REGION IV
Family Planning Conference
Biltmore Hotel - Atlanta, Georgia

November 16 - 17, 1966

Wednesday, November 16, 1966

8:00 a.m.	Registration
9:30 a.m.	Opening of the Conference - Mr. William J. Page, Jr., Regional Director, Region IV, DHEW, presiding.
	Keynote Address: Dr. Philip R. Lee, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, DHEW
10:30 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:45 a.m. =	First General Session: "FAMILY PLANNING TODAY" - Dr. C. J. Martin, Assistant Regional Commissioner, Office of Education, DHEW, Region IV, presiding.
	"SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF FAMILY PLANNING" - Miss Geraldine Gourley, Associate Professor of Maternal and Child Health, School of Public Health, University of North Carolina
	"FAMILY PLANNING AND FAMILY HEALTH" - Dr. Newton Long, Director, Maternal and Infant Care Project, Grady Memorial Hospital, Atlanta - Associate Professor, Gynecology and Obstetrics, Emory University School of Medicine.
	"FAMILY PLANNING: A CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION" - (speaker to be announced)
12:15 p.m.	Luncheon
1:45 p.m.	Second General Session: "ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS: A LOOK AT FAMILY PLANNING IN VARIOUS SETTINGS"

Dr. H. B. Cottrell, Regional Health Director, PHS-DHEW, Region IV, presiding.

"FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES IN AN OUT-PATIENT CLINIC SETTING" - Dr. Carl Tyler, Epidemic Intelligence Service Consultant in Family Planning, Grady Memorial Hospital.

"THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AGENCY'S ROLE IN FAMILY PLANNING" - Mr. Jack Pearson, Supervisor of Community Organization, Tennessee State Department of Public Welfare, Nashville, Tennessee.

"A STATE-WIDE PROGRAM OF FAMILY PLANNING" - Dr. Hilla Sheriff, Director, Maternal and Child Health, South Carolina State Department of Health, Columbia, S. C.

"FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES PROVIDED BY A VOLUNTARY AGENCY" - Mr. Russell H. Richardson, Southeastern Regional Director, Planned Parenthood-World Population, Atlanta.

3:15 p.m. Coffee Break

3:30 p.m. Group Discussions in Small Groups

Thursday, November 17, 1966

9:00 a.m. Third General Session: "RESOURCES TO SUPPORT FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS" - Mr. Wave L. Perry, Regional Representative, BFS-WA, DHEW, Region IV, presiding.

"OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY" - Dr. Frank Sloan, Director, Southeastern Region, OEO, Atlanta.

"CHILDREN'S BUREAU" - Dr. John Leslie, Regional Medical Director, Division of Health Services, CB-WA, DHEW, Region IV.

"PRIVATE AGENCIES" - Mr. Robert Browning, Project Consultant, East Coast Migrant Project, Madison, Florida.

	"FAMILY SERVICES, WELFARE ADMINISTRATION" - Mrs. Freddie Hope, Associate Regional Representative, BFS-WA, DHEW, Region IV.
10:30 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:45 a.m.	Group Discussions in Small Groups
12:00 Noon	Luncheon Mr. Robert W. Brown, Assistant Regional Director, DHEW, Region IV, presiding. Luncheon Speaker: Dr. Alexander D. Langmuir, Chief, Epidemiology Branch, CDC, DHEW.
1:30 p.m.	Fourth General Session: Dr. John T. Leslie, Regional Medical Director, Division of Health Services, CB-WA, Region IV, presiding. "THE GOAL: ACCESSIVE AND EFFECTIVE FAMILY PLANNING" - Dr. Michael Newton, Director, American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Chicago, Illinois.
2:15 p.m.	Summary Reports - Group Discussions
3:00 p.m.	"THE CHALLENGE" - Mr. William J. Page, Regional Director, DHEW, Region IV.
3:30 p.m.	Adjournment

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Regional Conference on Family Planning
Atlanta, Georgia
November 16-17, 1966

Administrative Arrangements

SITE: All conference sessions will be held at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, 817 West Peachtree Street, N. E., Telephone 875-3461.

SESSIONS: General Sessions will be held in the Main Ballroom, Lobby Floor.

Group Discussion room locations will be at various locations throughout the hotel. You will receive further information at time of registration.

REGISTRATION: For the convenience of conferees and to speed registration, a registration desk will be in operation adjacent to the Main Ballroom from 4:00 p.m. until 7:00 p.m. on November 15. Additional registrations will be accomplished beginning at 8:00 a.m., November 16 at the same location.

A fee of $4.00, which will include one officially scheduled luncheon and other incidental expenses, will be collected at the time of registration. Conferees will arrange other meals and hotel accommodations on an individual basis. Meals may be secured in the hotel and at several nearby establishments.

EXPENSES: We regret that Federal funds are not available to meet the cost of attendance of conferees.

ATTENDANCE REPLY CARD: Prompt return of the reply card indicating intentions regarding attendance will enable us to have information kits prepared in advance and available upon registration. Your cooperation of an early reply will be appreciated.

INFORMATION: Additional information regarding conference arrangements may be obtained by telephoning, Area Code 404, 526-5478, or by mail addressed to: Mr. Robert W. Brown, Assistant Regional Director, Department of Health, Education, & Welfare, Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30323

October 31, 1966

Mr. William J. Page, Jr.
Regional Director
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Page:

Thank you very much for the invitation to attend the conference on family planning at the Biltmore, November 16-17. I am very glad that the Department is sponsoring such conferences and I certainly would like to attend.

Unfortunately, the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council is scheduled for November 16-18, beginning with an executive committee meeting at 10:00 A.M. on the 16th. We are meeting, incidentally, at the Biltmore, but I am afraid that our schedule will make it impossible for me to attend any of the family planning conference.

Best wishes,

E. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Region IV
Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

OFFICE OF
THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

October 26, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Region IV of this Department, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, will hold a conference on family planning at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta on November 16 and 17. You are invited to attend and participate in this conference.

The purpose of the conference is to bring together leaders in the fields of health, welfare, education, and general community development to deal with problems of services and support for local family planning and health programs.

The President and Congressional leaders have emphasized the importance of making available information and services that will allow an individual the freedom to follow his own conscience in this vital matter. It is the objective of this Department to improve the health and welfare of the people, to strengthen the integrity of the family and to provide families the freedom of choice to determine the spacing of their children and the size of their families.

I believe that this conference will contribute significantly toward achieving the above objectives by delineating the methods by which programs acceptable to all may be developed and supported in the community. I sincerely hope that your schedule will permit you to attend.

Enclosed are a proposed program, an outline of administrative arrangements, a hotel reservation card, and a reply card. Please indicate whether you will attend, and I would advise that early hotel reservations be made.

Your prompt response relative to your attendance will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Page, Jr.

William J. Page, Jr.,
Regional Director

Enclosures

ALA JERRY RODEN

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

June 24, 1965

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Dear Ed:

Spare-ribs often give me indigestion. Such was the case today when I called you, but I wasn't aware of the fact when I placed the call, or even thereafter until I started burping. Despite the acuteness of the attack, all is well now. I got relief by direct communication with the fine young fellow listed above. Decided to cut straight through the maternal protectiveness from several sources that has prevented man to man understanding. Am glad that I did. Believe that he really sees that we can work together now, just as you and he did. That's my chief goal at the moment along with establishing complete rapport with Lewis, and I don't anticipate any problems there. Think we--Lewis and I--made a good start last Monday and am looking forward to further contacts next week. By the way, I paid you a compliment with that "that's my chief goal." I don't hand them out like that very often. But I meant it--You are quite welcome. The new secretary isn't on the job yet; so the lousy typing is all mine. Besides this ain't the kind of letter that one puts in a file--and I hope you won't. But it doesn't matter if you do, nobody would ever believe and that an English major wrote it, and not even a New Critic could decipher it. If you have trouble, just reduce it to <u>everything is O.K.</u> and we will soon be on our way.

Thanks,

Jerry

P. S. I am stone sober, but am asking my wife to witness this statement--just in case of doubt. She is a notary public, but I don't consider it worth the extra cost to get her to affix her seal.

Witnessed by: Rebecca H. Roden
Notary Public

February 22, 1966

Mr. Peter C. Robertson
Executive Director
Missouri Commission on Human Rights
P.O. Box 1129
Jefferson City, Missouri 65102

Dear Mr. Robertson:

At the request of Paul Anthony I am replying to your letter of February 9, in which you ask about a grant for the Boot Heel area of Missouri.

The $300,000 grant to SRC which you mentioned covers a three year period and is solely for aid to the several councils on human relations -- that is, the state organizations affiliated with SRC. I believe that this would eliminate the possibility of a grant to help provide a staff for the five county Booth Heel organization.

However, we do administer special projects in voter education, school desegregation, community organization, labor relations, and urban planning. It is possible that we would be able occasionally to provide consultants or pay expenses for consultants in these areas of concern to the five county association.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

MISSOURI
Commission on
HUMAN RIGHTS

312 E. Capitol Ave. P.O. Box 1129 Jefferson City, Mo. 65102 635-7223 AC 314

WARREN E. HEARNES, Governor
FORREST P. CARSON, Chairman
PETER C. ROBERTSON, Executive Director

February 9, 1966

Rec'd 2/11/66

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Walk
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I was pleased to see the United Press Dispatch recently indicating you have received a $300,000 grant to strengthen the professional staffs of human relations councils in eleven Southern states. Is it possible that cities in the five county Boot Heel area of Missouri could qualify for such a grant?

Sincerely,

Peter C. Robertson
Executive Director

PCR:m

We have such a group in formation and they need help.

The Commission

JOSEPH L. AMES
St. Louis
CLARENCE M. BARKSDALE
St. Louis County
MISS LUCILE BLUFORD
Kansas City
FORREST P. CARSON
Jefferson City
ARTHUR C. FULBRIGHT
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MRS. REBA S. MOSBY
St. Louis
WILLIAM P. MURPHY
Columbia
LEO W. RINEY
Hannibal
MRS. ROBERT SEILER
Joplin

February 22, 1966

Miss Caroline C. Ramsay
Program Analyst
Field Services Division
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Miss Ramsay:

Paul Anthony has referred to me your letter of February 10th. Enclosed is a list of state councils on human relations, their addresses, and the names of their staff persons.

The names of Rural Advancement Project Directors should be added to the staffs of four state councils. They may be reached at the mailing adress. They are:

Mr. Lewis Black, Alabama
Mr. LaVert Taylor, Florida
Mr. Hubert Thomas, Georgia
Mr. L. S. James, South Carolina

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Rec'd 2/14/66

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

February 10, 1966

E S - please answer

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In an effort to better inform regional, state, and local civil rights and other civic groups of Commission activities in the various states, the Field Services Division is compiling a nationwide list of paid civil rights workers. We would appreciate receiving from your office the names of staff members on the various Human Relations Councils which are affiliated with your Council. We would like to secure, as well, a list of full-time workers on local council, if this is possible.

Thank you for your cooperation and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Caroline C. Ramsay

Caroline C. Ramsay
Program Analyst
Field Services Division

Hope all goes well with you. Come visit us in the snowy "North"!

March 28, 1966

Mrs. Tom Ragland
3821 Abbot Martin Road
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Martha:

Thanks for your help during my visit to Nashville last week.

After talking to you Wednesday morning I had an interview with Dr. Tarleton. He was reassuring about the problem of regularizing procedures and seemed to think that the new secretary would be a lot of help.

I am concerned about one thing that he told me, however. He said that some of the new grant-in-aid money intended to help hire the second staffer had been used to pay regular expenses. In assuring me that this would be "paid back" he said that he was going to withhold Baxton's salary until there was enough income to make up the difference. His reason was that money-raising is Baxton's responsibility.

I feel that this is unfair (although I refrained from saying as much to Dr. Tarleton) for two reasons. First, despite Baxton's boast, which you also quoted to me, it is not really fair to expect Baxton to raise money single-handedly; this is partly the responsibility of the Board and local officers, also. Second, if the Board feels that Baxton's leadership in this regard is inadequate, it seems to me that the forthright thing to do would be to terminate

his employment, perhaps after a reasonable trial at improvement. The withholding of an agreed-upon salary does not seem to me to be a proper solution under any circumstances.

Dr. Tarleton's comment took me by surprise, and I did not react immediately. I wonder if you might bring it up with him. Tell him that I was concerned about it, if you like. I leave this to your discretion, of course. But I would favor paying salaries regularly, even if it meant "borrowing from Peter to pay Paul," until we can reach some solution at the meeting on April 16.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Baxton in which I agree to attend the April 16 meeting. I am assuming that this will be all right with you, but if it isn't, just let me know.

Warm good wishes,

S.E.A. F.O.A.P. B.O.N.D.

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 5, 1966

Mr. Marvin Rich
CORE Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund, Inc.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1707
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Rich:

Please send me 100 copies each of your information sheet and application form for Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarships. We would like to supply a few to each state council on human relations in the South.

Many thanks.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 12, 1966

Mrs. Martha Ragland
3821 Abbot Martin Rd.
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Martha;

This is just to let you know my schedule on Saturday. I shall arrive on Eastern, Flight 639 at 7:20 a.m. and leave Nashville at 11:30 p.m.

The 11:30 p.m. flight was the only night plane, and I thought I should allow time for any conferences that you or Baxton or other Board members might feel to be needed.

I look forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Baxton Bryant

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 21, 1966

Mr. Arthur Reese, National Director
AFT Freedom School Project
Detroit Federation of Teachers
8845 Puritan Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48238

Dear Mr. Reese:

Please send me fifteen (15) copies of your flyers "An Introduction to the Freedom School Project" and "Freedom School--General Information."

We would like to pass this information along to the directors of our state councils on human relations.

In order that you may contact the state councils directly, if you wish, I enclose a list of addresses.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
Encl.

June 6, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden
513 Moores Mill Road
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Jerry:

I expect to be seeing you on Saturday, of course, but just to be sure that this gets on the docket: Enclosed is a leaflet about the Community Leadership Development Laboratory to be held in Atlanta July 24-31. We think this could be valuable training for state council directors, so SRC has offered to pay $150.00--approximately half of the cost--to encourage each state council to send a staff person. I think it would be good if you could attend.

I don't know whether Bob is interested or not, but am inclined to think that, at this point, you need it worse than he does! Anyway, let's talk about it over dinner Saturday evening.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

June 8, 1966

Dr. Emory Rand
1001 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28208

Dear Dr. Rand:

I was happy to hear from Miss Roberta Blackwell that you will be attending our meeting at the Biltmore Hotel here in Atlanta on June 17 and 18.

Enclosed are copies of two memorandums concerning this meeting which will help you to understand our purpose. Hopefully I shall be sending next week a copy of a position paper we want to have discussed.

I look forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

June 28, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden
513 Moores Mill Road
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Jerry:

Yours of June 24 was <u>some</u> <u>letter</u> -- considering that it came out of a dry county. I'm glad everything is O.K.

We received a card from The Reverend R. E. Davis of Our Redeemer Lutheran Church, 2810 Atlanta Highway, Montgomery, Alabama asking for 100 copies of one of our older publications and inquiring, "Who is Leslie W. Dunbar?" If you don't already know about this guy, maybe it would be worthwhile looking him up when you are in Montgomery.

Keep me posted on developments.

Best wishes,

Ed Stanfield
Director Field Activities

EB/km

ES

via air mail

July 27, 1966

Mrs. J. Robert Reynolds
Secretary
Unitarian Universalist Association
25 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Dear Mrs. Reynolds:

Please forgive me the delay in responding to your letter of July 1, and the "Statement of Consensus on Racial Justice." A heavy travel schedule has prevented me from reading it until recently. It is an excellent statement, and all who were a part of framing and approving it are to be commended.

It is being shared with our staff along with your good offer that we may make use of it in any way we see fit.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 7/5/66

(2) ES

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

OF CHURCHES AND FELLOWSHIPS IN NORTH AMERICA

25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108 — Area Code 617 742-2100

MRS. J. ROBERT REYNOLDS
Secretary

July 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wish to call your attention to a significant action taken by the delegates to the recent Fifth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association in the field of racial justice.

The 821 delegates assembled at Hollywood, Florida, on May 20, adopted, with but three dissenting votes, a comprehensive Statement of Consensus on Racial Justice which we feel is especially timely as the Congress considers the Civil Rights Act of 1966. The Statement of Consensus reflects the preponderance of opinion of the denomination, its members and its churches, on the problems of segregation and discrimination, racial violence and the administration of justice, the franchise, education, housing, employment, public accomodations and facilities, federal-aid programs, demonstrations and civil disobedience, interracial marriage and adoption, personal associations, integration of the churches and ministry.

While it is believed this Statement will stand as a guide to our actions as a church body for a long time to come, it is contemplated that it will be open to revision when occasion demands.

Please feel free to make what use of this Statement you deem wise and to comment upon it if you feel so moved.

Yours very truly,

Rosamond C. Reynolds
Mrs. J. Robert Reynolds

Enclosure

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST STATEMENT OF CONSENSUS ON RACIAL JUSTICE

Inasmuch as one of the purposes and objectives of the Unitarian Universalist Association, as stated in Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution, is "To affirm, defend and promote the supreme worth of every human personality, the dignity of man, and the use of the democratic method in human relationships"; and

Inasmuch as the General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association of 1962 affirmed that segregation and discrimination, wherever practiced, continue to be a matter of major national and international concern and reflect attitudes contrary to moral, religious and ethical commitments;

Unitarian Universalists pledge themselves to:

Work to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination and segregation in their churches and fellowships and to encourage the integration of congregations and of the Unitarian Universalist ministry, and

Work for integration in all phases of life in the community.

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

The 1962 General Assembly's resolution also continues "Such discrimination is economically wasteful and psychologically destructive to members both of majority and minority groups. The treatment of a large part of our population as second-class citizens and the indignities to which they are subjected destroy confidence in the moral leadership of the United States.

In spite of the passage of Civil Rights Acts in 1957 and 1960, the comprehensive Civil Rights Acts of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, inequalities of treatment and opportunity continue to exist in American society. While these inequalities affect members of all minority groups, attention has been focussed on the special problems of the Negro minority in the United States. Negro citizens and other persons engaged in the civil rights movement find themselves at the mercy of individuals who hope to prevent progress toward full equality of the races by resorting to physical violence and acts of terrorism, and the victims are often denied justice when they face all-white courts and juries.

A double standard of justice exists in some communities and states. All-white police forces, court officials, judges and juries, and segregated courtrooms and jails have operated to deprive minority group persons of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the United States Constitution. In everyday terms this means, at the least, harrassment and discourtesy from law officers and, at the most, summary trials without adequate counsel, and severe and unreasonable sentences or fines meted out, especially where the offense may be committed against a white man. Conversely, whites accused of crimes of violence against minority group persons or civil rights workers of any race, are acquitted by prejudiced juries or otherwise treated leniently, especially in the South.

Members of the minority races and ethnic groups find much public school education still segregated in defiance of the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision. They find doors to fair employment opportunities still closed in many places, face uneven compliance with the public accommodations part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and see authorities in some places closing rather than opening public facilities to all groups.

Probably the most difficult hurdle, aside from jobs and education, continues to be housing where the Northern Negro especially finds himself confined to the decaying neighborhoods of the central city and the avenues of escape to the white suburbs effectively blocked by restrictive real estate practices. The Federal Government, though possessing the power under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to cut off the flow of Federal funds to programs and activities in the states which are administered in a discriminatory manner, has not chosen to exercise this power to any significant extent.

A whole private area of American life, including club associations, fraternal memberships, and, shamefully, church membership, remains almost totally segregated. Several states maintain laws forbidding racial intermarriage, thus arbitrarily interfering in the most sacred of human relationships.

Much remains to be done to implement the concern of Unitarian Universalists for the supreme worth of every human personality and the dignity of man.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The rise of violence in the political and social conflicts of American life endangers freedom of speech and assembly essential to democratic society. These freedoms and, in general, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are, and have been, Federal rights of all citizens since the founding of the Republic. To secure these freedoms, the President should appoint a commission to investigate the collapse of law in such acts of terrorism and make remedial recommendations wherever constitutional rights are denied. The local police should invite the assistance of the FBI in cases of terrorism.

The Justice Department should press with renewed vigor the prosecution under existing law of those guilty of the beatings, the shootings, the bombings and the killings. The President is urged to recommend and the Congress to enact new Federal legislation at the earliest moment to protect the security of the individual from assault or threatened assault upon his person or property, where that assault has a racial purpose or effect, and to provide civil damages for the victim of such assault.

State and local officials are urged to curb police brutality, to institute human relations programs in local and state police departments, and to end the use of unwarranted curfews wherever they exist. Support is also urged for Federal legislation to protect individuals against unreasonable use of force by law enforcement officers and to make such law enforcement officers and their civilian superiors liable for civil damage suits for unnecessary and unreasonable use of force resulting in physical injury. Enforcement officers formally charged with unlawful violation of the rights of persons should be suspended from their duties pending trial. Local civilian review boards to hear complaints of police brutality should be established.

The Department of Justice should enforce existing laws such as the 1875 statute making jury discrimination punishable by fine of up to $5,000, and seek new legislation making for a uniform system of choosing jurors which will fairly reflect the racial composition of the court's jurisdiction. Also, legislation forbidding discrimination in appointment of court officers and police is needed.

The Justice Department and Federal Bureau of Investigation should make on-the-spot arrests where constitutional rights are being violated by local law enforcement officers or other persons, as they are empowered to do under existing law.

The President of the United States should appoint men to the Federal judiciary who are free of racial prejudice and who do not owe their political careers to the system of white supremacy.

Other needed reforms to assure equal protection of the law include support for public defenders for the indigent, installment paying of fines, and limits on excessive bail.

THE FRANCHISE

The right to vote is elemental in our American society. Efforts by the Federal Government to implement the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 should be supported so that all obstacles to the right to vote may be removed in localities where they still exist.

The efforts of private citizens in voter-registration campaigns should be supported and the Department of Justice should be vigilant to extend the protection of the law to these workers so that intimidation of any kind will not delay, hamper, impede, or pervert the exercise of the franchise.

Federal voting examiners should be used in every county in which discrimination still exists. Federal authorities should also observe voting subsequent to registration to make sure that once registered, persons are not prevented by any device from voting, and that their votes, once cast, shall be accurately tallied.

EDUCATION

Denial of equal opportunities for education on account of race or color continues to be widespread though several years have intervened since the historic Supreme Court declaration of 1954 that the United States Constitution forbids it. Such disregard for the supreme law of the land presents a moral crisis no less than that resulting from the violation of the human rights involved. Public schools should be promptly integrated at all levels.

Since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is no longer necessary for the Executive Branch to rely on the Federal Courts for implementation. Therefore, the Office of Education should move speedily to require desegregation and integration of the nation's public schools, North and South, and to use the powers granted under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to withhold Federal-aid funds from school districts which continue to segregate white from minority group pupils. "Freedom of choice" plans achieve only token integration and leave minority group parents who exercise "free choice" exposed, in many localities, to intimidation and reprisals.

De facto segregation of schools is as unconscionable and harmful as formal segregation is unconstitutional. Citizens and government on all levels should work to correct discriminatory racial imbalance and improve the quality of education in the public schools.

We urge adequate preparation of teachers in the field of human relations so that they may give meaningful instruction in human relations and we encourage federal and state authorities to work towards that end.

Preschool education for socially disadvantaged and culturally deprived children should be a necessary preparation for school integration.

HOUSING

Comprehensive open-occupancy legislation should be enacted at all levels and such legislation should embody firm and unambiguous enforcement procedures. The President of the United States should be encouraged to extend the President's Executive Order No. 11063 on Equal Opportunity in Housing to include all mortgage loans made by financing institutions which are regulated or supervised by the Federal Government and that the Order cover federally-assisted housing, not just that built after November 20, 1962; and that more adequate funds be appropriated for the vigorous enforcement of the Executive Order.

Furthermore, members of our churches and fellowships should support such legislation at the state and municipal levels. In order to make such legislation effective, individual Unitarian Universalists should introduce into every phase of the acquisition, purchase, building, financing, and occupancy of real property the banning of discrimination due to race, religion, or nationality. Legislation should be encouraged, consistent with the objectives of open occupancy, to curb panic selling or block-busting.

Our churches and fellowships and individual members should undertake active efforts with others in their own communities for the integration of their own neighborhoods and our members should scrutinize off-campus or sorority and fraternity housing in colleges and universities as it affects minority students or foreign students and other students and seek to eliminate discrimination.

Our churches and fellowships should call upon their individual members to make all housing, urban and suburban, new or old, which they control as owners, dealers, brokers, builders, or mortgagors, available to any qualified person, without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin; and should call upon all real estate dealers, brokers, and mortgagors, to do the same. Educational programs and other activities should be encouraged to promote equality of opportunity in housing.

Churches and fellowships should take the initiative in their communities to use funds provided in Section 221 (d) (3) of the Federal Housing Act. This enables non profit groups, including churches and fellowships, either to build low-cost housing open to all groups or to renovate slum dwellings.

There is promise in the proposal of some urban authorities to slow down the building of mass low-cost public housing in or adjacent to racial ghettoes, thus reinforcing patterns of de facto segregation, and instead to scatter new low-cost housing in upper and middle-income white residential areas, thus integrating both neighborhoods and schools. To be commended also is the new federal program to subsidize the purchase and rental of a percentage of publicly subsidized middle-income housing for low-income families. Plans for the renewal of present ghetto areas should ultimately include provision for their integration. Unitarian Universalists should be involved in helping to win acceptance and support of such programs.

EMPLOYMENT

Discrimination in employment stifles individual initiative and wastes valuable human resources. Government at all levels should enact strong legislation to assure equal opportunity in employment in the conditions of labor and in hiring and

firing procedures and in training and apprenticeship programs. Compensation should be nondiscriminatory. No person should be discriminated against on the basis of race, religion, national origin, or sex.

The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, activated in July 1965, should be given the power to issue cease and desist orders against employers who practice job discrimination. In the meantime, the Department of Justice should move to use its power under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 of filing suits to secure equal opportunity, where it finds a pattern or practice of discrimination. The Department of Defense and other government agencies should be urged to use, whenever necessary, the powers granted under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to bar bidding on contracts, or otherwise withhold funds, from those who practice racial discrimination in employment.

Unitarian Universalists as employers, should practice equality of opportunity, both in private enterprise and in public positions they may hold; and churches and fellowships are encouraged to hire members of minority races or nationalities in their institutions.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS AND FACILITIES

Freedom of access to places of public accommodation and public facilities is an essential condition to fulfillment of the ideal of human dignity. The individual must be free to seek food, drink, and lodging, to enjoy equal access to the marketplace, and to find recreation and nourishment.

Members of Unitarian Universalist churches are urged to use their personal influence in their local communities to secure service without discrimination in all places of public accommodation.

Progress has been made since the first student sit-ins of 1960 and since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in generally opening to all races, hotels, motels, restaurants and lunch counters, public libraries, museums, hospitals, parks, sports arenas, and theatres. However, in the 1964 Act, retail businesses, as such, are exempt from coverage, unless they have eating facilities, and clothing stores and barbershops are exempt unless they are part of a hotel facility. Spectator sports are covered, but consumer sports such as bowling lanes, swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, and golf ranges, privately owned but open to the public for profit, are also not covered. Legislation should be enacted at all levels of government to correct these weaknesses in the federal law.

FEDERAL-AID PROGRAMS

The Federal Government, which has been moving steadily forward in advancing the rights of its citizens, through a series of legislative acts and court decisions, should not continue to subsidize segregation and discrimination through its Federal-aid programs.

A powerful weapon for enforcement of civil rights is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits discrimination in all Federally-assisted programs. This section should be used less timidly and sparingly. Unnecessary delays in compliance are countenanced by the regulations issued by a number of departments and agencies. This part of the Civil Rights Act should be revitalized.

The use of Executive Orders to direct all federal agencies to administer federal programs without discrimination should be extended; the Federal Government should withhold the expenditure of federal funds from such state or local programs and agencies which discriminate against persons on the basis of race or religion in the granting or disbursement of their facilities, property, finances, or services.

Federal hospital and nursing home construction funds provided under the Hill-Burton Act should be withdrawn from institutions that practice discrimination against minority group persons.

DEMONSTRATIONS AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The people have the constitutional right peacefully to assembly to petition for redress of grievances. Every protection of the law should be extended to secure this right for civil rights demonstrators and to protect them against individual, mob, or police violence. Injunctive power should be granted to the Attorney General to protect the constitutional rights of petition and assembly.

Individuals should be defended in their right to engage in nonviolent demonstrations and should be supported in the exercise of their moral choice to engage in responsible civil disobedience for greater racial justice.

INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE AND ADOPTION

Marriage between two persons is a sacred human institution. Persons who enter into the marriage bond should be able to do so with complete freedom of choice, since the choice of a marriage partner is a personal, not a public, decision. All laws which prohibit, inhibit or hamper marriage or cohabitation between persons because of different races, religions, or national origins should be nullified or repealed.

Adoption agencies are evidencing a more open attitude regarding the adoption of children of races other than that of the adoptive parents. This new attitude is commendable, especially in view of the pressing need of adoptive homes for children of mixed or minority races.

PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS

All Unitarian Universalists should refrain wherever possible from joining any and all organizations which discriminate on the basis of race, creed, and national origin and all individuals should work for the elimination of discrimination in any organization of which they are already members.

Individuals should work in human relations councils and similar groups formed to further better understanding among people and should improve their practices in all areas of human relationships.

INTEGRATION OF THE CHURCHES AND MINISTRY

The Commission on Religion and Race is reaffirmed and its duty shall continue to be to explore, develop, stimulate, and implement programs and actions to promote the complete integration of Negroes and other minority persons into our congregations, denominational life and ministry and into the community.

The Unitarian Universalist ministry should become integrated as rapidly as possible. This goal is essential for the denomination as a whole, for the individual churches, and for individual laymen as well as for the clergymen involved. This goal can be reached through special efforts in the recruitment, training, and settlement of Negroes and members of other minority groups. The denomination--its departments, churches, and agencies--should give this goal a high priority. The denomination needs the services of trained Negro ministers as much as, and probably more than, these ministers need opportunities within the denomination.

Integration of our congregations is a countinuing goal. Efforts beyond the mere declaration of open membership may be necessary if congregations are to become truly inclusive: use of the communications media, including the ethnic press, personal invitations to friends to attend services and meetings, and most importantly, the active involvement of the congregation and minister in the human rights movement.

The sincerity of our commitment to racial justice will be proven by our response, as a denomination and as members of churches and fellowships, to a variety of tests. Congregations are urged to include members of ethnic minorities in leadership positions on church boards, committees, religious education and youth programs, and other church activities. The content of programs for youth and adults should reflect our concern for human brotherhood. Particular attention should be paid to the religious education curriculum so that textbooks and instruction promote the goal of integration. Exchange programs with Negro churches, groups, and individuals should be encouraged. Employment of staff, purchase of supplies, contracting for building, purchase, sale, rental, or use of property, should all be done with the church or fellowship always making the stipulation that it practices integration and that it does business only with firms which practice integration in their hiring and other policies. Each church or fellowship should examine its investments and loans and do business only with firms which are non-discriminatory and integrationist in their employment practices. Churches and fellowships should patronize places of public accommodation which are open to all.

This consensus is adopted by the 1966 General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, consisting of a broadly representative group of laymen and ministers. This consensus reflects a substantial preponderance of opinion, although not necessarily unanimity on all points, of the majority of individuals present at the General Assembly and presumably of a substantial majority of members of our local churches and fellowships. Since this denomination cherishes and recognizes the freedom of individual members, this consensus does not presume to speak for all delegates to the General Assembly or all members of our Unitarian Universalist churches and fellowships. We recognize that strong differences of opinion may exist on specific questions among sincere and thoughtful Unitarian Universalists notwithstanding their common religious affiliation.

AS ADOPTED BY THE FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION AT HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA, MAY 20, 1966. THE VOTE TO ADOPT WAS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS.

15

September 19, 1966

Mrs. Jane Reed
2612 Arrow Wood
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Jane:

I mentioned the maid's union at Huntsville to Emory Via, Director of our Labor Project. He suggests that you telephone him collect and the two of you can discuss the situation briefly. If it then seems advisable, he would be happy to visit and offer any assistance.

Al Ulmer, Director of our Community Organization Project, is out of the office today but Emory or I will talk to him when he gets back. It is possible he will participate in this effort, also.

I greatly enjoyed our conversations during and after the meeting in Birmingham on Saturday.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

LPA
ES.

September 25, 1966

Dear Ed:

Somehow I misplaced the travel expense form that you gave us over there the other day. Will you kindly send me another? (I guess request -- found it and am enclosing.)

Overall, I thought that the meeting was excellent--even though Paul Anthony's report cast a pall over it. Paul's statements seemed to affect me adversely more than most of the others to whom I talked, and that may have been so only because they confirmed a fear that I already had as the result of watching some national trends. I hope that something on this subject will be forthcoming in a form that we can send it on to the chapters.

By the way, Professor O. T. Ivey mentioned to me that he has placed Southern Regional Council in his will with the Alabama Council to be a partial beneficiary. I hope that we don't benefit from that will for a long, long time--for Turner Ivey is a tremendously valuable human being. But the point is that he wants me to find out whether certain correspondence that he had with SRC on that subject is safely filed and whether the wishes expressed in it will be respected when the time comes. It seems important to him to know that--and thus it is important to me to find out when you have time to drop a line or the next time that I see you.

Yes - will honor - have lawyer draw up -

Thanks for your continued fine work.

Sincerely,

Jerry

Jerry Roden, Jr.

PA - Can you check this and write to Jerry?
Ed

October 4, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden
513 Moores Mill Road
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Jerry:

Thanks for your letter of September 25.

I agree that Paul Anthony's report was not a cheerful one, but in view of the political events of last week in Georgia I would have to say that he may have been optimistic. Really, it strikes me that vigorous viewing-with-alarm is in order.

Yes, we do have safely filed O. T. Ivey's correspondence concerning his bequest to S.R.C. and the Alabama Council. As Les Dunbar indicated in his reply, S.R.C. will honor his wishes fully. However, we still urge that the will- and this part of it- be prepared by an Alabama attorney, if it has not been so prepared.

We have a copy of a letter to you from Deborah Cole of the Norman Fund. As I suggested at the Board meeting, you and Bob should keep in mind the possible avialability of this money for any special need.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

file

October 12, 1966

Mr. J. R. Rutter
3512 Plumwood Road
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Rutter:

Vernon Jordan and I have discussed your request for a speaker at your annual meeting, and he has given me a copy of his reply to your letter of September 30.

If you can make-do with me as a substitute for Vernon, I shall be happy to come. Of the dates you mention, November 22 would be best for me. I could arrange to come on November 11, also, or November 19.

I have tentatively reserved November 22 for this engagement and will await further information from you.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

cc: Vernon Jordan
Baxton Bryant

ES

October 11, 1966

Mr. J. R. Rutter
3512 Plumwood Road
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Rutter:

This is a belated response to your letter of September 30, requesting our services to secure for the Knoxville Council on Human Relations a speaker for your annual meeting in November. I would like very much to come myself, but because of a jammed calendar I cannot do so at this time. I hope, however, the Council will give me a rain check.

I have discussed your needs with Edwin Standfield, Director of Field Activities for SRC. It appears that Mr. Stanfield can speak to your annual meeting, and will be happy to do so if you want him to. I am giving him your letter and he will be in touch with you within the next few days.

We in the Voter Education Project will also be in touch with you regarding our plans for programs in the Knoxville area comes next spring.

Thanks for your splendid cooperation with us this past summer.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm

3512 Plumwood Road
Knoxville, Tennessee
September 30, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

RECEIVED
OCT 3 - 1966

Attention: Mr. Vernon Jordan

Dear Mr. Jordan:

The local Council on Human Relations has been in existence only 18 months. In some respects we have accomplished great things, in others very little. Those things we have accomplished have through the determined efforts of individual members rather than planned group efforts.

We have only 56 members and many of them are financial members only. We need many more financial members, but we need a greater number of active members as well. Because some of us are noisy and others are articulate the power structure thinks we have a much larger membership. We have a voting seat on the Community Action Committee and the Mayor and School Superintendent grant us audiences almost any time we wish.

The reason for the foregoing is that we think you can help us grow by providing us with a speaker for our annual meeting in November. We plan a dinner meeting for the board of directors and nominees with an early adjournment to the regular meeting with the public invited. I think, with the proper press releases, etc. we might attract a fair crowd and some new members.

Our scheduled meeting date is Monday, November 21, but since the NAACP is meeting that night, we would prefer to meet on November 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, or 22.

I'm sure SRC is familiar with problems in organizing and has faced apathy in many situations. Baxton Bryant says you would do us a fine job and I am sure you would. We would like to have you or anyone you would recommend to help us.

May we hear from you soon?

Very truly yours,

J R Rutter

J R Rutter

file

3512 Plumwood Road
Knoxville, Tennessee 37921
October 14, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Attention: Mr. J. Edwin Standfield

Dear Mr. Standfield:

Many thanks for accepting our invitation to speak. November 22 will be fine. Let me know when you will arrive. We plan to have a dinner meeting at a downtown cafeteria for the members of the board of directors at 6:15 PM and move to the Red Cross Building for the general meeting at 8:00 PM. If you plan to fly, the last plane from Atlanta to Knoxville that arrives in time will arrive at 12:30. The next one doesn't arrive until 6:10 PM and it takes 35 to 40 minutes from the airport.

Growth of the local council has been painfully slow. We organized in March, 1964, and now have 84 members including a number of husband and wife teams and 10 or 15 who have paid dues and never attended a meeting.

In spite of the University's presence here the climate is not conducive to liberal expression. The newspapers have a policy of silence toward what they consider to be the harmless liberal groups and vitriolic critism of the ones they consider to be dangerous. We are still receiving the silent treatment.

I know from hearing you before and from Baxton's remarks about you that we will profit from your visit.

Again, many thanks.

Yours very truly,

J R Rutter

J R Rutter

February 24, 1966

Mr. Robert Smith
The Southern Courier
Frank Leu Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

How about sending that complimentary subscription of the Courier to me at this address? I think our Research Department gets one or two copies, but I never get a chance to see them.

I hope that all goes well.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Department of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 7, 1966

Dr. James Smiley
Union Theological Seminary
3401 Brook Road
Richmond 27, Virginia

Dear Dr. Smiley:

Knowing of your interest in Southern Regional Council and your sympathy with the civil rights movement, I am writing to ask you to keep in the back of your mind our recurring need for able men for positions with state councils on human relations. We would appreciate having the names of any persons you would care to recommend.

We feel that the human relations councils have a special role to play which is only now becoming truly possible in many parts of the South. It is the kind of role in which the leadership qualities of a mature, experienced, intelligent clergyman who is alive to current social problems could help a great deal. I don't mean to aid and abet any sort of apostasy. But if you happen to know any apt apostates...!

Needless to say, this is no field for anyone who has more than the ordinary emotional problems, nor for the immature, nor for the incompetent. (That sentence sounds a bit stuffy -- not to say conceited -- but I think this has to be emphasized at whatever risk. We have to seek the best men available.

As you have occasion, you might mention this need to Kennedy, Kelly, and other fathers and brethren who are "with it."

It was good to see you in Richmond last month.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

P.S. Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of NEW SOUTH in its new format -- just in case you don't get one. I think you will find it interesting.

March 29, 1966

The Reverend Prim B. Smith, Jr.
7005 Gillen Street
Metarie, Louisiana

Dear Prim:

You must think I have disappeared from the face of the earth! I am sorry not to have communicated, but it seemed best to await developments which have been painfully slow.

The Louisiana Council Board finally made a decision to locate the office in Baton Rouge. I assume that this eliminates consideration of you for the executive position. Although I have to agree that this was the best location, all things considered, I am genuinely sorry that we cannot go into this further with you. I do think you are remarkably well-qualified for this sort of work.

It was a pleasure to meet you, and I hope that we shall have opportunity to get better acquainted.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 29, 1966

The Reverend Eddie L. Smith
Midville Baptist Church
Midville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Smith:

I understand from our mutual friend, Will Campbell, that you might be interested in seeking employment outside the pastoral ministry, perhaps in the human relations field.

From time to time we have need of able men for positions with our state councils on human relations. We try to keep a file of information on prospects for these positions for referral to appropriate state councils. If you would like to submit biographical data and a resume of your employment experience, we would be happy to have it particularly any experience that you have had as a volunteer or otherwise in connection with human rights or human relations. It would also be helpful if you could supply us with 3 or 4 references.

I might mention that many of our state council executives or former ministers find this kind of work very satisfying.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 12, 1966

Mr. Mark Sedlak
Banquet Manager
Americana Catering
P.O. Box 1136
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Sedlak:

Enclosed herewith is the form to indicate arrangements needed for our conference on April 19 and 20. Please note that we want a dinner -- not a luncheon -- on the 19th. I am also enclosing a copy of your buffet suggestions with my choices underlined on the "Smorgasbord" menu.

Please notice that we want to use our conference room until about 9:00 P.M. after the dinner on the 19th. We will be happy to work with you on setting up for the reception and dinner.

Would it be satisfactory if I gave you an exact number of persons for the dinner and reception by noon on Monday, April 18?

If there is any question or need for more information, please call me.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

May 12, 1966

Mrs. William D. Spears
Lee County Head Start
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Nancy:

I had put off writing to you because I anticipated going to Auburn with Vernon this afternoon and talking is easier than writing--even for me. Now we have had a change of plans and I have to write.

Sorry about standing you up. I had thought you would call a little before the lunch hour, and when you didn't, I just assumed something had happened and you weren't coming.

You had not mentioned that you were going to Chicago--at least not to my recollection. But it sounds like it was a good deal. The impression that I do not approve of the American Ethical Union is a gossipy and quite, quite unwarranted generalization from the fact that I discouraged the Huntsville Council from undertaking to sponsor their program in Huntsville last summer. This I did for what seem to me good and sufficient reasons--which incidentally did not and do not apply to the situation of the East Alabama Council. They are a worthy outfit, and I'm glad you went.

Concerning the books, your proposal can include any variety of books and uses you wish. I am enclosing supplemental information prepared by Harry DeLung, the young man who is

administering this project for us. We found the task of preparing a meaningful booklist in a helpful variety of categories to be too formidable. Therefore we are asking each potential sponsor to request books by quanity and category to the extend possible. It will be much simpler for us to find books of the kind you want after we know what you want than it is to imagine all kinds of wants! But if you know specific titles, of course, you may request them. We can get almost any paperback in print, but some of them may take longer than others.

As to procedure, you are to let us know what you want and we will order them. We have access to the wholesaler's computer system and he is also giving us warehouse space and taking care of the shipping for us.

As for Jerry and the Alabama Council...you certainly are nosey, aren't you?!!

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

LEE COUNTY
HEAD START FOLLOW-THROUGH
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

file

May 3, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Well, I sure do consider myself stood up. There I was sitting in Emile's all by my lonesome. I really am sorry I missed you. You had already gone to lunch by the time I called and as I had only an hour to an hour and a half to eat lunch and catch the limousine back to the airport, I had gone directly to the restaurant hoping you could meet me there. We will try it again sometime.

My trip to Chicago I feel was very successful. In the first place I plain had a good time. Could not have been treated nicer. Could be easily sold on the American Ethical Union. Their leaders and delegates were a warm friendly bunch of people, maybe I say this because they treated me like a queen. My real reason for going was their Commission on Race and Equality felt that they might lose the money which had been used in the program we co-sponsored with them last summer and had planned to do so again this summer. Do you remember these? The play school, tutorial program, adult seminar and the inter-racial camp program. Anyway my role was to express the need and see if we could convince them that the programs were important. I was asked to respond to three things, one, What is the Alabama Council on Human Relations? Two, What is the Experiences of the White, Moderate and Liberal in the Recent Civil Rights Transitions? Three, What was the Value of the Inter-racial Programs We Co-Sponsored Last Summer? This I did. I received a standing ovation and couldn't have had people say nicer things. We certainly did get a lot of publicity for ACHR particularly EACHR in the newspaper and also on TV as I was interviewed by two of the TV stations while there. Hope you approve. Someone had gotten the impression that you might not approve of the American Ethical Union. How about that?

Ed, I have the guidelines in my hand for the paperback book program and feel we can use these in more than one project. Would this be possible? For instance, in the adult parent group and recreational groups for the children, these both being connected with Head Start. Also could use some in the tutorial program I mentioned above co-sponsored by AEU and the parent education program they intend to have this summer in connection with the playschool as mentioned above.

We do intend this summer to bring rural children into Tuskegee and through the playschool these books for both parents and children could be sent back home. Would it be possible to use them in both of the programs? Also, you say you can buy these wholesale in Atlanta. Do you have a list of available paperback books or does the wholesale company have this to make life simpler. We would really like to get underway right away with what we can do as our parent groups in Head Start and recreational groups in Head Start have started this week. Do we let you know the books we want and you purchase them, or do you send us the money and we purchase them? If we can include all the things mentioned, we would need a variety of books or a variety of books for a variety of ages. Would appreciate you giving me further hints as soon as possible. This sounds exciting and a very useful thing and if we could get it in right away as we would like to have the books available to our parents and children in Head Start. Thanks again. I will expect to hear from you soon.

Oh yes, forgot to mention that the money for the co-sponsored program was approved at the assembly of the AEU and so we will be having these programs again this summer. Let me know what you think about it all. Once again, sorry I missed you.

By the way, I called Jerry last night and poor boy he seems all shook up. I think he would much prefer not to have this directorship mentioned to him until he was out of school this summer. But so life goes. Has anything more been done, planned, so on? I talked to Gomillion last Wednesday and he seemed to indicate that things might be underway. Let me know, will you?

Sincerely yours,

Nancy

Nancy S. Spears

NSS:ch

file

May 17, 1966

Mrs. William D. Spears
Lee County Head Start Office
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Nancy:

Thanks for your cordial letter. You make me feel guilty for being so sarcastic.

Actually the negotiations are going along and, as you may know, a meeting of the Executive Committee has been scheduled for May 26. There are several little problems which have to be ironed out them, so nothing is certain. You shouldn't feel guilty, for you gave the whole thing a needed push to get it started. It is probably true, however, that none of the principals involved need further pushing at this stage.

I had suspected that Mrs. Gomillion's illness is terminal, but had not heard Dr. Gomillion or anyone else say so. Thanks for letting me know about this. I share your wonder at Dr. Gomillion's spartan self-discipline.

Glad to hear that Vernon did his usual good job.

As for the books, yes, go ahead and ask for any book you want. We can find out whether it is in paperback or not.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES:es

Box 170, Annandale, Va.
May 19 (66)

Dear Ed:

Our invitation was, I am sure, much more than a courtesy, as we do not like to let a long time go by without direct contact between our Board and SRC. However I do not know of anything coming up so special as to justify your changing your other plans. Bob has been out of town for several days, and I am just going away, so have not had a chance to check directly. If there is something on which we especially need your guidance one of us will try to call you during this week. Bestwishes

file

Dave Scull

Corres. - Gen

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

JUN 8 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your letter of May 25 concerning the June 4 Conference of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Although Washington obligations prevented me from accepting personally, I was happy to arrange for Jesse Merrell, Robert Saunders, and William Zierden, to represent me there.

Thank you again for letting me know of your interest.

Sincerely,

Sargent Shriver

Sargent Shriver
Director

65

June 28, 1966

Mrs. Nancy S. Spears
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Mrs. Spears:

On June 22, 1966 books were mailed to you from the Atlanta News Agency. Some of the books you requested were not available in paperback and some were not in storage and had to be ordered from the publisher. As soon as the books which were ordered arrive in Atlanta, we will forward them to you. which?

The following books were mailed to you:

Child and Baby Care	25
Othello	15
Dictionaries	30
Roosevelt Grady	30
Up from Slavery	30
Twenty Grand Short Stories	15
Abraham Lincoln	30
To Kill A Mockingbird	30
The Call of the Wild	30
Wizard of Oz	10
Black Beauty	10
Prince and the Pauper	10
My Antonia	10
Frontier Stories	10

In order to aid the selection of additional books for your project, please let us know which books are most effective with your group. Can you use more of certain

books? It will be helpful if you could advise us of the age level of your students. In the near future, we will have available a limited number of American classics rewritten in 1000 and 2000 word vocabularies. If you are interested in receiving some of these, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.

JLD/km

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

8017 Palm Street • New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 • 482-5792

Director
John P. Sisson

July 21, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is some descriptive literature about PROJECT EQUALITY, which we discussed at the last Southern Interagency meeting. This is a tremendous program for all church groups, and we welcome your support and interest in having it accepted. We feel that it has special application in the North Georgia area, and know that Archbishop Hallinan would be interested in going into the program on an interfaith basis.

Sincerely yours,

Jack
RV.
John P. Sisson

file

Enclosures

file

September 1, 1966

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
Director, Field Services Division
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Sam:

We are today sending checks to Mr. Morton Gitelman of the University of Arkansas and to the Slater Corporation of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in payment of the bills about which you wrote me on August 4. The donor of our funds for the school desegregation conferences was very cooperative in this matter, and we are glad that it could be arranged.

Let us know if we can help again.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

cc: Morton Gitelman
Slater Corporation

Sam Simmons

PA - fyi

August 18, 1966

Mrs. Philippa Ellis
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mrs. Ellis:

Thank you for your letter of August 16 in regard to Mr. Anthony's request for funds to cover remaining costs growing out of the School Desegregation Conferences.

The total amount needed comes to $317.88 ($261.00 for lunches and $56.88 for travel expenses for Mr. Gitelman). I am enclosing copies of the two bills as passed on to us by Mr. Simmons of the Commission on Civil Rights.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

August 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

With regard to your request of August 8th concerning the School Desegregation Conferences, would you kindly let us know the exact amount needed? You mentioned in your letter an item of $261 for lunches, but not the amount for the travel expenses of Morton Gitelman.

Sincerely,

Philippa Ellis

(Mrs.) Philippa Ellis

Bring up file

August 8, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

We have just gotten word from Sam Simmons that there are outstanding obligations from the School Desegregation Conferences which the Commission on Civil Rights cannot honor. These are a bill going out of the North Carolina Conference for lunches for $261.00, and the other is a cost of travel expenses of Morton Gitelman, University of Arkansas School of Law, who served as resource person at the Arkansas meeting.

Is it conceivable that the Foundation could take this amount from the funds returned by us to cover these, or is it possible that we could simply take these costs from the present Contingency Fund?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(14)

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

August 4, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsythe Street, 5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing two bills which were incurred in connection with the education desegregation conferences and which are not properly payable from public funds.

One bill relates to the fact that approximately 261 persons who attended the North Carolina Conference did not make use of the facilities previously arranged for them at the College. We are stuck, therefore, with a balance of $261. Is there anything that you can do to handle this out of the monies available for these conferences, if the money is still available?

The second bill relates to expenses of one of the resource persons who participated in our Little Rock Conference. Through some misunderstanding, this man got the impression we would pay travel expenses incurred by him in serving as a resource person. Is it possible that this expense can be taken care of?

If these can't be taken care of, let me know and we will have to try to work out some other arrangement for payment. Although I will be on vacation for the next two weeks, I will give you a ring on this matter. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel J. Simmons
Director
Field Services Division

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Samuel J. Simmons, Director, FSD

DATE: July 6, 1966

FROM : Director, MSR

SUBJECT: Travel expenses, Morton Gitelman, Little Rock Education Desegregation Conference

I discussed with Morton Gitelman, via the telephone, the matter of his expenses in connection with the Little Rock Conference. I told him that there was no way in which the Commission on Civil Rights could reimburse him, but there was the possibility that you could obtain some money from the Southern Regional Council to defray his transportation expenses.

I concluded the conversation by suggesting that he submit an itemized account of his total expenses, but I made it clear that we could make no commitment concerning how much of these expenses he would be reimbursed for.

Gitelman seemed satisfied with this arrangement and merely asked that we do the best that we can.

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

148 Gitelman M. Mr. (1)$8.25
23523... 5-6 out 5-7

FROM FOLIO 23523
TO FOLIO

DATE	REFERENCE	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE	PICK-UP
MAY -6A REST R	148	* 2.73		* 2.73	* 2.73
MAY -6A PHONE	148	* .15		* 2.88	* 2.88
MAY -6C RM&TX	148	8.25		* 11.13 *	* 11.13
MAY -7B REST R	148	* 1.34		* 12.47	* 12.47
MAY -7B PAID	M 148		* 12.47	* .00	

JEW
JHS

CODE FOR MISC. CHARGES

D__BEVERAGE
E__TELEGRAM
F__TIP
G__BAGGAGE
H__CASH ADVANCE
J__TRANSFER
K__CITY LEDGER
L__REBATE
M__

hotel Sam Peck

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

J-WS

Ted Lamb & Associates, Inc.

Reply to:
Second Floor, First Federal Building
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 5-6475

June 20, 1966

Mr. John Spence
United States Civil Rights Commission
Federal Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear John:

I have asked Father Drane to send his biog direct to you.

The last I talked with Morton Gitelman, he advised that he had not received expenses or any sort of honorarium for his appearance in Little Rock. His expenses are $60.00. I trust there will be no trouble about arranging this. At the moment, it is most embarassing to me and to Sam Fetters.

I have had several calls from the Committee about the July 9th meeting. Shall we meet at my house . . or hire a hall. It is up to you. You will recall, the meeting is to be in Little Rock.

If the March continues, you might have a whale of an interesting meeting in Greenville this week-end.

Sincerely yours,

Ted Lamb

September 20, 1966

Mr. Oron P. South
120 Acklen Park Drive
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Oron:

Thanks for sending me the announcement about the Monteagle Communication Conference. I am sending along copies of it to a woman in New Orleans who expressed interest in the Emory Conference, about which she had read in my newsletter. I doubt that she will attend because she seemed to think that it would have a "church content," but I'll send it anyway.

Incidentally, while I was in Louisiana, Pat Miller told me that she felt the Emory conference was of great benefit to her and that she hopes to attend others. This strong positive reaction is set, in my mind, over against some very negative reaction that I got from professional associates who were not there but seemed to have some notion of what went on.

I am tempted to offer to pay tuition for a group of 6-8 people from the Huntsville Council on Human Relations to attend, if that many would go. At least they would make that Episcopalian confab interesting -- since most of them are Unitarians. My temptation stems from the fact that I was in a long discussion last weekend with some of them about how you deal with the "power structure," their contention being that you mount all the pressure you can muster and raise hell until they are forced to do right.

However, while I yet feel that they are wrong and that the question we have to ask most insistently about southern whites is Why? -- still I conclude regretfully that we cannot invest more money in communications conferences for

the time being. For one thing, the cost of the Emory Conference I felt was really high, and it is too early to tell whether or not there will be good results. In fact we may never know, since one probably cannot say definitely whether desired changes, if they come to pass, were caused by the communication conference experience.

Which brings up the point that you have to take this sort of thing on faith -- and I just don't have that much faith in it for our purposes. It is a boon to those of us who have problems of interpersonal relations (as who doesn't). But there is something more to intergroup relations than the sum total of interpersonal relations, and intergroup relations is really our business -- despite the "human relations" banner.

It does seem to me that the basis of community in our time and circumstance is justice, not love. That is, we have to relate rightly not only to the people we know, but also to all the people we don't know but with whom we have an interdependent relationship. (This is not to say that love is not a higher value than justice, but only that in the nature of the circumstances justice is the highest attainable value.) If this be so -- that the value we seek is justice rather than love -- then the means we are after is power rather than understanding. I say it somewhat wistfully.

Could it be, by the way, that this is what SNCC and CORE and their allies are saying? That they are tired of worrying about understanding when what counts is power?

Perhaps you will say that relations between groups are carried on through persons, after all. But I don't think so. They are carried on through impersonal processes, such as voting, purchasing, etc. Besides, when Martin Luther King or Mayor Allen sit down at a conference table, practically speaking they are not and cannot be themselves. They are officials, representatives, symbols -- not quite people at all.

At any rate, I can't see my way clear at this point and moment to push this kind of thing further. That I have written such an epistle to say so is offered as evidence that my "thanks anyway" is most sincere.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

LEARNING VS BECOMING--HOW CAN I BE
WHAT I LEARN

by Oron P. South
120 Acklen Park Drive
Nashville, Tenn. 37203

In looking at traditional practices in parishes and congregations, my impression is that most programs are directed more toward learning than toward becoming. That is, the chief emphasis is on having people learn the contents of the Bible, the Prayer Book, the Creeds, or Sunday School material. Where programs are activity oriented, emphasis is often placed on becoming an expert in the activity under study, such as prayer, or witnessing. The parallel to this orientation in theological schools is found in the assumption that salvation depends on deepening scholarship, so that expertness or depth of knowledge is more highly prized than encounter and existence. As a result, ministry for both clergy and laity is seen as revolving primarily around dispensing knowledge--the saving word.

The outcome of this orientation is that both Man and God take on the quality of abstract symbols, and the power to influence people is lost. As Man worships as abstraction, he becomes an abstraction himself in the process. And the more this line of endeavor is pursued, the more Man loses his capacity to be human.

Our traditional modes of study accustom us to think that the study of Man, of God, of Others, and of the Church, can each be conducted somewhat in isolation, and that the study of one does not influence the other. But this is not so. When we assert the one, we automatically assert the others, for they are inseparably bound together. When we choose to make God an abstraction, at that moment we also choose to make Man an abstraction, we make Others abstractions, and we make Community or Church an abstraction. When this happens a marvelous opportunity is created for academic learning, for the variations are endless, but often such creation is no more than an abstraction, an empty symbol. In saying this, I do not mean to reject all study, but rather to call attention to the need for being clear about purpose and results. Increasingly, for example, clergy and laity are turning to further study, some in graduate schools, because they have found the studyband worship of symbols barren. To the extent that such study leads to de-abstracting Man and God, then to that extent I think such study is useful. Where it merely leads to increased depths of knowledge about symbols and rituals, I tend to see it as almost useless and a positive hindrance.

Typically, then, the approach to God and Man as abstractions leads churchmembers to see the task of spreading the Good News as being the same as telling about the content of the Bible. They pass on the symbols they have received. Membership in the Church is conceived of as requiring the acquisition of knowledge. This shows up clearly when talk turns to

missionary activity. The tendency is to want to send those members who are well versed in the Bible, and who know denominational creeds and doctrines. Training programs supplement knowledge by emphasizing what to say.

The conception of religion as involving chiefly the transmission of abstractions or symbols shows up also quite clearly when laymen talk about religion in business, or when talk turns to religion in schools. The difficulties seen in introducing religion into the marketplace or the classroom revolve around the lack of opportunity to introduce talk of God or Jesus into discussions on purchasing or buying, or into classes on economics or math. That one cannot be religious unless he talks religious subjects seems to be a basic unquestioned assumption. This assumption is reinforced by the admonition to "Go To The Church Of Your Choise."

With such an orientation it appears to me that a considerable number of clergy and laity are somewhat perplexed, and oten quite upset, by the notion of "Doing The Gospel," or "Doing The Truth," or "Being The Church." These same persons are also upset by Bishop Robinson's statement that it may be well not to use the term "God" for 100 years. This perplexity and upsetness I take it comes from an almost complete inability to comprehend religion in other than abstract or symbolic terms. If one cannot talk about God, then one cannot be religious. This may be a slight over statement, but not much.

The extent to which reliance is placed on conveying symbols can usually be guaged by looking at the organization of denominational instutions. Sunday Schools, men's groups, women's groups, youth groups, and prayer groups, are generally organized to pass out information or to develop expertise. While there may be talk about the benefits of brotherhood, there is usually a feeling that what is most beneficial is being down on one's knees or learning something religious. This learning is usually seen as being most worthwhile when it comes from an expert; that is, the unlearned cannot teach each other.

When this approach is emphasized in any congregation or parish, and especially when it is emphasized to extremes as it seems to me it often is, the Church fails to provide for members the chance to acquire an identity that is essentially different from that found in the world. As I see the matter, there is no essential difference between an expert on marketing and one on God as an abstraction. To the extent that expertise in abstract knowledge helps one to know God, then it makes little difference whether one is a marketing expert or a God-expert. While this may not be completely true, the difference does not seem worth arguing.

As the Church loses its ability to point toward an identity that is significantly different from that found in the world, then it loses its power to influence people. Further, it loses the power to minister significantly, to have it communications heard and taken seriously, and to have relevance to the lives of those with whom it is in contact.

When learning is the basic goal, then ministry is seen as deriving from expertise. Thus, to minister to the alcoholic, one must learn about alcoholics and develop a technology suited to alcoholics. If one is to minister to married couples in distress, then one "takes" marriage counseling. For whatever ill one is to minister to, an appropriate technology is available or can be developed. Church members, then, tend to see other as ministers to them only to the degree that those who minister have expert knowledge. What emerges finally, to put the matter in an extreme way, is that the Church ministers to those who need or want an abstract knowledge of God and Man. Other "needs" are much better ministered to in the world.

One concomitant of this approach is that as increasing dependence is placed on expertise, less dependence is placed on self. One trusts what one knows as an expert, but one does not trust one's self. And as one grows to mistrust one's self, or to lack trust in one's self, then it is difficult to put trust in others. What may result, then, is increasing alienation and isolation, the "unreachable" clergyman or layman.

The loss of power which the Church is suffering comes from the bind created by equating religion with learning, or more accurately with learning about symbols. One cannot be what he learns under this system, all he can do is tell what he learns. Doing, being, and becoming are not possible outcomes, except in a minor sort of way.

But doing, being, and becoming are real possibilities, if one is willing to accept the concept or premise that religion cannot be captured in words and symbols. It is possible, at least partially, to be what one learns, to become, to take on a new identity (one's own identity). When two or three choose to try to be what they learn, however, they inevitably will alter more than just their attitude toward learning. The effort to be and to become alters their relationship to each other, to others, and to the organizations in which they find themselves. In short, more than a change of attitude is involved in the matter.

In any congregation or parish where an attempt is made to work on being and becoming, the concepts of Man, God, and Church will immediately be brought into question, as will the organization of the congregation itself and the activities in which that congregation is involved. Questions arise

because being and becoming involve self awareness. Awareness of self brings awareness of others and one's relationship to others. Relationships which contribute to being and becoming are valued, those which do not are seen as bringing death. Thus, the two or three who choose becoming find that in choosing they begin to question organization and organizational goals, for these are inseparably bound to the question of being and becoming. Included in this questioning of goals is also a questioning of the traditional interpretation of doctrine. In sum, the move from telling what one learns to being what one learns is not a simple move, but one which involves a multitude of other factors. It is in truth a shift from one dimension to another.

One of the means used today to try to effect this shift is the T Group, or Basic Encounter Group, in which people meet together in what is usually called an unstructured gathering. In the context of this paper, I think it will make most sense to say that the T Group is a situation which the individual is faced with freedom. This freedom is resisted in a number of ways, especially with the observation that it seems obvious one cannot learn from just sitting around saying what comes to mind. If, however, there is a willingness to explore freedom, an awareness of one's self in freedom may emerge. This awareness involves a recognition that one does have a choice in being and becoming. It also leads to recognition that in freedom one acts by choosing a goal. This choosing represents a moral act, as it is clear that several choices are open. When this is the case, then one's actions are not based on inevitability, but on one's own determination. This determination means that one is responsible, whether one wishes to be or not. In this sense, awareness leads to the loss of innocence; one lies in a different moral domain.

Sometimes when a deeper than ordinary awareness is first experienced it is glimpsed somewhat as a narrow step leading toward something different. As one mounts this step and puts all his weight on it and begins to look around, he begins to see a whole new landscape spread before him. While the boundaries and the horizon are not visible, and there are misty features, shafts of light illumine what can be seen in a beckoning sort of way. The realization crashes through the self that one has stumbled on to something immensely different. Then the question comes: Why didn't someone tell me about this before?

Exploration of this landscape may lead to the discovery of another step. And this new step may lead to another plain, or to rough mountainous, tortured, landscape. But how many steps there are, or what lies on each step, no man can say for sure. What one can say is that they can be found through freedom andawareness. One can also say that no one can

really tell you about these unless he goes with you on the journey.

I have used the step and the landscape analogy because they seem to me to explain why a change program aimed at being and becoming may not lead to predictable and controllable organizational change, at least not controllable in the ordinary sense. There is no way of knowing. The way is through faith. If one chooses to be and to become, he cannot decide beforehand where being and becoming will lead. He can decide to stop at any time. But if he goes on, he goes in faith.

This faith is manifest in the belief that if one can endure freedom (including the freedom found in the T Group) he can encounter the depths of his and other's existence and emerge from this encounter stronger rather than weaker or destroyed. It is the experiencing of this truth that makes one free of the world and gives community the power to transform the world. But the power is in the experience, in the being and becoming, not in a symbol. The experience leads to life, to being what one learns; the symbol leads to death.

cc: Ed Stanfield

F

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 23, 1966

Mrs. Nancy Spears
Head Start Lee County
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Mrs. Spears:

Ed Stanfield told me today that you were still waiting for books from us. I am at a bit of a loss because the person here who placed your orders left the early part of August. The last letter to you that we have in our files is dated July 26, 1966, from Nan Pendergrast. She has written in longhand on the carbon that 10 copies of South Town, Before the Mayflower-History of Negro in America, and Roosevelt Grady were also sent. She also has a notation of August 5, 1966, that 5 each of 20 Sturdi Contour Books, 5 each of 15 Tip Top Rand McNally coloring books, and 5 each of 10 Golden Shape Books were sent.

If you can tell me the titles and how many of each that you have not received, I will be glad to check with the Atlanta News Agency here, which may have made an oversight. I'll make every effort to get the books to you.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Louise Cole
Paperback Book Project

September 23, 1966

Mrs. Nancy S. Spears
Head Start Lee County
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Nancy:

Thank you for your long letter of September 20. I felt that the seminar in Birmingham was useful although not as productive as I had hoped. Let me assure you that the Alabama council is not the only one that has difficulties with motives, methods and appropriate roles.

At this point I am at a loss as to what books you have received, but I have asked Louise Cole to write to you to get the matter straightened out if possible.

The address of the Youth Educational Services is P. O. Box 1168, Durham, North Carolina 27702. You should write to the attention of Michael H. Lawler, and ask for their catalog of scholarships available to Negroes. Unfortunately, I cannot find the address of the outfit which had scholarships particularly for young people involved in the civil rights movement. You mention this to Mike Lawler when you write to him. I am sure he knows who it is that I am thinking of.

I do not have a manuscript of my remarks at the Auburn meeting. I keep hoping that I will get around to writing an essay, setting forth my position about the role of state councils in particular and white liberals in general in bringing about social change in the South. If I ever do it I will send you a copy.

As for the problem of "sensitivity", I am so insensitive I didn't even know we had one.

I expect to be out of the city most of next week, Wednesday through Friday, and I have an all-day meeting on Tuesday; otherwise, I would be happy to have lunch with you.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

HEAD START LEE COUNTY
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

September 20, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Thanks for being at our state meeting. Always like old home week having you back with us. I guess in a way the meeting left much to be desired but I wonder if we really could set up a number of guidelines for us to go by. That seems so sterile for some reason. I went to the meeting thinking this could be accomplished, I left the meeting thinking if each chapter really uses common sense in action we'll probably come out in the wash. Maybe the only guidelines we need are to talk it over with the state staff first. By that I mean both Bob and Jerry. Jan Valder did say to me this morning that we were beginning to lose some people like Bob. I wonder if this is really true. We had some new outspoken people on the board-one who Bob himself recalled to her-plus the fact I have heard Allen Black wonder about the Council, its action and so on for sometime, but the next morning at breakfast he seemed to be at least somewhat pleased with the meeting, although he said we hadn't really settled anything as I thought we all thought this. In fact, for what it is worth, my suggestion is we try this once again. We have at least gotten some feelings out, maybe next time more and more can be resolved. By the way, what's the feeling in the other Councils and do they get tied up in motive, role and all that jazz?

By the cotton pickin' way, I still haven't received the books from SRC that I have been waiting for! What's wrong with that organization? Maybe you just need me up there to run things. At least I guess I know you'll come through with the information I asked you for. Looking forward to getting it and trying to get her settled. In fact, good old Ed, you always come through. I am enclosing your check for expenses incurred when you spoke to our group. Thanks once again. Do have a big favor to ask of you. Do you have a copy of the speech that I missed and would you put in writing your thoughts you were expressing in Birmingham on Saturday about Black Power, Carmichael, Council's role, etc.? Preacher like, you have a graat way of expressing what many of us think. How bout it?

Oh, yea, I haven't forgotten that I was going to write you

a letter about another little subject 'sensitivity' no less. If it wasn't for you always having a bunch of good jokes to tell I might go away mad. Would you care?

Keep up the good work. Let me hear from you. Do something about those blasted books and tell everybody at SRC "hello" for me. I may be in Atlanta next week so don't run too far. By the way, I think maybe SRC could have a seminar on how to work with whites!

Sincerely yours,

Nancy

Nancy S. Spears

NSS/ch

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF CHURCH EXTENSION
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287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

EDWARD M. BROWN, CONSULTANT ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS
~~ROOM 888, 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA~~
499 Emory Circle, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30307

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

30 September 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

This is to express my appreciation for having been put on the mailing list of the FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER of Southern Regional Council.

Recently I was with one of the new National Council of Churches field workers in Alabama working out of Tuskegee Institute as a successor to Mr. V. A. Edwards. I refer to Rev. Robert Smith a Methodist minister from Indianapolis and a Tuskegee graduate now in Alabama with the kind of responsibilities that I have across the Southern states. I thought you might like to know about his work which is called the Religious Extension Service in collaboration with Tuskegee Institute's program and in cooperation with the National Council of Churches' concerns across the board in Alabama.

In addition, I am sure that Mr. Smith would benefit from reading your newsletters, and I would like to request that you put him on your mailing list. Please send him back issues for the last few months.

If you think of any other orientation material that he should have, I am confident he would appreciate receiving same.

Thanks for your attention to this request. Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edward M. Brown

MLM — Please send, with brief explanatory letter

E

EMB:ja

cc: Rev. Robert Smith
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

October 4, 1966

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
Director, Field Services Division
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Sam:

Receiving the full list of participants at the Louisiana School Desegregation Conference, held last Spring, reminds me to write a word of appreciation to you for your part in making these conferences possible.

I think all of the conferences helped the interested and affected people in the several states to find their allies and the available helping persons, as well as to understand their rights. We, for instance, will be putting this Louisiana list to use as a source of contact-persons for our new executive director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

I know that you have had some negative criticism from well-meaning people who felt that the conferences did too little good. My own feeling is that these people are failing to make a distinction between the basic inadequacy of "freedom of choice" to eliminate the dual school system in the South and the worth of these conferences -- which were helpful in achieving what could be achieved under the circumstances.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

file Gen. corres

120 Acklen Park Drive
Nashville, Tenn. 37203
November 5, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

I' sorry to be so late in responding to your letter of late September, but have delayed anwering until I could take the time to set forth in some detail my answers to some of the questions you raise.

In particular, I should like to comment on what you have to say about the use of power to achieve justice in community affairs. As a preamble, let me say that this was one of the fields that I studied and lectured on at Air University for several years. I mention this not to set myself up as an authority, but to indicate that I have given some study to the problem. While most of my effort was directed toward trying to get an understanding of the uses of power and its effects in international affairs, I believe some of the findings are applicable to community affairs.

While there may be those in the field of laboratory training who are reluctant to consider the use of power, or who are forthrightly opposed to the use of power, I do not consider myself as being one who advocates renunciation of power. I don't think justice is possible without power. Further, in most of our communities, I think we are very reluctant to admit to the use of power to keep people suppressed. This reluctance to acknowledge the value of power, whether rightly or wrongly used, has an ancient tradition in American history. C. Vann Woodward a few years ago in a very perceptive article pointed out how for over a century we were protected by weak neighbors on our borders, by the British Navy, and by the Arctic, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans. Without the necessity for armed power, we tended to believe that those who used power were inherently sinful and wicked. This same attitude, I believe carries over into community affairs. For this reason, I don't believe it is the spectre of black power which is so frightening, as power itself, openly mentioned. Unleashing the power dynamic, then, whatever the cause associated with it, immediately taps into long existing and latent fears. These fears in turn mobilize an immense amount of energy, usually released in an Old Testament quality of punishment (i.e., unconditional surrender for the Germans and Japanese, accompanied by the demand to restructure both societies from the ground up).

Behavioral that power is used

confusing dealing with power passive

positive with power

At the same time fears are aroused by grasping for power, the linking of power to "righteous" goals attracts those who like to feel that they are on the side of God, and who, from my point of view, are bothered by not being able to put

most affairs into a simple right or wrong category. I include in this group those who headed for Selma, Montgomery, Birmingham, and other trouble points, simply because "it was right." confrontation

Typically, then, as I see it, when battle is joined over the issue of power per se, two groups come forth to confront each other. On the one hand we have the righteous, and on the other hand we have the wicked. While this is slightly overdrawn, this tends to be the way the power battle is fought in American communities.

What is missing for me in this is a sense of power with reponsibility. I dislike the business of disregarding the responsibility for one's own actions behind the cloak of doing what is right, for "right" and "wrong" are logical distinctions. Acts in themselves carry consequences and cannot be logically confined to one single consequence. Those who try to establish what is right, in a logical sense, also tend to try to establish what is just in a logical sense. Another way to establish this is through dialogue as between contending parties without recourse to abstract logical distinctions. Ghandi, I am told, although trained in Western law, when confronted with his first client threw away his legal training and tried to mediate between the contending parties. Greek

As nearly as I can read what Martin Luther King tried to do, he preaches responsibility. Although he says what he is striving for is right, he does not advocate right as an unlimited absolute, but as a condition limited by responsibility. This for me means that he is open to communication, while I suspect that some of the advocates of black power are not. ? stimulat

In lab training, then, I do not see myself as saying that the use of power is bad, or that the use of power is not to be considered as a legitimate way to have influence in the community. But I do see myself as trying to get participants, as well as myself, look at the consequences of the use of power, and the responsibility which we all bear when we use power. And I also see myself as advocating looking at possible alternatives to the use of coercive power. In short, I think there are a number of change strategies available, many of which do not have some of the possible undesirable side effects that the use of coercive power has. Alternatives

I think there is also another aspect of this that needs to be considered. Since World War II, as a nation we have for the most part tried to solve some of our most vexing international problems by relying on the capacity of science and technology to provide us with the means for continually increasing our material power, and with means for defending ourselves from attack by others. This reliance on science and technology has produced a sort of attitude that many of our most pressing human relations problems can be solved by technical means. In our communities I think this same attitude shows up when people try to solve human relations

problems not by changing attitudes, but by trotting out some technical device. I include in technical devices in this sense the use of power.

In international affairs the ability of science to provide hardware answers to human relations problems has reached a dead end. The significance of this was seen several years ago by many people in the defense department, but has not been grasped by the people at large. Herman Kahn, for example, went around lecturing about the ultimate weapon, that is, the ultimate weapon of technology. This was a nuclear device buried deep in the earth, capable of blowing up the whole world. When threatened by an enemy, the only retaliation one could offer was pressing the button which would blow up everything. As nearly as I can tell when Herman presented this story, many people reacted by saying that he was inhuman. I don't think Herman is a monoster; what I think he was trying to point out was that science and technology simply cannot solve some of our most basic human problems. I would put it this way: when you run out of the ability to solve your problems by killing people or besting them with scientific inventions, then you may be faced with the alternative of trying to establish trust as the basis for solving problems of living together. Thus the horror of nuclear weapons is not so much that we might blow up people as that we might have to live with them in some ways that are not of our own choosing. I think it is important to recognize this at the community level, for inevitably we apply the same problem-solving process to national problems that we apply to community problems. Thus the person who advocates the use of unrestricted power in a community tends to advocate the use of unrestricted power in international relations.

So far as I can understand the matter, Kennedy understood the change in international affairs brought on by the failure of science and technology. What he tried to substitute for straight power diplomacy was a strategy of communication. You may recall that he had a face-to-face confrontation with Kruschev. I don't know what he said, but I surmise that he told the Soviet Prime Minister that he was interested in their reaching a clear understanding of each other. This did not mean agreement, but rather that they communicated accurately with each other. In other instances, Kennedy used power to get the other person to listen. He announced what kinds of weapons we had and what we intended to do with them, thus trying to do away with secrecy so that intentions could be made clear. In these and in many other ways, Kennedy was trying to switch from power politics to communication politics. I think he was succeeding, and this I think is one of the great tragedies of his death, for I do not believe Mr. Johnson understands this approach, as he has grown up in the power-and-persuade school.

I think this same kind of strategy is available in our communities for the process of change. But I do not think that it can be used in most communities at the present for people are not yet trained in clarifying their own motives, in being open, and in recognizing their own responsibilities. Again, I would call attention to King and the openess with which he announces his goals and his methods.

Spontaneity

Well, this has turned into a rather long letter. I hope we have a chance to talk some of these things over more at length some time.

Best regards,

Oron

Oron P. South

November 21, 1966

Mrs. Senora Springfield
819 Pearl Street
Grenada, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Springfield:

We are sending you the twelve copies of Justice in Grenada, Mississippi, as requested by Kenneth Dean, under separate cover.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Head Start in Lee County
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

December 1, 1966

Southern Regional Council
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Ed:

On Thursday afternoon, December 8, and Friday morning, December 9, I will be in Atlanta and would like to see you if you are going to be in town. Please send me an appointment for when you are free, otherwise I will come by the office. I have several appointments and do not know specifically when I will be there.

Thank you and see you then, I hope.

Sincerely,

Nancy by ch

Nancy S. Spears

NSS/ch

December 7, 1966

Mrs. Nancy Spears
Head Start in Lee County
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Nancy:

I have a meeting on Friday morning, December 9, from 10:00 until 12:00. I have no appointments for Thursday afternoon, however, and would be happy to see you any time.

How much money will you be wanting this time?

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 8, 1966

Mr. John P. Sisson, Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your letter of November 29 and for sending me the "Brief Summary--Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966."

At this time we do not have definite plans for a program in connection with this Act involving the state councils. I am very much interested in exploring the possibilities, however. I am writing for copies of the "Brief Summary" for distribution to our local councils through the state council offices. It seems to me that information about the Act might be another possibility for the agenda of the Southern Interagency Conference.

At the very least, as your ALERT bulletin suggests, councils in cities of some size--say 300,000 or over--should be urged by all means to open conversations with the municipal authorities in their metropolitan area as to what they intend to do to take advantage of the opportunities provided. I don't think such officials in the South, generally speaking, realize yet

what troubààs they are headed for. Certainly it is a valid function of human relations councils to help educate them by raising with them the need for planning and action.

I'll see you at the SIC meeting in January, I suppose, if not before.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Acknowledge with many thanks receipt of #250 from Sonoco via Dobbs and SRC ans.

file - Alice Spearman

Dear Paul,

It may be that John Hills and/or his substitute may not be able to stay entire annual mtg ----- We need to know schedule + program to assist in decision as to best time.

Some SPEED-UP crises et al have delayed typing of all reports but since we don't have a June 30 or Dec 31 Bldg & Loan interest date to cope with in preparing the reports you need for Oct 15th deadline first O.K.?

Much we need to talk about and I hope your offer to spend a part of a day with us still holds. Please advise pronto

I had hoped to have a joint meeting with you and Ed last week but discovered that you were in New York. Had lunch with Ed. Hope our quarterly report will attest to our compliance with terms of the expanded grant-in aid as we've understood it -

Cordially

March 29, 1966

Mr. Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant for Civil Rights
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Mr. Timpane:

In reply to your letter of March 18, the Southern Interagency Conference meeting has been set up one day because of a conflict. It will be held on Tuesday and Wednesday, April 19 and 20.

If it will still be possible for you to come, we will be happy to have you. We understand that you would prefer to observe and listen, for the most part. At some point, however, it would be helpful if you could give us a brief outline of your office's role and then answer questions. I believe the agency representatives would be glad to know how they can best assist you in your work, too.

Please let me know if you will still be able to attend. I am sorry about the necessary change in dates.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

MANPOWER

18 March 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
3 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

If it is still possible, I would very much appreciate an opportunity to meet with the Southern Intragency Committee during its April 20-21 session. Please let me know what further I should do. As we discussed it over the telephone, I will speak if I ought, but I would like most of all to listen.

Sincerely yours,

Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant for Civil Rights

April 7, 1966

Dr. G. J. Tarleton
Meharry Medical College
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Tarleton:

This will confirm, pursuant to our telephone conversation last evening, that the Tennessee Council is authorized to use funds from our expanded grant-in-aid temporarily for general operations. We understand that funds will be restored to the special account out of returns from the council's funding campaign.

Since the Tennessee Council's primary proposal was to employ an associate director, our only concern would be that this be done in time to show use of the funds for this purpose during the grant period, which ends February, 1967. In fact, as you will recall, one of the general conditions was that the second and subsequent quarterly payments would be withheld until proposed additional staff persons are hired.

I look forward to seeing you at the Board meeting on the sixteenth.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Mrs. Tom Ragland
Mr. Baxton Bryant

April 11, 1966

Mrs. Florence S. Thompson
Office Secretary
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

In reply to your letter of April 8 to Mrs. Ruth Alexander concerning the quarterly grant to the South Carolina council, I am sure you understand that our policy is to forward the quarterly payments upon receipt of financial reports and program reports for the preceding quarter. These reports for the South Carolina council were received on Wednesday, April 6th. As it happens, I was out of the office on Thursday and Friday. However, I do not believe that failing to get the payment to you by April 8th did constitute unreasonable delay in any case.

A check for the quarterly payments due the South Carolina council was sent to your office today.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Mrs. Ruth Alexander
cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

April 8, 1966

Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

We have been waiting hopefully to receive the quarterly grants from SRC because at the end of this first quarter our checking account funds are pitifully low and we have first of the month expenses and taxes and the April 15 payroll coming up very soon, all of which will be a sizeable sum, as you know.

Thinking perhaps time has slipped by too quickly for you also, we are taking the liberty of calling our predicament to your attention (we do not like to withdraw from our savings and loan account unless absolutely necessary.)

Thank you for your prompt attention.

Sincerely,
(Mrs.) Florence S. Thompson
Office Secretary

ft

April 12, 1966

Mr. John R. Taylor
Chairman
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $1,200 representing your quarterly grant-in-aid.

Please sign and return the enclosed receipt carbon at your convenience.

STANFIELD BOUND

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file

The Upland Institute
of
The Crozer Foundation
Upland Avenue, Chester, Pa. 19013

April 18, 1966

The Reverend J. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reverend Stanfield:

In response to a request from our mutual friend, the Reverend J. Martin England, I am having sent to you under separate cover several copies of the fact sheet which we are sending out on the Upland Institute. I am also sending you a copy of last year's catalogue.

We will have another catalogue printed sometime later, but have been delayed by the fact we are enlarging our curriculum and as yet have not determined how far we can go.

I will appreciate deeply anything you can do to be of assistance to us.

Cordially,

John W. Thomas (e)

JOHN W. THOMAS
Director of Studies

JWT/e

Staff Assistant for Civil Rights
Room 3B 916
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C.

Tuesday, April 19

Philip M. Timpane

Reservation at Heart of Atlanta Motel, 255 Courtland, N.E., two blocks from downtown Peachtree. 688-1682

Sent Telegram

April 18, 1966

Mr. Philip M. Timpane
Staff Assistant for Civil Rights
Room 3B 916
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Timpane:

The Americana hotel was filled to capacity for the 19th. Therefore, we have reserved you a room at the Heart of Atlanta Motel, 255 Courtland, N.E. which is two blocks from Peachtree St., and perhaps four blocks from the Americana.

The limousine stops at the Heart of Atlanta Motel and I believe that you will find it convenient.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

May 2, 1966

Mr. John D. Tripp
303B Thach Avenue
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Tripp:

Under separate cover we are sending you a quantity of material touching on the resolution of social conflict. I suspect that much of it will be useless to you, but thought it better to let you do your own sorting.

You may find some of the case studies of cities which have had relatively good records in race relations helpful.

Let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file

Friendliness and Sincerity
303 B Thach Ave
Auburn, Alabama
April 27, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Dir of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
548 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

This is a request.

Mrs. Spears here in Auburn suggested I contact you concerning information I desire on biracial committees or solving race relation problems.

I am in a year long Institute under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act and am doing a term paper or project.

Any information in the form of reports, proposals or research which would help resolve conflict would be appreciated. Just how does one go about identifying the power structure, initiating and facilitating discussion, work or project groups, etc.

I know this is a big order in that it touches all of life. This is a challenging area. I'm anxious to know more about it. Thanks for any materials or suggestions you may have.

Sincerely
John D. Tripp

JOHN D. TRIPP

file

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 10, 1966

Mrs. Marge Manderson
Department of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Manderson:

This summer the Council is sponsoring SPEED-UP (Summer Project for Educational and Economic Development) in some of the poverty-stricken areas in South Carolina. About 125 college students from S.C. will be participating in the program. In order to enable the students to do effective work in the area of poverty, we are giving them an intensive one-week orientation starting June 5.

Alice Spearman mentioned some psychological studies done by Dr. Robert Coles that might be of great help to the students. She also said that she was sure that we could count on you to send us information on these studies soon. If there are any of these studies left, would it be possible for us to obtain them, either with or without charge, before June 5. We would need at least 125-130 copies.

Any help you can give us on this matter will be greatly appreciated. Hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Cathy Tyler

Cathy Tyler
Coordinator of Orientation
SPEED-UP

May 12, 1966

Miss Cathy Tyler
Coordinator of Orientation
Project SPEED-UP
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Tyler:

Your letter of May 10 to Miss Manderson has been referred to me.

The psychiatric study of children involved in school desegregation has proved popular beyond our expectations, so that our stock is reduced. We could give you up to 50 copies, if that would help. We cannot spare more until a new printing is completed, and I am afraid that this will not be done before your orientation week.

Enclosed is a copy of an old issue of "New South" containing an article along this line by Dr. Coles. We could send you 125 copies of this issue, if that would be a helpful substitute.

We'll wait to hear from you.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

From the Desk of . . .

CAROLE TAYLOR

18 May 1966

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

We were very impressed by your new pamphlet, "The Continuing Crisis". Could we have two dozen copies? Bill us for these.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Carole Taylor

Secretary

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

SPEED-UP

Pat - Type a label and ask Bernice to send 125 copies of the attached issue of New South to them

E

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

254-7608 "Program for Progress" 256-8808

ADVISORY BOARD

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Most Reverend Ernest L. Unterkoefler
Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston

May 24, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

I am so very sorry for my tardiness in answering your letter, but unfortunately, it had been misplaced and I just discovered it today.

At any rate, I am sure that we will be able to use the issues (125) of "new South," although I regret that we will not be able to use the earlier studies of Dr. Coles. I will appreciate it very much if you could send this material on to us as soon as possible.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Cathy Tyler

Cathy Tyler
Coordinator of Orientation

June 15, 1966

Mr. James Tate
Alabama A & M College
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear James:

I understand from Bob Valder that you have thought out-loud about the possibility of entering the field of human relations at some time or other. I wonder just how serious you are about this possibility. If you are, indeed, thinking about it why don't you send me a resume. I don't have any specific position in mind at the moment, but we do hear from time to time of personnel need both in the state Councils on Human Relations, which are associated with us, and various other agencies.

Be sure to include any information about geographic areas in which you will be willing to serve and any limitations as to the kind of agency with which you will be willing to work, for example whether government or private agencies only.

We miss Huntsville and would really like to hear how things are going in the town, and especially in the church.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

September 12, 1966

Mr. A. P. Tureaud
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Tureaud:

It was a great pleasure to meet you and talk to you last Thursday. I appreciate your giving Mrs. Miller and me a few minutes out of your busy day.

If we can do anything to assist you in any of your efforts toward civil rights in Louisiana, please call on us.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

November 14, 1966

Mr. Arthur R. Thiel
Director of Research
Public Affairs Research Council
of Louisiana, Inc.
Post Office Box 2748
Baton Rouge 1, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Thiel:

Thank you very much for taking time from your duties last week to talk to me about PAR. Our conversation was interesting and stimulating to me.

I appreciate the value of what you are doing at PAR and have suggested to Mrs. Patricia Miller, Executive Director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, that the Council join PAR, in order to be sure of getting your publications as they come out.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 1, 1966

The Reverend Thomas Terry
5813 Ivywood Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36619

Dear Rev. Terry:

We have been told by a member of our Board of Directors, The Reverend Powers McLeod, that you might be interested in work in the field of intergroup relations. If so, we wish to invite you to send us a resume, including biographical and educational data, career experience, family information, and any other pertinent information.

While we have no specific openings at the moment ourselves, and while our relationship to the state councils on human relations is only advisory as far as personnel matters are concerned, we do have opportunity, from time to time to suggest prospects to the councils and other agencies.

I am to be in Mobile on January 17, and perhaps we could discuss the matter further at that time, if no opportunity arises before that date.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

cc: Powers McLeod

December 9, 1966

The Reverend J. Thomas Terry
4813 Iveywood Drive
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Terry:

Thank you for your letter of December 7 and for the resume, which I have read with interest. You do seem to have a background that would be valuable for human relations work in the South.

Mrs. Alice Spearman of the South Carolina Council told me that she too has been in touch with you. It may be that she would want to arrange an interview with you. Be that as it may, I shall look forward to seeing you in Mobile on January 17.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman

March 4, 1966

Mr. Carl E. Ulrich
Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Church
4938 Old Brownsboro Road
Louisville, Kentucky 40222

Dear Mr. Ulrich:

Your letter of January 17 and resume of job experiences has been referred to me by Mr. Paul Anthony.

We have no appropriate job openings at present in the Southern Regional Council itself. Your interests and experiences seem most suited to work with one of the state councils on human Relations. There are ten of these in the South which are affiliated with SRC, although structurally independent, and we do assist them to find needed personnel.

A little more information would be helpful. Would you send references, the names and addresses of three or four persons who have known you and worked with you, preferrably in a variety of relationships, during your years in Louisville? Do you have any preference as to location? Do you plan to be in or near Atlanta in the near future, so that you might come for an interview?

Incidentally, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials serves as a clearinghouse for

employment needs and opportunities in this field. You might wish to send them your data, if you have not already done so. The address is 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 9, 1966

Mrs. James N. Wood
4100 Ridgelawn
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Cathy:

This is simply to say "thanks" for the encouragement that comes from reading in the newsletter the good things the Mobile Council is doing -- or at least trying to do. Your "Who's In Charge Here?" series of programs should be good, and it was a delight to read of the enthusiasm for your school desegregation effort.

I don't have Joan Lamb's address, so would you call her up especially to tell her that I think she does a consistently good job with the newsletter?

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

March 15, 1966

Mr. A. F. Westerdahl
1030 Clark Road
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Westerdahl:

In response to your telephone call yesterday, I do have Thursday, May 5, free and it could be arranged for me to speak in Aiken that evening. However, I wonder if you could give me more information about the purpose; that is, what is it that you want my speech to accomplish? Is there a particular interest or program concern of the local group to which you would want me to speak? Your telephone call took me by surprise and I failed to get this information. I would like to have it before deciding. It could be that someone else on the staff here or from another agency could serve your purpose better.

Also, could you provide me with information about the local council -- its history, size, program, composition, problems, accomplishments, etc.?

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Alice Spearman

AIKEN COUNTY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1030 Clark Road
Aiken, South Carolina
April 11, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your letter of March 15 indicating that you may be able to speak at our May 5 meeting. In answer to your questions, the current interests of our local council are concentrated in developing employment opportunities, OEO poverty programs and tutorial programs. We have an active committee meeting with local industries attempting to encourage increased hiring on an equal basis. The local Economic Opportunity Commission has been slow in establishing a program in response to local needs and our organization has been trying to encourage action in this area. We enthusiastically sponsored a tutorial program last year for students transferring to desegregated schools and an even more ambitious program is underway for the coming summer.

If you or any one in your office have experience in any of these areas, I am sure our group would be interested in these experiences and suggestions of the SRC in these programs. But, perhaps more important, I do not believe our group is sufficiently well acquainted with the work of the Southern Regional Council and, therefore, a primary purpose would be to acquaint our group (and our community) with the programs of the SRC.

In answer to your last question, I am enclosing a pamphlet which briefly describes the Aiken County Council. You will note that we have over 120 members. About half of these members actively participate in our programs and attend our monthly meetings. For the size of our community, we have a relatively large and active group.

I hope that this will answer your questions and that you will be able to speak at our May meeting.

Sincerely,

Allen F. Westerdahl

Allen F. Westerdahl
Program Chairman

file

The Aiken County Council on Human Relations was organized in February 1963 for the purpose of promoting good race relations in our county. From an original dozen persons, it has grown to a membership of well over ~~100~~ 120 Negro and white citizens.

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COUNCIL INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

1) It has provided a forum for communication between races, for the airing of problems, for the expression of common goals.

2) It was instrumental in the establishment of the Aiken STEP school for job training and has sought out new employment opportunities for Negroes.

3) It has urged the opening to and use of cultural facilities by all people.

4) It has established communication with the government of the City of Aiken.

5) It worked with representatives of the Aiken County Hospital during the integration of facilities at that institution.

6) It encouraged adoption of a pupil transfer plan for public schools and assisted in presenting a summer tutorial program for transferring students.

7) It established a Student Council on Human Relations.

Some of these achievements have been real ones, some intangible; but in all its activities the Council has sought to work quietly, without undue publicity. Its method has been to negotiate through correspondence or to send representatives to confer privately, and this manner of operation has proved effective. As one of the Council's members has said, "We don't create problems. The problems are there -- we try to work toward their solution."

THE COUNCIL ANTICIPATES EXPANDING ITS WORK IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

1) Contact with county governmental representatives.

2) Increased emphasis on employment opportunities and on compliance with new legislation.

3) Continued emphasis on educational opportunities open to citizens of all ages.

4) Encouragement of programs developed under the Poverty Program.

5) Urging the use of all public facilities by all people.

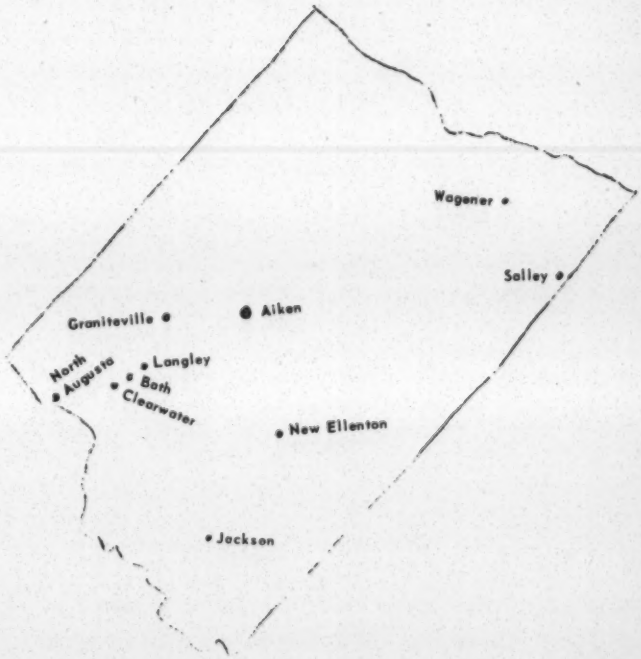
Monthly meetings are held by the Council the first Thursday of each month at 7:30 p.m. at announced locations. Business is transacted, and generally a speaker is provided. All Council meetings are open, and interested persons are cordially invited to attend.

The Council is governed by a 15-member Executive Board which includes elected officers and appointed chairmen of standing committees.

The Aiken County Council on Human Relations was incorporated in October 1964 under a charter issued by the State of South Carolina.

The only qualification for membership is payment of yearly dues of $1.50. Membership is encouraged in the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, with which the Aiken County Council is affiliated.

WHAT IS THE AIKEN COUNTY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS?



April 12, 1966

Mrs. Katherine V. Wolff
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mrs. Wolff:

Thank you for your letter of April 8 concerning response to the school desegregation conferences in Louisiana and South Carolina.

As you know, the Southern Regional Council did not have a predominant part in the program of either conference. This may help to account for the fact that we have received no inquiries or requests for information or assistance from either state. I do have a carbon of a letter from Wade Mackie of the AFSC office in Baton Rouge to a man in Mansfield, Louisiana who has apparently started some sort of organization. Mr. Mackie suggested that the organization be affiliated with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

I suspect that you will get more information about follow-up activities from the several offices of the American Friends Service Committee.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

April 8, 1966

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

You may recall our meeting in Louisiana and South Carolina at the Commission's State Advisory Committee meetings on school desegregation. I attended these conferences to gather information for an article to be used in a new Commission publication, the Civil Rights Digest, which expect to publish next month.

It would be a great help to me if you could provide me with some follow up information on these conferences, and especially on the action meetings which followed. Since the first two conferences were held, for example, has your office received any queries from those who participated regarding community action projects ? Have participants subsequently requested assistance from your organization? If so, where have these questions come from, how many have you received, and exactly what kinds of problems have people requested you to assist them with? Do you have nay personal evaluation of the effectiveness of the conferences held so far and the action meetings which followed them.

Any information you can provide will be of assistance to me in preparing the article. Our copy deadline is May 9, so if you can find some time to answer these questions for me in the near future, I would be quite appreciative.

Good luck in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Vicki Wolff

Katherine V. Wolff
Staff Writer
Information Office

April 7, 1966

Mr. Robert C. Johnson
P. O. Box 295
Mansfield, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Johnson:

It is good to know that you returned home from the Alexandria meeting and want to work in your own community.

I would suggest that your group affiliate with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations, P. O. Box 2992, Lafayette, La. 70501, is a voluntary organization and is not be confused with the state group appointed by Gov. McKeithen.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. James Oliver, the president of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations and he will be contacting you I am sure.

Best wishes to your group.

Sincerely,

WM

Wade M. Mackie

WM/c

cc: Dr. James Oliver

bcc: Garnet Guild
Barbara Moffett
Ed Stanfield

April 15, 1966

The Reverend Russell Wigfield
Director, U.C.C.F.
Southern Illinois University
Box 91B, RR #5
Edwardsville, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wigfield:

We have received an inquiry from Mr. John A. Golden, Jr. concerning employment in the field of human relations, and we are considering the possibility of placing him on the staff of one of the state councils on human relations in the deep south.

Mr. Golden has given us your name as a reference. Would you be so kind as to give us a candid and confidential appraisal of Mr. Golden's capacity for the sort of indeavor?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 15, 1966

Mr. Allen F. Westerdahl
1030 Clark Rd.
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Westerdahl:

This is to confirm that I will be present to speak at the meeting of the Aiken Council on Human Relations on Thursday, May 5.

In keeping with your suggestion, I shall plan to concentrate mostly on the Southern Regional Council and its current program.

I would appreciate it if you would reserve me a room for the night of the 5th at a convenient hotel.

Thank you very much for your helpful letter and I look forward to meeting you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

1030 Clark Rd
Aiken S.C.
4/29/66

Mr. Edwin Starfield
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Starfield

We are very pleased that you will speak to our group at our May 5th meeting.
The meeting will be held at the Aiken County Health Center, 736 Richland Ave (Highway 1-78). It is on the left as you enter Aiken.

I'll make reservations for you at the Hilltop Motel, also on highway 1 and 78 about a mile before you reach Aiken coming from Augusta.

If you arrive in Aiken before supper, please call me by phone or come by my house, as we would like to have you join us for supper. The meeting is not till about 7:30 PM, so we will probably have supper about 6:00 PM. My telephone No. is 648-8687.

We appreciate your taking the time to come to Aiken and I look forward to meeting you.

Yours truly
Allen F. Westerdahl
Westerdahl

May 2, 1966

Mr. A. F. Westerdahl
1030 Clark Road
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Westerdahl:

Mrs. Spearman has scheduled me to be in Columbia on Wednesday. I'll spend the night there and make my way to Aiken, perhaps by bus, sometime Thursday. I'll plan to accept your kind invitation to supper, assuming that there will be no problem in getting a bus from Columbia to arrive in Aiken by late afternoon. I'll call you when I get there.

Since scheduling my trip to Aiken, it has become necessary for me to be in Orlando on Friday evening, therefore, I want to catch a 10:30 P.M. plane to Atlanta from Augusta on Thursday night, if this is possible. If that can be arranged, please cancel the reservation at the Hilltop Motel.

I look forward to meeting you.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

May 23, 1966

Rabbi Leon J. Weinberger
P.O. Box 6304
University, Alabama

Dear Rabbi Weinberger:

Thank you for your letter of May 20 concerning the desire of a group of people in Tuscaloosa and the University to form a bi-racial committee.

I wonder if you are aware of the existence of a fairly large and active Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations, which is a bi-racial voluntary association working at problems of intergroup relations and other social concerns. If you are, we would need to know in what way the group you have in mind would differ from this one, in order to know what materials might help. If you are not familiar with the human relations council, I suggest you get in touch with Dr. Raymond Fowler, who is head of the Department of Psychology at the University and immediate past-president of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations. His home address is 15 Hillcrest, Tuscaloosa, and the telephone number is 752-9303.

Please let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Dr. Raymond Fowler

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

TELEPHONE 758-3280
728 TENTH AVENUE
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

RABBI LEON J. WEINBERGER, M.H.L., PH.D.
DIRECTOR

MAILING ADDRESS
P O. BOX 6304
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

May 20, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A group of us here in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and at the University of Alabama, are presently considering the possibility of forming a bi-racial committee to deal with various problems that have come up from time to time.

Would you kindly send us materials that you might have that would help us organize such a committee. Also, we would be interested to know to what extent such committees have succeeded or failed in other parts of the country.

With many thanks, I am,

Sincerely,

Leon J. Weinberger

LEON J. WEINBERGER
Director

LJW/egw

file

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF DALLAS LWV 2626 W. MOCKINGBIRD, DALLAS, TEXAS 75235

2349 Blue Creek Drive
Dallas, Texas 75216
3 June 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

The League of Women Voters of Dallas is studying Human Relations Councils and Commissions as part of our National Item on Human Resources.

We would appreciate you sending us information as to the number of Councils and Commissions active in the south. We would welcome any available material pertaining to the purpose, function, formation and goals of a Human Relations Council.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Barbara L. Watkins

(Mrs.) Myron H. Watkins
Resource Chairman

June 7, 1966

Mrs. Myron H. Watkins
Resource Chairman
League of Women Voter of Dallas
2349 Blue Creek Drive
Dallas, Texas 75216

Dear Mrs. Watkins:

In reply to your letter of June 3, perhaps I should explain, first, that the state councils on human relations which are associated with us (although they are autonomous) are voluntary associations, as are their councils in various cities and counties. They have no official standing with municipal or state governments.

In case you are interested in official human relations or community relations commissions, I have enclosed a list (which appears to be a bit out of date). I should observe that a simple listing means very little. In most cases southern municipal human relations commissions have little or no budget, staff or authority; frequently they do not function, and when they do it is only within very narrow limits. There are exceptions. The Tennessee Commission has a very fine, dedicated staff. The Louisiana Commission on Human Relations, Rights, and Responsibilities has a staff, but it has just been formed and it is not possible to evaluate it yet.

As for the staff and local councils on human relations with which we work, their purpose and function is similar to that of the Southern Regional Council. They have different program emphases, depending upon the needs of their community

and the interests and capabilities of their Boards and staffs. They aim "by programs of research and action, to obtain equal opportunities for all people of the South."

Under separate cover I am sending you a little literature about the Southern Regional Council.

Please let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

CITYWIDE COMMITTEE of INDIVIDUALS and ORGANIZATIONS for HUMAN RIGHTS

P. O. BOX 4404 AUSTIN, TEXAS 78751

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
DR. JOSEPH WITHERSPOON
MRS. JAMES H. MEANS
ROBERT CANINO

Received 8/1/66

4PA
4ES

July 25, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Citywide Committee of Individuals and Organizations for Human Rights (CCIOHR) is a non-profit, charitable, Texas corporation located at Austin, Texas. It was chartered in early 1966 for the purpose of providing an organization in which members of Austin's three major ethnic groups (Anglo, Negro, and Latin-American) could begin to work together effectively for the solution of pressing human relations problems.

Despite the presence of the University of Texas and state government offices in Austin, small progress has been made in this capital city during the past three years in dealing with extensive discrimination based upon race, color, religion, or national origin. This discrimination is to be found in both public and private employment, in union membership and apprentice training programs, in housing, and in certain types of public accommodations such as credit facilities, funeral homes, business schools, and beauty shops. Leadership in the majority "Anglo" group has been almost totally lacking with respect to these matters. For example, no Negro or Latin-American holds a position as a teller or loan officer in any Austin bank. No Negro or Latin-American was admitted to twelve of thirteen building trades apprentice programs. Fifty-two percent of Latin-American families and fifty-seven percent of Negro families have incomes below $3000 annually. In one Negro and in one Latin-American "satellite slum" the families have an annual average income below $2000. Many Negroes and Latin-Americans are paid less than others for doing comparable work. Many of them are purchasing homes under contracts of sale that contain the most harsh of terms, often applied so as to destroy the value of their improvements without any recourse being provided them.

An especially unfortunate aspect of the situation in Austin is that it has a great influence throughout the state. By and large Austin's condition is duplicated throughout the urban centers of our state in which large numbers of Negroes and Latin-Americans live. The CCIOHR was formed not only to set aright prevailing injustice in Austin, but also to provide a model that will have influence upon the rest of the state.

Perhaps the most tragic lack in this community has been the absence of minority group leadership in human relations matters or any vehicle through which it could be developed. The NAACP has been singularly ineffective and no comparable national organization is operating in this city. There has been little co-operation between the two principal minority groups for their mutual progress. The absence of minority group leadership in the Negro community has not resulted from lack of a well educated and capable group of Negro leaders. The absence of similar leadership in the Latin-American community may be attributable in part to lack in this respect. By and large the affluent among Negroes and Latin-Americans have contributed almost as little as the Anglos to elimination of racial and nationality discrimination. They have been apathetic about the tragic conditions of their fellow citizens.

It is one of the major purposes of the CCIOHR to strive to cope with the leadership problem in the minority group communities. It seeks to help potential leaders among the middle and lower income groups of both Negroes and Latin-Americans to emerge as leaders in human relations matters. It seeks to help the two minority group communities to begin work together for this purpose of creating equal opportunities for all their members. It seeks to provide a means by which Anglos with needed training and commitment can assist these potential leaders to become effective as leaders for these purposes. Another purpose of the CCIOHR is to study the nature and scope of human relations problems in Austin and to provide various kinds of services to ameliorate them.

To accomplish these purposes CCIOHR has been meeting weekly in various churches and community centers throughout the two minority group communities. It has developed a membership of approximately two hundred persons, two thirds of whom are Negroes and Latin-Americans. Some of these are small businessmen, others are teachers, still others are managers and employees of local businesses. Its first project was directed toward preparing and securing the adoption of a civil rights ordinance. An ordinance was prepared modeled after those in effect in cities such as Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis. Four months was consumed in presenting it throughout the minority group communities and eventually before the City Council. The City Council refused, as it had twice before in the past three years, to create an official human relations commission or adequate human relations law dealing with discrimination in the areas mentioned above. It fostered instead the development of a private corporation to receive human relations complaints.

Although this is a small achievement, it is a minimal and pitifully inadequate step since the corporation formed lacks basic understanding of existing problems and essential commitment to their solution. It also lacks channels of communication with, and even more significantly, the confidence of minority groups.

The first project of CCIOHR served to provide excellent leadership training for minority group members; it also cemented the members together in an effective working group. The second project of CCIOHR is one of interviewing representative Negro and Latin-American families to elaborate the nature and scope of their human relations problems in employment, housing, credit facilities, and welfare assistance. This project is based upon the theory that one must go to where the problem is, to understand it and to develop constructive and co-operative efforts towards its solution. Minority group persons are conducting these interviews. During the past week, CCIOHR has established a permanent Citywide Center for Human Rights on the premises of the Holy Cross Catholic Church in rented quarters. It is expected that families interviewed will be coming into the Center for assistance and guidance.

A third project underway is that of job counseling. Presently CCIOHR is seeking to establish liaison with personnel directors of government agencies and private employers who will employ minority group personnel. It seeks to know what personnel will be hired and the qualifications wanted. It also is seeking out personnel to fit these jobs. So far two major federal agencies have opened jobs to minority groups as a result of its efforts. One has even designated CCIOHR as its source agency for securing minority groups personnel for job openings.

The purpose of this letter is to inquire whether your foundation would be willing to entertain a request for support of some of the work CCIOHR is attempting. So far it has raised funds by solicitation of members. This has been sufficient for our limited operations to date. It now becomes evident that to maintain a Center and to staff it with part-time and full time personnel that CCIOHR must somehow manage to obtain financial support that goes well beyond what it can hope to raise through solicitation of members. While it will continue to probe for federal funds through OEO, it is reasonably apparent that the City Council at present will oppose the granting of funds for such work as it is doing. Recently, for example, the University YMCA-YWCA sought City Council approval for OEO funding of its services in one of the "satellite slums"; this was rejected.

You might be interested in the nature of CCIOHR leadership. Mrs. James H. Means, one of our directors, has long been one of the outstanding public school teachers in Austin. She is Negro. Her husband is a professor of mathematics at Huston-Tillotson College in the city. I am also one of the directors. I have been a professor of law at the University of Texas School of Law since 1948, and have publications in the fields of civil rights, administrative law, and jurisprudence.

Mr. Robert E. Canino, our third director, is a state hospital employee in the field of psychiatric care. He is also chairman of the American G I Forum, Austin Chapter, which is a specialized organization for administering to the needs of Latin-Americans. Our subcommittees are each co-chaired by an Anglo, a Negro, and a Latin-American. At the present time we have subcommittees for the Study of Minority Group Problems, Job Counseling, Programs, Complaints, Negotiation, and Funding. Professor Bassett Maguire of the University of Texas Zoology faculty, Mr. Michael Hernandez, a doctoral candidate at the same University, and Mr. Milton Gooden, an officer in a Public Employees Union serve on our Negotiation Committee. The other committees are staffed by similarly well qualified persons.

We need immediate funding to support our present minority group study and counseling efforts at our center. We feel a sum of $2000 would be of substantial assistance to us for these purposes and enable us to carry through for the next four to six months. We also estimate that we need to find ways of supporting an annual budget of around $25,000 to maintain a staff at the center as well as the center itself. We hope to discover ways of raising some of this money locally.

It is our hope that your organization will have a general interest in what we are doing and that, if it does, you will provide us with information that will be helpful to us in preparing a proposal along the lines indicated above.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Witherspoon

Joseph P. Witherspoon
Professor of Law and
Member, Board of Directors
CCIOHR

JPW:ec

September 13, 1966

The Reverend Francis X. Walter, Director
Selma Inter-Religious Project
810 - 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Francis

I am sorry that we failed to get your name on our mailing list for meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference.

Enclosed please find a copy of a notice of the meeting which is to be held next week. I think it will be an unusually interesting meeting and hope you can attend.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

Attch.

September 14, 1966

Dr. Stewart A. Wilber
Replacement Committee
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Dr. Wilber:

Your letter of September 8 to Mr. Anthony has been referred to me for answer.

In general we have found that a genuine sense of commitment, together with mature emotional balance are the strongest and most important qualifications for the job of Executive Director of a Human Relations Council. A good sense in administrative ability also is important, of course. Neither Mr. Anthony nor I feel that previous experience as a professional in this field is a high priority consideration.

I am enclosing a resume' on a young man who is working temporarily in our office here. Asyyou can see he is exceptionally able. Because of his lack of experience in this field in particular and in adminstrative positions generally, we would prefer to see him continue here for at least three months before taking any position. We do have a very high estimate of him, however, and think that you might profitably consider him.

If we can be of further assistance in any way, please let us know.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

Attch.

September 15, 1966

Dr. Joseph Witherspoon
Citywide Committee of Individuals
and Organizations for Human Rights
P. O. Box 4404
Austin, Texas 78751

Dear Dr. Witherspoon:

This is just to follow up on my correspondence with you and Mr. John J. Doyle in August. We are interested in Austin and in Texas and are eager to render any service we can to your organization.

As you know, Mr. Marvin Wall of our office visited Austin while you were away and talked to Mr. Doyle and others from CCIOHR. His report was highly complimentary.

I hope to be in Dallas in the near future to explore the possibility of a human relations council in that city. If possible I would like to visit Austin also, and I wonder if you have a regular meeting date on which I could arrange my visit.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Attch.

November 2, 1966

Dr. T. Franklin Williams
2712 Capers Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Dr. Williams:

Enclosed is a (very) rough draft of the report on public assistance prepared by John Pecoul which I promised to send you. As I said, it is in preparation for publication.

I conveyed to Paul your comments on the report of the meeting of the Special Committee. He appreciated having them.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosure

December 12, 1966

Mrs. James N. Wood, Jr.
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Dear Kathie:

I have your letter of December 3. The plans for the Mobile Council dinner on January 17 sound great. I am particularly honored to be the cleanup man for so distinguished a personage as Richmond Flowers and only hope that I am more of a winner than he.

It is also gratifying to know that you have found someone imaginative enough to present the "many splendid accomplishments" of the Mobile chapter.

My reservations are for Eastern's flight 139 which will arrive in Mobile at 2:07 P.M. or something like that. I'll have to catch the first flight out the next day. For that reason, and because I really was not expecting you to put me up for the night, you might prefer to get me a hotel reservation.

We are doing what we can about the blasted books, but we don't seem to be very effective.

Best regards,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

PA
ES

December 19, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Kathy and I will arrive on Eastern's flight 102 at 9:27 A.M. Thursday and we have reservations out on Eastern's flight at 8:00 P.M.

Best Regards,

Jim

James N. Wood, Jr.

December 23, 1966

Mr. James N. Wood
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Just want to say that I am delighted with the news.

We have sent Moreland's booklet on buying a house under separate cover and the Chamber of Commerce is sending something or other.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Montgomery Advertiser, Dec. 23, 1965
Editorial
ALABAMA

I think it's important to watch hiring practices & labor conditions at these plants.

The 2 Revolutions Of Wilcox

A few months ago the County of Wilcox was referred to by fanciful conquistadores of the yankee press as a feudal barony. This picture of Wilcox was faithful to the fact to the extent that there were many large landowners no more disposed to alter their way of life than the rich of Darien, Conn., or the ranchers of Wyoming.

There was not a single Negro voter, though the proportion of white to colored is Rhodesian. Wilcox was also Rhodesian in the sense that when Sheriff Lummy Jenkins had a warrant for a Negro, he simply tapped out an order on the jungle tom-tom network to get the heck to the courthouse and get arrested.

It was also a plot of earth where the Negroes in many cases profited greatly by a traditional paternalism of the whites, who were steadfast, Bible-loving Scotch-Irish typified by the renowned Benjamin Meek Miller, the governor whom *The Advertiser* imperishably named the "Rugged Oak of Wilcox." Until quite recently the people of Wilcox frontally opposed a historical process following Emancipation and were astonished to see the walls smitten and breached.

But history does not follow the arrow course of the highway: it turns and bends. The federal revolution was quickly followed by another revolution; in some aspects it may turn out to be a counter-revolution. By which is meant, of course, the announcement that a great foreign corporation will industrialize the county with construction of a $77,000,000 plant.

MacMillan, Bloedel and Powell River, Ltd. of Vancouver, British Columbia has plywood factories and lumber mills in a number of countries and sells to all the world. Its operation will create 700 jobs in plant and woods.

The racial turmoil did not prevent this great investment in Wilcox anymore than the sitdown strikes of the 30s drove industry out of Michigan. The political climate and resources of the area were inducements of such strength as to overmaster other reservations. The same was seen at Hammermill near Selma and will be seen elsewhere in Alabama in the coming year.

What is not known is, the reservations were on the other end. The mill got about 30,000 acres of timber under lease, but its need was more on the order of 100,000 acres. There was a strong sense on the part of the reluctant landowners that the mill and the labor union might bring new conditions and fortify the revolutionary thrust of the federalized agitators.

Last summer a barbecue was held and the crowd assembled in the courthouse to consider the lease matter and the question of the mill. Gov. Wallace was present and earnestly addressed the landowners. It was carried on the local radio. He assured them that the paper mill workers' union, from his experience elsewhere, would not upend the Wilcox order, but fortify it and stabilize conditions.

The evidence is that Wallace convinced his followers and the mill then was able to lease ample acreage for its operation.

So the little town of Pine Hill, with less population than there will be mill workers, will suddenly get a new bridge across the Alabama River, a new airport and a great industrial plant. One revolution bumps another. The rest we leave to the imagesayers.

ALABAMA
BIRMINGHAM NEWS
Sunday, January 23, 1966

Yeas & Nays

Selma march movie costs up to $49,459

BY DAN DOWE, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 22 — Like Topsy, the cost grows and grows on production of the state-financed film of last year's Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march.

The Alabama Sovereignty Commission, which footed the bill, had paid a total of $49,459 for the 58-minute movie up to Dec. 31.

DAN DOWE

Sovereignty Commission records indicate that the Selma march film was its major expense for the past 12 months.

The previous year, the commission had concentrated its spending on donations totaling $39,000 to a now-defunct organization registered in Washington to lobby against the civil rights bill of 1964.

Known as Fundamental American Freedoms, the group dissolved after the rights bill was passed by Congress. During its brief lifetime, however, the FAF was a heavy advertiser in behalf of Gov. George C. Wallace's presidential campaigns in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland.

Under prodding by Wallace, the Alabama Legislature created the Sovereignty Commission in 1963 for the purpose of "safeguarding the constitutionally guaranteed rights of individual states from encroachment by agencies of the federal government."

Other major expenses

IN ADDITION TO PAYING for the movie, which wasn't released until a good half-year after the Selma march took place, the commission's other major expenses for calendar 1965 included legal fees in a number of civil rights cases.

Montgomery attorney Frank Mizell, employed as counsel by the commission when it was organized, was paid over $3,200 during the past year. Mizell helped represent several county

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Montgomery attorney Frank Mizell, employed as counsel by the commission when it was organized, was paid over $3,200 during the past year. Mizell helped represent several county boards of registrars in federal voting cases, and also appeared on behalf of the governor in litigation attacking the validity of the 1965 Voter Rights Act.

The commission paid $1,904 during 1965 to the Washington law firm of Steadman, Leonard and Hennessey for legal work on Alabama civil rights cases at the appellate level.

Other expenses for 1965 included $1,200 to something known as the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics, and another $1,500 to the Citizens Council Forum — a radio show.

Eli Howell, executive secretary of the commission, explained that the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics is a group of scientists that disputes the theory that all races are intellectually equal.

Howell said the $1,200 the state paid to the association financed "dissemination of information prepared by them and distributed primarily to educators, scientists and lawmakers."

In addition to the money already paid, Howell added, the Sovereignty Commission is encumbered for another $1,500 to the organization.

The commission secretary said the $1,500 paid to the Citizens Council Forum was for publicizing proposals by Wallace to hold U. S. constitutional conventions questioning the right of the federal government to interfere in local school matters and in reapportionment of state legislatures.

$42,549 to Texas firm

A BREAKDOWN OF THE SPENDING on the Selma march film shows that the lion's share of the state money went to Katz and Herndon, Inc., a Dallas, Tex., firm which produced the movie.

Katz and Herndon received a total of $42,549 during 1965.

Birmingham radio announcer Leland Childs was paid $4,000 for his services as narrator of the film, and another $25 in expenses, commission records showed.

Edwin Strickland, executive secretary of the Commission to Preserve the Peace and an investigation during the Selma march, received $669 in expenses from the Sovereignty Commission. Another $431 was paid to Henry L. Seale Aviation for rental of an airplane for five hours during the march.

Other expenses involved salaries of Howell, who was raised from $10,000 to $11,000 as of Oct. 1, and several secretaries. Martha Witt Smith, chairman of the Madison County Board of Registrars who also serves the commission on a contractual basis as an adviser on voting matters, was paid a monthly salary of $540 by the state group.

Total expenses for calendar 1965 were slightly over $90,000.

Federal-state relations

DESPITE ITS HEAVY EXPENDITURE on the march film, Howell insists the Sovereignty Commission is now "almost exclusively engaged in the area of new federal relations with states."

He said the group's main function is analyzing federal legislation and court rulings involving reapportionment, voter rights, civil rights, the Appalachian and war on poverty programs, and education.

"We consider these, not always with the idea of opposing them, but to see where they can be utilized," Howell explained.

Whatever purpose it serves, the Sovereignty Commission continues to enjoy popularity with the Legislature and at least some well-heeled private citizens.

Lawmakers approved an administration-backed bill last summer that raised the commission's annual appropriation from $50,000 to $100,000 for the next two fiscal years.

Moreover, Howell said, the group received over $40,000 in contributions from private donors in fiscal 1964-65, and has already been given another $15,000 in contributions in the fiscal period that began Oct. 1.

ALABAMA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1966.

Klan Undercover Agent Studied Racial Strife for Alabama Committee

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8—The state of Alabama hired an undercover agent for the Ku Klux Klan to investigate racial strife in that state in 1963.

The agent, Ralph R. Roton, told the House Committee on Un-American Activities he was appointed to the position after he had asked Gov. George C. Wallace for a recommendation. He said state officials did not know of his Klan connection. He said he was on the job when the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham was bombed, killing four Negro girls.

"Was the state of Alabama paying you to investigate for the United Klans of America," asked Representative Joe R. Pool, Democrat of Texas, who was presiding.

"No, definitely not," Mr. Roton said.

"I know who was paying you," Mr. Poole retorted. "Who were you working for?"

"I was working to preserve the Constitution of the United States," the witness said. "That is my stand."

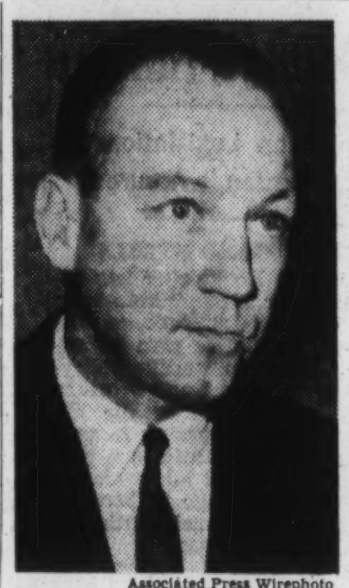
He later acknowledged, however, that his findings on racial disturbances were furnished to both the state and Robert M. Shelton Jr., imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, Inc.

Alabama is the only state where the Klan is believed to have any substantial influence in the state government. It was brought out in the Klan hearings last fall that a Mobile engineering firm paid Mr. Shelton $4,000 for helping it obtain a contract with the Alabama Highway Department.

Governor Wallace's name, however, had not been mentioned in the hearings until today.

Mr. Roton is a crew-cut, 35-year-old electrician who said he had been a member of a Montgomery Klavern for more than six years. In the last few years he has been seen at racial disturbances in the South, carrying cameras and a tape recorder.

He carried a press card from



Associated Press Wirephoto

Ralph R. Roton at House hearing on Ku Klux Klan.

The Independent, an ultra-conservative weekly newspaper in Birmingham, and was present at press conferences and meetings of the civil rights movement. He acknowledged today that it was he who furnished detailed reports of the movement for the United Klan newspaper, The Fiery Cross.

Mr. Roton appeared at the witness table without an attorney and sat ramrod straight as he answered questions. He said that he, like the committee, was in the business of investigating Communist infiltraton

Asks to Make Call

The witness said he was employed by the Alabama legislative commission to preserve the peace in the summer of 1963. The commission, he said, had be set up to study "subversive activities in the state of Alabama." Donald T. Appell, chief investigator, asked him who had recommeded him for the job.

"Mr. Chairman, do I have to answer that question!" he asked. It would not be fair, he said, "to implicate people who hold a high position."

Mr. Pool said the question was pertinent to the inquiry and ordered him to answer it. Mr. Roton then asked for a five-minute recess to make a telephone call, which was granted.

When he returned to the hearing room, the witness said:

"I talked to Governor Wallace He had no idea I was connected with the United Klans of America—to the best of my knowledge. I told him I did investigative work, for whom I didn't say. I said I understood there was a position open and would appreciate anything he could do for me."

After a noon recess, Representative John Buchanan, Democrat of Birmingham, said he had talked to the chairman of the commission, State Representative John H. Hawkins Jr, who said Mr R.oton worked for the commission "for six months or so but at no time did he [Mr. Hawkins] have any knowledge of his [Mr. Roton's] Klan connections."

Mr. Roton, wide-eyed and polite, rankled Mr. Pool and Mr. Appell on several occasions. He said he could not remember the names of Klansmen and was vague about his conditions of employment for the commission. He said he worked for expenses only and was not completely reimbursed for that.

Mr. Pool said he found it hard to believe that any agency investigating subversion would fail to "investigate the investigator."

The House committee has said that its investigation had shown that Klansmen were involved in the church bombing in Birmingham in 1963. The state police arrested three Klansmen on charges of possession of dynamite shortly after the bombing, an action that frustrated the Federal Bureau of Investigation's work on the case. The Klansmen received light, suspended sentences and were never directly connected with the case.

Mr. Roton said he arrived at the scene of the bombing a few minutes after it occurred and took pictures. Asked if he thought the Klan planted the bomb, Mr. Roton said "I don't think they did."

The witness indicated he was more interested in finding Communists in the civil rights movement. Asked how he did that, Mr. Roton said, "To determine if a person is a Communist you follow him around and listen to him."

ALABAMA

2/25/66 THE NEW YORK TIMES, F

A NEGRO BOYCOTT SET IN ALABAMA

Birmingham Ministers Act to Protest Shooting

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM. Ala.. Feb. 24—A committee of leading Negro ministers, stirred by the recent shooting of five Negroes, announced plans today for a city-wide boycott of white merchants.

The object of the protest will be to integrate the Birmingham police force, arouse interest in voter registration and increase employment opportunities for Negroes.

The Rev. Calvin Woods, strategy chairman for the protest, said plans had been made in a meeting of 25 ministers and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"More than 100 ministers have already indicated they will carry the message to their congregations," said the Rev. J. L. Ware, president of the Birmingham Baptist Ministerial Conference. "And we expect many more will join in — from our organization, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and other religious groups.

'Program of Self-Denial'

"We visualize this as a program of self-denial," said Mr. Ware. "We eon't be buying new Easter clothes this year or anything else that we can do without."

The ministers began organizing around the civil rights movement Tuesday, less than 24 hours after a white customer wounded five Negroes who had been picketing the Liberty Supermarket here. Ninety ministers marched around the supermarket to protest the shooting, then selected the committee that shaped plans for the boycott.

The plans call for starting the boycott at an interdenominational rally March 19. Meanwhile, the ministers hope to drum up interest in their weekly sermons, beginning Sunday.

Negro ministers will also be asked, Mr. Woods said, to generate interest in a faltering voter-registration campaign here.

Since the passage of the Federal Voting Act last August, the number of registered Negroes in Jefferson County has increased from 25,000 to 55,000, compared with 160,000 whites. Approximately 60,000 Negroes and 90,000 whites remain unregistered.

Although civil rights organizations failed in a similar boycott here two years ago, the ministers predicted success this time because of increased support from the churches. They said the major decisions would be made by ministers and other Birmingham Negro leaders, rather than by civil rights organizations.

"More Negro ministers are now interested in getting things done than anytime in my memory," said Mr. Ware. "I think the self-denial program will be the biggest program ever undertaken by ministers here, other than saving souls."

Lumberyard Burns in Jersey

Special to The New York Times

NORTH BERGEN, N. J., Feb. 24—A general alarm fire burned a lumberyard and routed hundreds of persons from nearby homes here early today. The police said the blaze, which broke out at 6:10 A.M., destroyed the showroom and warehouse of the Sylvania Lumber Company, 4223 Bergen Turnpike, and damaged two tavern and two garages. No injuri were reported.

ALABAMA Ark Gazette 2/26/66

First Lady Visits Alabama, Receives a Standing Ovation

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. (AP)—Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson spoke Friday at Tuscaloosa, headquarters of the nation's largest Klan group, and received a standing ovation from 2,000 University of Alabama students and 400 members of a women's organization.

The first lady appealed for "offering the hand of partnership in the American experience to our neighbors, putting aside custom and prejudice that deter this."

At the University, where Governor George C. Wallace made his dramatic stand in the doorway and federalized troops had to move in to effect the enrollment of two Negro students, Mrs. Johnson said:

"The promise of equality first made in our Constitution is ours to keep."

The University, where Mrs. Johnson was a six-week summer student in 1931, now has an enrollment of 16,000 students here, 150 to 200 of them Negroes, according to the school president.

A crowd of about 1,000 students and the University's band turned out to welcome Mrs. Johnson on her arrival at the home of University President Frank Rose.

It was a campaign-style arrival by motorcade and Mrs. Johnson shook hands with an airport crowd of about 100, some of whom waved American flags.

On the campus, some students up front carried hand-lettered signs that said "We Support LBJ on Vietnam," and "Draft Lady Byrd for Governor of Alabama."

(Wallace's wife, Lurleen, had announced Thursday that she would be a stand-in candidate running for her husband's position in a forthcoming Democratic primary.)

Mrs. Johnson side-stepped any comment on Mrs. Wallace's move. To reporters making the three-hour charter plane flight with her from Washington, Mrs. Johnson gave this statement:

"In a long life in politics, I have never taken part in a primary, especially in a state where I do not vote."

Mrs. Johnson spoke at the opening of a two-day Alabama Women's Leadership Conference and to an additional audience of students.

She included in her speech, which urged the participation of women in community activities, a low-key appeal for racial tolerance.

She said for a nation that heads for the moon "we seem to be able to do anything except get along together."

"One day we might hope that the conference table in Birmingham or Geneva will be as successful as the assembly line in Huntsville (an Alabama rocket research center) and the launching pad at Cape Kennedy."

A long, standing ovation followed.

Flowers, a Moderate, Joins Alabama Race for Governor

~~POLITICS~~ ALABAMA Ark Gazette 2/26/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers plunged into the governor's race Friday with an undisguised plea for Negro votes and a promise to fly the United States flag on the dome of the state Capitol.

The appearance of the Dothan, Ala., lawyer in a field already crowded with nine other candidates gave him a chance once more to challenge Governor Georce C. Wallace's strong segregationist views in the May 3 primary. He formally qualified after making his announcement.

Flowers' announcement came 24 hours after Wallace's wife, Lurleen, 39, made known her intentions to run as a "stand-in" candidate for her husband, who is prohibited by law from seeking re-election. Mrs. Wallace made it clear that her husband would continue to govern the state if she is elected.

The attorney general, a racial moderate, frequently has taken issue with Wallace in the handling of Negro problems.

Flowers told reporters crowded into his office that "I want the vote of all the people. I want the Negro vote and the white vote * * *."

An estimated 200,000 or more Negroes are registered as voters in the state, thousands of them as the result of the presence of federal examiners sent into Alabama under the new voting rights act.

The Negro vote could exert the balance of power in this year's statewide election.

Flowers made no mention of Wallace in his announcement. But he touched a sensitive area in reminding newsmen that the United States flag flies on a pole on the south lawn of the capitol instead of on the dome where the state and Confederate flags wave.

He said the absence of Old Glory from the dome was "a gesture of defiance that should be put behind us. I intend that such gestures become a part of our past."

If he gets the Democratic nomination, the attorney general said he was certain he could defeat Republican Congressman James D. Martin, the GOP's top vote getter in Alabama and an avowed candidate for that party's gubernatorial nomination.

Flowers promised "a very sane campaign—one based on reason, respect and responsibility—not of this hitting back and name calling."

The attorney general, who personally prosecuted Klansmen in the killing of a white civil rights worker, but failed to get a conviction, criticized the recent Klan investigation in Congress.

He said the hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee "strengthened the Klan by giving them publicity and allowing them to go to Washington and make statements while taking the Fifth Amendment. There was no evidence, just rumors. It made them look good to a certain element of the people."

Another Wallace critic, state Senator Bob Gilchrist of Hartselle, is expected to get into the governor's race before the qualifying deadline Tuesday. Gilchrist, one of those who stopped the governor's drive last year for a constitutional amendment to let him succeed himself, has called a news conference for Monday to make his plans known.

—AP Wirephoto

Flowers tells newsmen he's running.

School Bombed In Alabama; None Injured

V7d Ark. Gazette 2/26/66

From Gazette Press Services

ELBA, Ala. — One wing of Elba High School lay in ruins Friday from two quick explosions and Police Chief I. F. Dunaway said a burned dynamite fuse was found in the rubble.

The explosions, seconds apart, shattered the four-room wing of the school about 10:30 p. m. Thursday, less than 30 seconds after a dinner for the Coffee County Hog Producers Association had ended in another part of the building.

The guests had left the school and no one was injured.

"We know now it was definitely dynamite," Dunaway said. "There were two dynamite bombs. They left two craters."

A deputy state fire marshal was called to the school to help in the investigation along with two Army demolition experts from nearby Fort Rucker.

The dynamite fuse was eight feet long and the demolition experts estimated it would take four minutes to burn. They said five to ten sticks of dynamite probably were used in the two explosions.

A $1,000 reward was offered by the city of Elba for arrest and conviction of the bomber and the Elba Chamber of Commerce also appealed to merchants to contribute to a separate reward fund. More than $500 was raised in less than an hour.

"I just cannot for the life of me imagine why anyone would want to dynamite this school," the police chief added. He said two Negroes enrolled in the school last fall but that there had been no trouble.

The only possible lead, Dunaway said, was the chance that there was a connection between the explosions and two bundles of dynamite found last week in a deserted house on the outskirts of this South Alabama town.

He said the finding of the dynamite—one bundle containing 24 sticks, the other 12, both fused and capped—was "the first thing that popped into our minds when this happened."

He said his investigation of the cache of explosives had produced no leads.

Italian Armored Car Held Up for $64,000

PADUA, Italy (AP)—Three masked gunmen held up an armored bank car Friday and escaped with $64,000.

Alabama Republican Is Favored To Win Race for Governorship

2/28/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 27—Alabama Republicans this year could elect their party's first Southern Governor since 1920 and sweep many local candidates into the state's Legislature, courthouses and city halls for the first time since Reconstruction.

This is the view of many of the state's professional and amateur political analysts after watching the state Democratic party struggle to overcome recent defections.

These forecasters say United States Representative James D. Martin, the Republican candidate, not only has a chance to win the governorship, but at least for the moment must be rated as the favorite.

Already this year in Jefferson County, which embraces Birmingham and is the state's most populous county, three Democratic State Representatives have switched to the Republican party. Two others have announced they will not seek reelection as Democrats, and thus are figuring in speculation as possible Republican candidates.

Still another Democrat, a three-term member of the Alabama Democratic executive committee, has resigned to become a Republican legislative candidate.

The New York Times

James D. Martin

"It is time to spell it out plainly enough for all to see," said The Birmingham News in a recent analytical editorial. "The State of Alabama possibly is going more heavily Republican this year than it did, in a sense, in 1964."

In 1964 Alabama voted 2 to 1

Continued on Page 14, Column 3

Republican Favored in Alabama Race

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

for the Republican Presidential nominee, Barry Goldwater, who opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, over a slate of unpledged Democratic electors. They also elected Republicans to five of the state's eight seats in the United States House of Representatives.

If Mr. Martin wins in November, he would become the first Republican Governor in Alabama or in any other Deep South state since the eighteen-seventies when Re-construction governments were swept out of office.

He would be the first to be elected in any case of the 11 states of the Confederacy since 1920, when the landslide Presidential victory of Warren G. Harding carried Alfred (Alf) Taylor into the Governor's Mansion in Tennessee.

Even more unusual is the prospect of local Republican officeholders in a large number of counties outside the traditionally Republican mountainous areas of the south.

Wife Faces Defeat

If Mr. Wallace's predictions fail to come true, one of the casualties could be his wife, Lurleen, who announced last week as a candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

Representative Martin is identified in the minds of many Alabama segregationists as having virtually the same racial views as Governor Wallace.

"Let's face it," said one newspaperman. "Democratic officeholders in Alabama, and especially Governor Wallace, have spent so much time denouncing the national Democratic party over the segregation question that it is no longer popular in many quarters to be a Democrat."

Gov. George C. Wallace, along with segregationist Democrats in Mississippi, has said it will be possible to keep voters loyal to state Democratic parties while repudiating the policies and candidates of the national party.

The Alabama Republican party encouraged this identification when its 1962 convention nominated Mr. Martin for the United States Senate but refused to nominate a gubernatorial candidate against Mr. Wallace, despite the pleas of a longtime party member who wanted the nomination.

Mr. Martin, then a little-known oil dealer from Gadsden, added to the identification throughout the campaign by denouncing Senator Lister Hill as being insufficiently militant in opposing racial integration.

On election day, many of Mr. Wallace's supporters voted for Mr. Martin, who came within 6,845 votes of upsetting Senator Hill.

Mr. Martin made segregation an issue again in 1964 in his successful campaign for a House seat.

When the state Democratic executive committee voted last month to strike the words "white supremacy" from the party emblem in an effort to appeal to the state's growing Negro vote—there are now about 200,000 registered Negroes—Mr. Martin's popularity climbed still higher among the more militant segregationists.

In recent weeks, however, Mr. Martin has spent little time denouncing racial integration, but has not repudiated his earlier position.

Now he is saying that many of the differences between the races grow out of economics and would disappear if more industry was attracted to the state and more jobs were made available to both races. And industrial development, he adds, will be one of his administration's major projects if he is elected.

"It is a mistake to assume that the Alabama Republican party has a narrow base and is appealing only to the Dixiecrat type of voter," said John Grenier, a former state party chairman, who was a top aide to Mr. Goldwater in his Presidential campaign.

Fiscal Conservatism

Mr. Grenier said that while his party was drawing support from "Dixiecrats" and from members of the John Birch Society, which has more than 100 chapters in the Birmingham area alone, a major part of its support came from businessmen whose chief interest is fiscal conservatism, and from urban dwellers concerned about rural influence in the overwhelmingly Democratic Legislature.

"We will also be talking to Negro voters too," Mr. Grenier continued. "If the Democrats nominate Lurleen Wallace, I think we can count on the Negro vote."

In the opinion of some political observers here, Mr. Martin would lose the Negro vote against any of the 10 to 12 Democratic candidates who are expected to be in the race by next Tuesday's filing deadline, but could win many Negro votes and many segregationist votes as well if Mrs. Wallace is the Democratic nominee.

A Cabby's View

"I'd vote for George Wallace for anything," said a Montgomery taxi driver, "but not for his wife. How do I know she wouldn't get mad at him and do something he doesn't want her to do? So I'm for Martin — he is the next best thing to Wallace anyway."

Mr. Martin and his party also could capture the white vote in the state's predominantly Negro "black belt" counties if newly registered Negro voters succeed in their plans to nominate Negro Democrats to such key offices as sheriff.

Until these counties bolted to Mr. Goldwater in 1964, they had formed the "backbone" of Democratic politics in Alabama, voting in the Democratic column by margins up to 25 to 1.

The Republican party expects to field candidates for 80 per cent of all legislative seats in the state, all of the statewide offices and many local offices.

To insure a strong slate, a team of party recruiters has been touring the state regularly since 1964 in search of candidates.

"I'll say this for them," said Roy Mayhall, the state Democratic chairman. "They are working."

ALABAMA

Salisbury (N.C.) Post
3/4/66

Hold Balance In Alabama

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) — Two civil rights spokesmen foresaw the chance today that Negro voters, rid of the poll tax, may exercise a veto over Gov. George Wallace's bid to elect his wife.

Orzell Billingsley and Arthur D. Shores, both Birmingham attorneys, predicted that 250,000 or more Negroes will vote in a block in the May 3 Democratic primary.

Billingsley said the Negro vote, which has increased rapidly with the presence of federal examiners in 11 counties, may reach 400,000 by the November general election. And, unless for some reason the Negroes find no candidate for governor acceptable to them and decide to stay home, he said he looks for a bloc vote then, too.

Neither of the lawyers would rule out altogether the possibility that Negroes might support Wallace's wife, Lurleen, in her race for governor if she wins the Democratic nomination and goes against Republican congressman James D. Martin in November. Martin has said he will seek the GOP nomination.

But they said it would be difficult to get Negroes to vote for Mrs. Wallace. Shores, himself a candidate for the state Legislature, saw the possibility that a Wallace-Martin race would find many Negroes unwilling to support either candidate.

Billingsley, president of the Alabama Democratic Conference, conceded the bloc vote could go to a Republican in the general election if the Negroes felt that would upset the governor's hope of electing his wife as his "stand-in" successor.

The Alabama Democratic Conference has a screening committee, the attorneys explained, which "studies the candidates and issues." Until that recommendation has been made, they said their organization will withhold any endorsement.

The real impact of the Negro vote, which increased immeasurably because of a federal court ruling Thursday which knocked out Alabama's poll tax, may come in the runoff primary for governor May 28. The two top candidates fight it out in the runoff if no one gets a majority of the votes in the first primary.

If the candidates who gets the Negro support in the first election fails to make the runoff, one of the two in the finals can start off with a bonus of 250,000 or more votes. That could be the difference.

But, cautioned Shores, "no candidate is going to be able to deliver our votes to someone else. We will make our own independent decision about which one to support."

VISTA AIDES CARRY GUNS IN ALABAMA

ALABAMA

5 Rights Volunteers Tell of Threats From Whites

BY JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 5—Five VISTA Volunteers working in Alabama are carrying firearms in self-defense as a result of threats that the volunteers say have come from the white community.

Four of the volunteers are white males. All are Northerners. Their superiors in Washington and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have given tacit consent to their means of self-protection.

The four young men, who have taken a house in Hobson City, near Anniston, have two shotguns and a .25 caliber pistol. William Hansell, 23 years old, of Philadelphia, said:

"If we go out at night it's in two's and there is a shotgun on the back seat of the car."

He said the volunteers did not carry the weapons in the daytime.

Mr. Hansell's companions are Gary H. Mols, 20, of Amherst, N.Y.; Samuel Cook, Jr. 18, of Des Moines, Iowa; and Eugene Peters, 22, of Endicott, N.Y. The fifth volunteer is Ruby Shanklin, 24, a Negro, of Berkeley, Calif., who lives with a local family.

Community Projects

VISTA, meaning Volunteers in Service to America, is the domestic version of the Peace Corps and is one of the programs in te campaign against poverty. The volunteers receive subsistance allowances.

In Hobson City, a Negro community of 900, adjacent to Anniston, the five volunteers are helping with the technical details of town government, organizing recreation programs for youths, developing housing and community improvement programs, and organizing and teaching classes in homemaking, nutrition, sanitation and citizenship.

The group went to Alabama last September. Mr. Hansell, in a telephone interview, said they had been threatened soon after their arrival.

"One of the fellows," he said, "was in a barber shop at Oxford [also adjacent to Anniston], getting a haircut. The barber suggested the five of us get on the next bus out or we wouldn't be alive. It really scared us, his tone of voice and what he said.

"We talked to the Mayor of Oxford. He suggested we change barber shops." Mr. Hansell, after a chuckle, said the Mayor "also said the guy was nuts."

The group notified the F. B. I. but did not hear anything immediately.

Death List Alleged

The Mayor of Hobson City was stopped on the street one day by a white man, "supposedly friendly," said Mr. Hansell, "and told we had better get out of town. We were also told that there had been a meeting and that we were put on the top of an assassination list."

After that, said Mr. Hansell, the F.B.I. called and said that there had been a meeting and that there was a list, but, Mr. Hansell said, the F.B.I. told the volunteers "not to worry."

Negro women who live in Hobson City and work as domestics in Anniston also received telephone calls saying "we ought to get out of town," Mr. Hansell said.

The volunteers, he said, have not heard any threats for "three weeks to a month, but we still get very bad looks."

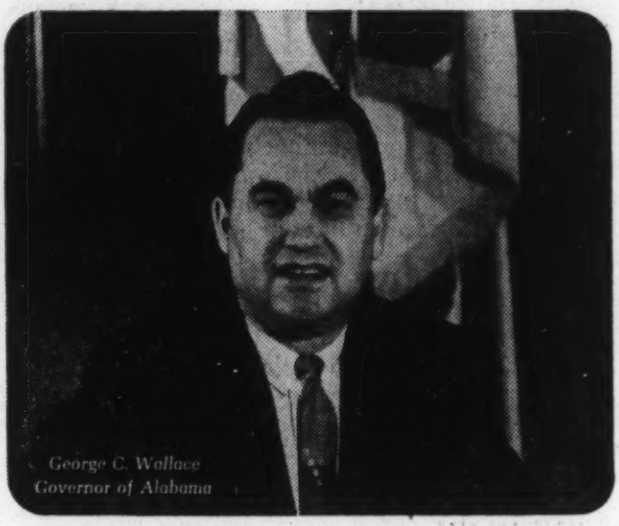
"We feel very safe in here," he said, referring to the house.

"We keep the shades drawn and keep our beds away from the windows," he explained. "The colored people here are very protective of us. They are going and coming from work at all hours and they always go by the house. If a white person appeared on the street at night he would be noticed."

Mozart Festival to Be in June

The annual German Mozart Festival will open in Zweibrücken, Rhenish Palatinate, on June 5 for a program of orchestra concerts and recitals running through June 12, the German Tourist Information Office in New York has announced. "Don Giovanni" will be performed by the Karlsruhe State Opera Company on June 9.

"We made a $122 million mistake in the ads we ran last month..."


George C. Wallace
Governor of Alabama

"When our ad people explained about deadlines (back in early December) we told them we thought Alabama's three-year total in new and expanded industrial plants would hit $1.25 billion. But when we added up 1965's plant investments, the total came to $623 million, and raised the three-year total to $1,377,000,000.

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ALABAMA

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Director *Assistant Director*

State Planning and Industrial Development Board
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Montgomery, Alabama 36104
Area Code 205 — 265-2341

Wallace Plans Extra Session To Aid Schools

ALABAMA.

AC 3/8/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala (AP) — Gov. George Wallace told a group of educators Monday he will call a special session of the legislature to meet school money needs. But he gave no date.

A surplus of about $40 million has built up in school funds in the state because tax collections have far exceeded the anticipated revenue.

The schools can spend only the amount appropriated by the legislature no matter how much more may come in.

Educators have urged the governor to call a special session to make the surplus money available for increased teacher salaries, employment of more teachers, and to meet building needs.

Wallace has indicated he wants part of the money to implement his expanded junior college-trade school program.

NEGROES URGE COURT TO BAR ALABAMA ACT

NYT 3/9/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 8 (AP)—A group of Negroes charged in a suit in Federal Court here today that the terms of office of the Bullock County Commission were extended as a means of preventing Negro candidates from running this year.

The suit asks for a court order declaring unconstitutional the legislative act in 1965 that extended the terms and for another order to permit a Negro candidate to run for the County Commission in the upcoming May 3 Democratic primary.

The complaint, alleged that a Negro, Ben McGhee, had tried to qualify as a candidate for the County Commission from District 2, but had been turned down with the explanation that the term had been extended for two more years and that no election would be held for that office this year.

Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. of the United States District Court took no immediate action to set a hearing on the request for a preliminary injunction that would enable Mr. McGhee to run in the May primary.

ALABAMA
AJ 3/10/66

Liuzzo Case Defendant Dies in 'Bama

BESSEMER, March 10 (UPI). William O. Eaton, one of three Ku Klux Klansmen charged with the night rider slaying of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo last year, died Wednesday night, apparently of a heart attack, police said today.

The 42-year-old Eaton was a retired steel worker and the father of five children.

Charged along with Eaton in the Liuzzo slaying were Collie Leroy Wilkins, 21, and Eugene Thomas, 42.

Wilkins is the only one of the three to have been brought to trial to date. He won acquittal at his second trial, after one jury deadlocked and a mistrial was declared.

Mrs. Liuzzo, a Detroit white woman, was shot to death March 25, 1965 a few hours after the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march ended. She was shuttling marchers back to Selma when, it was charged, her attackers opened fire from a passing car.

Special Session Tied to Primary

3/13/64

By GROVER C. HALL JR.

Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 12—A special session of the legislature became enmeshed with the May Democratic primary.

ALABAMA

Gov. George C. Wallace licked his chops, for the purpose of the session will be to dispense a large treasury surplus to education. He will do it at a time and in a manner calculated to favor the candidacy of Mrs. Wallace for governor.

Wallace has remained attentive but passive as ravenous educators urged him to put the surplus to work. At length, he met with a hundred school leaders at the Capitol, heard their entreaty and promised that he would summon the session.

Wallace declined to name the date, but the chances are that he will move it close to election day in the hope that legislators, eager to return to their campaigns, will meet, act and adjourn quickly.

STATE BUDGET Officer James V. Jordan estimates that the surplus will amount to about $76 million by the end of the 1966-67 fiscal year, while education cipherers predict the figure will be closer to $100 million.

Otherwise, the race for governor was, at least on the surface, stagnant. The singularity of Mrs. Wallace's candidacy elicited chatter over the state and, apparently, considerable favor. But apart from that, there was more talk of Republican Congressman Jim Martin than of all the other Democratic candidates.

Railbirds were scratching their heads over the standing of former Gov. John Patterson. Some months ago he was rated a potent contender and it might again be so, but there were many to say that he was "flat."

PATTERSON OPENED his campaign at New Site, his birthplace in Tallapoosa County, and promised two things: (1) Tireless resistance to federal intrusions and (2) $150 old age pensions.

Gov. Wallace was preparing a formal campaign opener for Mrs. Wallace, perhaps in Gadsden, a labor town in northeast Alabama. Wallace rarely mentions segregation today, but is ever ready to oppose extensions of federal power. He reminds Negroes of how much free textbooks in his administration have done to diminish dropouts.

Former Gov. James E. (Big Jim) Folsom accused Patterson and Wallace of "cussing Yankees to get votes" and predicted that the "Second Civil War" will be ended this year.

ALABAMA

Alabamans Laud and Assail Naming of Negro Deputy

AC 3/16/66

By ROSS M. HAGEN

EUTAW, Ala. (AP) — Appointment of Greene County's first Negro deputy sheriff was lauded by white leaders and condemned by civil rights forces Tuesday.

The deputy, wealthy cattleman Howard Brown, said he was well received on his first day.

"I have had several congratulatory calls from both white and colored," the 45-year-old rancher said. "And when I walked down the street this morning, several whites stopped me and shook hands."

Brown was hired Monday by Sheriff William E. Lee. The appointment was approved by the county commissioners, the probate judge, and the mayor. He is one of the few Negro law enforcement officers in the state.

The sheriff said there would be no restrictions on Brown's official functions.

"He'll make arrests just like the other deputy (a white man) I've got," Lee said.

Asked why he took the job, Brown replied: "One of the reasons is that Mr. Lee asked me to be one of his deputies. The other is that I wanted to help the county any way I can. I wasn't looking for a job."

The sheriff agreed that Brown had little need for the $250 a month post. The deputy owns about 1,700 acres of land and runs about 400 head of cattle, Lee said.

"He lives in a $35,000 pink house here in town and drives a pink Buick," the sheriff said.

Lee said that all of the reaction he has received has been highly favorable.

The Rev. T. E. Gilmore, a Negro competing with Lee for Democratic nomination as sheriff in the May 3 primary, called Brown's appointment "a political trick."

"I don't think this Negro who has been hired is a Negro that most of the Negroes would have put up or wanted for a sheriff's deputy," Gilmore said.

CALLOUSES?

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Alabama 3/13/66

Dr. Thomas S. Hosty of Montgomery, director of the Bureau of Laboratories at the Alabama Department of Public Health, took over as the new president of the Alabama Public Health Association, succeeding Dr. William J. Donald, Montgomery. Dr. Otto L. Burton, Montgomery County health officer, was installed as president-elect. . . . Winton (Red) Blount, Montgomery contractor, was reelected a director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce along with 17 others. . . . David Bridewell of Gadsden, agitated for a hearing before the full Democratic State Executive Committee on the refusal of its chairman to qualify him to run in the primary for the legislature. Chairman Roy Mayhall of Jasper explained that Bridewell had publicly disclosed that in 1964 he had backed Republican candidates and thus violated the Democratic loyalty oath. . . . Dr. Frank N. Philpot, head of the Department of Education and psychology of Illinois State University, was named president of Athens College. A native of Alabama, Dr. Philpot was educated at Athens, Auburn University and Columbia University.

'Bama Police Probe Shots Fired at Car

AJ 3/18/66

ALABAMA

PRATTVILLE, Ala., March 18 (AP) — State investigators and local police are looking for the gunmen who fired into a car containing three white men, slightly injuring one of them.

The three told police that at least two shotgun blasts and several rounds of pistol or rifle fire rang out Thursday night as they passed a building which has served as a rallying point for Negro demonstrators who have been picketing in Prattville this week.

The car's driver, Bobby Sanford, 37, said that he was taking another man in the car, 25-year-old Ken Arden Wilson, home when the car was fired on.

Wesley Brabham, 25, the third man in the car, told police that the first shotgun blast hit the right door of the car, sending bits of paint and metal into his right arm.

He said he yelled, "I've been shot!" Sanford slammed down the accelerator just as a second shotgun blast slashed into the roof and rear window.

A dent police say could have been caused by a light caliber bullet was discovered on the car's trunk lid.

Brabham displayed a series of scratches and cuts on his arm. He said his arm was resting on the door's window ledge when the first blast hit. None of the shots penetrated the auto.

Police reported finding an empty, 12-gauge shotgun shell in front of the building.

A civil rights leader at the building was quoted by police as saying that a mass meeting was going on inside at the time the shooting was said to have occurred, but that no one heard any shots.

Prattville has been the scene of civil rights picketing since Wednesday when a brief scuffle erupted between Negro pickets and white men. Three men—two of them white—were arrested on breach of the peace charges.

The pickets are demanding equal employment opportunities and stepped-up hiring of Negro clerks in downtown stores.

There were no incidents Thursday, although the pickets circled the downtown area for about five hours.

State troopers were called in by local authorities to augment the 10-man force in the Autauga County seat which is about 15 miles north of Montgomery.

U.S. Suit Seeks Alabama Election Where Negro Voters Equal Whites

ALABAMA AL. 3/23/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—The Justice department filed a lawsuit Tuesday to prevent Alabama from prolonging the terms of local white officials in a county where Negro voter registration has caught up with white registration.

The suit, filed in U.S. District Court in Montgomery, Ala., seeks to invalidate a state law which would delay the next Bullock County commissioners' election until 1968.

It was the first suit the department has filed under that section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which requires states covered by the act to clear any change in election procedure with either the attorney general or the federal court in the District of Columbia.

Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach said the department may file other suits against what has been reported as efforts in several areas to evade the force and intent of the act.

Two weeks after the Voting Rights Act was signed last Aug. 6, the Alabama Legislature enacted a law to extend the staggered terms of Bullock County's governing body, the court of county commissioners, from four to six years. This would delay elections for two commissioners until 1968 and for the other two until 1970.

Enactment of the state law went unnoticed until Negroes recently prepared to put up candidates in the May 3 Democratic primary. White officials said extension of the terms had nothing to do with the increase in Negro registrations.

The government suit seeks an injunction requiring the election of two commissioners to be held this year, as previously scheduled, and to open and publicize a period for candidates to enter the primary.

Bullock County, in southeast Alabama, is a rural area with a large Negro population.

ALABAMA

A Negro Is Sworn in By Birmingham Police

NYT 3/31/66

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 30 (UPI) — The Birmingham police force ended its position today as the nation's largest segregated law enforcement body by swearing in a Negro.

Leroy Stover, a 33-year-old Army veteran, said shortly after receiving his patrolman's badge:

"I feel proud and honored."

Another Negro, John Johnson, is to be sworn in tomorrow morning.

The City Council, spurred by Mayor Albert D. Boutwell, announced several months ago that it was seeking qualified Negro applicants for the force, once under the command of the arch segregationist, Eugene Connor.

5-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 1966

NEWS OF THE SOUTHEAST Empire

Vote of Negroes No Longer Scorned

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 2—With the primary a month off, it became evident that the registration of 225,000 Negro voters had done its work.

In the course of the campaign, no candidate for governor has mentioned the word "segregation."

Only one candidate was aggressively seeking the Negro vote, but the rest make it plain that they regard a Negro vote as a merchant regards a Negro dollar — 100 cents and acceptable.

No Democratic candidate for governor in a hundred years had put it quite as bluntly as Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers:

"I want every Negro vote I can get."

Putting it that ways means that Flowers can have no hope of getting much more than Negro votes.

WHEN ASKED at a press conference about Negro votes, Republican Congressman James Martin, who will be his party's candidate for governor, responded:

"I welcome the vote of all citizens who share my principles."

Gov. George C. Wallace heaps the coals on federal juggernauting in Alabama affairs and has said at least once that he hasn't changed his mind about anything. But he has reminded Negroes that

ALABAMA

his free textbook dispensation will cut their toll of school dropouts.

He makes it plain that his programs are designed to help both races indiscriminately. Negroes often seek his autograph, he expects to get a scattering of Negro votes this time and the balance next time.

PROBABLY THE most notable switch was accomplished by former Gov. John M. Patterson. At Greensboro, in the heart of the downstate Black Belt, Patterson for the first time addressed some remarks to a group of Negroes:

"I want to commend you Negro citizens for the part you are taking in your government. . . . I sometimes grieve a little bit that there wasn't more accomplished when I was governor."

The significance of this statement from a previously cold, austere segregationist was not diminished by the fact that Patterson, unless all the signs are awry, is running very poorly indeed. He presumably is desperate for a wind that will move him out of the Horse Latitudes.

ALABAMA

1966.

Negroes Lose Fight To Oust All Officers In Lowndes County

NYT 4/2/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 31 (UPI)—A three-judge Federal panel dismissed Thursday a suit filed by Negroes seeking to invalidate the election of all public officials in Lowndes County.

The Negro plaintiffs alleged that their constitutional rights had been violated and that "the minority white population" had seized all political power in the county.

Only five offices are on the November ballot: sheriff, coroner, tax assessor, tax collector and district attorney.

The Negroes wanted all offices declared vacant, but with the officials allowed to serve until November as "de facto officers." Then every position would have been placed on the ballot.

The judges held such action would have considerable "disruptive effect on the orderly transaction of government."

"In addition, the judges said the plaintiffs should have sought relief shortly before or after the election of the officers and that there were other remedies to alleviate the effects of past discrimination — including the Voting Rights Act of 1965—that would accomplish the same purpose.

The court took exception to the plaintiffs' argument that failure to grant relief would leave "the majority of the people in Lowndes County [until 1970] ruled by persons who have been elected by a small minority of persons who usurped power by unconstitutional means."

The court said the majority of the offices involved would be up for election in November and in 1968.

Sitting on the panel were: Judge Richard T. Rives, Montgomery, of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, and United States District Judges H. H. Grooms, Birmingham, and Frank M. Johnson Jr., Montgomery.

A.E.C. to Inspect 5 Sites

WASHINGTON, April 1 (UPI) — The Atomic Energy Commission announced today that its, chairman, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, and other officials will inspect next weekend five of the six sites still in contention for the installation of an atomic accelerator, or smasher. The sixth site, Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island, is an A.E.C. installation and will not be visited until the other possible sites have been inspected.

35 Arrested At Church In Alabama

ALABAMA
AC 4/4/66

PRATTVILLE, Ala. (UPI) — Police arrested about 35 Negro youths at gunpoint Sunday for shattering the weekend quiet with their "freedom songs."

Police Chief O. C. Burton said he received complaints of loud singing from residents near the First Baptist (Negro) Church. When he arrived with three officers, Burton said, the group was gathered outside the church and indeed was singing loud.

When he told them to tone down their singing, Burton said, they refused, so he arrested them on charges of disturbing the peace.

Burton said he ordered the group to march to the city jail, and when they refused to comply he drew his pistol and warned them that if they didn't go, they would face added charges of resisting arrest. The group then trooped three blocks to jail.

Willie Delon, 19, who identified himself as a field director of the NAACP, said the group formed outside the church to try and get some of the worshippers to join them as services ended.

Services were still in progress when they were arrested.

Delon called the singing demonstration "silent prayer."

Burton said three white boys were arrested Saturday in scuffles with Negro pickets outside a food store. He said they were all docketed on disorderly conduct charges. He confirmed that a demonstrator named Sammy Randolph had suffered minor injury in one of the scuffles in which a white youth was charged, but he said Randolph appeared later in another demonstration.

ALABAMA 4/14/66

FLOWERS DRIVES FOR NEGRO VOTE

His Aggressive Campaign Startles Alabamians

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 13 — Mrs. Valester Russell, a Negro, had finished her lunch of corn bread and coffee and was dipping snuff on her front porch when the sudden appearance of a group of white men and Negroes caused her to jump from her chair in fright.

"It's all right, honey," said a Negro minister. "All we're after is your vote. That white man there is Attorney General Richmond Flowers. He's running for governor, and if you help elect him he'll get you out of this slum."

Mr. Russell was embarrassed as she shook Mr. Flowers's hand.

"I ain't never seen anything like this before," she explained to the minister. "I thouht he was gonna do something to me 'cause I registered. But God bless him, God bless him and help him."

Whites Are Shocked

Throughout Alabama in recent days, Mr. Flowers has shocked whites and startled Negroes by becoming the first major white candidate in modern times to campaign directly among the Negro people in a Deep South state.

"In my administration," he says, "I won't appoint just a few Uncle Toms to say we've got a couple of Negroes in office. I'll appoint people who are intelligent in the [civil rights] movement, who know what the movement is all about."

He also promises to haul down the Confederate flag from the State Capitol and put it in a museum "for tourists to see," to increase welfare assistance for the poor and to enact and enforce state building codes in an effort to upgrade Negro dwellings.

Mr. Flowers's aggressive campaign is making it possible for other candidates to offer concessions to Negroes and still appear conservative by contrast.

Last night, for example, Al Lingo, former director of the State Highway Patrol under Gov. George C. Wallace and widely regarded as a bitter opponent of the civil rights movement, appeared before leaders of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Jobs for Negroes Promised

He dropped a contribution into a collection plate and promised to appoint Negro deputies and clerks if elected sheriff of Jefferson County, which embraces Birmingham.

Because of his attempts last year to prosecute the accused assassins of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a Detroit civil rights worker, many Negroes in the state developed a high regard for Mr. Flowers. Few, however, expected him to campaign so actively for their votes in a state in which white voters have consistently opposed any racial change.

This step was taken, one campaign strategist said, because Mr. Flowers is convinced that the Johnson Administration is trying to persuade Negro leaders to endorse another liberal candidate, former Congressman Carl Elliott.

"By going over the heads of the leaders and talking directly to the Negro people," the strategist said, "the Attorney General is making it very hard for any Negro leader to oppose him.

Mr. Flowers constantly quotes President Kennedy and avoids mentioning President Johnson name.

Associated Press Wirephoto

SPEAKING A NEW LANGUAGE: Al Lingo, center, former director of Alabama State Highway Patrol, contributes to collection plate at political rally sponsored in Birmingham by [illegible] a bitter-opponent of civil rights movement, promised to appoint Negro aides if elected sheriff.

His meaning, however, is clear when he says:

"If you turn your back on Richmond Flowers, on orders from Washington, then no other Southern politican will have any reason to come to you. They'll know that the place to go for the Negro vote is Washington."

Most white politicans in Alabama are skeptical of Mr. Flowers's chances. But Mr. Flowers's key supporters say that a private poll shows he will get at least 10 per cent of the white vote in the primary May 3 and 150,000 ballots from the approximately 250,000 Neroe voters.

This, they say, will be enough votes to bring him in second in the 10-man field and put him in the run-off election for the Democratic nomination.

U.S. to Send Observers To Alabama

AC 4/25/66
ALABAMA

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — The Department of Justice intends to dispatch federal observers to Alabama for the May 3 primary elections to prevent infractions against 1965 voting rights act, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach said Sunday.

In an interview on the Metromedia network — consisting of 27 television and radio stations throughout the country — the attorney general stated that no trouble was envisioned and he expected that "local and state officials in all of these states are goind to comply with the law."

"At the same time," Katzenbach continued, "there are obligations that the federal government has under the voting rights law and were going to be prepared to meet them.

The attorney general said that in addition to the U.S. attorneys office, whose doors are always open during an election, the Justice department plans to have 33 offices open to consider complaints of non-compliance with the law. Moreover, in some counties and precincts there will be federal observers on hand. He said that in at least one county there have been requests for election supervision by observers.

Asked about press reports concerning threats of violence, Katzenbach replied that he had anticipated threats because of the presence of an extremist element in these areas.

ALABAMA 5/2/66

Negroes May Push Mrs. Wallace to Runoff

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Political Editor

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Even the bitter enemies of Gov. George Wallace admit he's a "magician" at pleasing the crowds and that he will hang onto the governor's office another four years by getting his wife elected.

Atlanta Constitution Political Editor Sam Hopkins spent last week observing candidates running in Alabama's Democratic primary race for governor. This is his report.

But, ironically, it will be Negro candidates who make history with clear-cut victories in Alabama's Democratic primary Tuesday while Lurleen Wallace must almost certainly settle for a run-off.

Writer Meets . . .

Some Negroes will win their races because of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which resulted in increased voter registration among Negroes. The registered Negro voters outnumber whites in at least five counties, each of which has a Negro candidate for sheriff.

The change in the pattern of voters has brought on a notable change also in the campaign techniques of some of the Democratic candidates for governor.

"All the candidates are moderate now," one north Alabama editor observed. "They're after that new Negro vote and you don't hear them talking anymore about segregation or integration. Don't misunderstand me. The segregationists still get the message when Wallace or the others cuss Lyndon Johnson or Bobby Kennedy or the federal government or the Communists."

. . . Leading Lady

This particular editor didn't have to elaborate on his own personal political views. Hanging on the wall of his office in a prominent place is a framed picture of President Johnson.

Who will get the Negro vote in the governor's race?

Some say Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers—probably the most outspoken opponent of Gov. Wallace—may get as much as 90 per cent.

Wallace and other candidates told a Constitution reporter that the question of who gets in the run-off with Mrs. Wallace hinges on how the Negro vote splits. He did not seem optimistic that Lurleen could get a majority of the votes on Tuesday.

But Mrs. Wallace, small, trim and slim-legged and sporting a nice suntan from her outdoor speaking campaign, said last week while in the Hokes Bluff community near Gadsden, "I hope I can win without a run-off."

It was at Hokes Bluff that Gov. Wallace learned that a Constitution reporter was in the crowd.

"We've got the Atlanta Constitution here today," he said, then got one of his biggest

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

Experts See Victory For Mrs. Wallace

Continued From Page 1

rounds of applause when he declared, "It ain't any of their business who we elect governor anyway." He also lambasted the national press and the Birmingham papers which oppose him.

Wallace's method of ridiculing and poking fun at all who differ with his views reminds one of Marvin Griffin in his heyday.

Lurleen Wallace is not the type of candidate who excites an audience. She even appears self-conscious when she walks through a crowd of people shaking hands and handing out campaign cards.

NOT REAL CANDIDATE

Of course Mrs. Wallace is not the real candidate. It will be George Wallace who gets the votes, not her. Wallace moves through a crowd confident and cocky, shaking hands, being folksy, slapping people on the back.

A toothless, withered old woman said to a companion after Wallace shook her hand under a shade tree, "Bless his heart."

Wallace made it clear at Hokes Bluff who would be the boss if Lurleen is elected governer. After the speaking was over, this reporter sat down next to Mrs. Wallace in the school cafeteria for coffee and cookies and struck up some talk about the race.

Wallace came over immediately and told his wife

were beginning their demonstration march to Montgomery. Negroes there bitterly resent Sheriff Jim Clark for his attempt to block the march and will vote solidly against him in his race against another white candidate.

Supporters of Elliott and Gilchrist believe their candidate to be the only one who can pull all of the anti-Wallace voters together in a run-off.

TOP-LEVEL MEETING

One source said that if Elliott gets in the run-off a top-level meeting will be held immediately in Birmingham for campaign leaders of the losing candidates to map plans to defeat the Wallaces.

Elliott, who served 16 years in Congress, charges that the "extremist position" Wallace "has taken and the damage he has done to the state was intended to promote his own personal and political ambitions."

Elliott also is telling voters that another Wallace administration would "seriously jeopardize" Alabama's Redstone Arsenal and space flight center at Huntsville and that Wallace "descended to the lowest level of irresponsible demogoguery when he said that our federal government was being run by a bunch of outlaws."

Gilchrist also calls for "an end to demagoguery and demonstrations and the things that create discord, mistrust and misunderstanding" in Alabama.

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Continued From Page 1

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Wallace came over immediately and told his wife sternly, "No interviews." Lurleen refused to answer any questions after that.

3 OTHERS STRONG

The three candidates most political observers feel have the best chance of getting in the run-off election with Mrs. Wallace are Flowers, former Congressman Carl Elliott and State Sen. Bob Gilchrist.

Most of the candidates are so vehement in their criticism of Gov. Wallace that it would seem that they and their followers could join forces in the run-off election and defeat Lurleen.

But each of the other candidates apparently has some "defect" that would cause people who first voted against the Wallaces to switch to them in the run-off.

Flowers, in particular, is seen as a big loser in the run-off because of openly courting the Negro vote.

KISS OF DEATH

The Rev. Martin Luther King and most Negro political groups have urged voters to support Flowers. Most white candidates —even in Georgia—would consider King's public endorsement the kiss of death.

King last week repeatedly urged Alabama Negroes to "bloc vote" both for Negro candidates and against Wallace. He said whites have been bloc voting against Negroes for decades.

King predicted at a Montgomery church meeting that lasted until midnight Thursday that "of the some 80 Negroes running for office this year in Alabama some 50 will be elected."

The next night at a mass meeting in Selma King told his audience, "Dallas County (Selma) gave us the voters right bill." He declared that Negroes must vote together "until every race-baiter will tremble in silence."

Selma was the scene of violence last year when Negroes were beginning their demonstration march to Montgomery. Negroes there bitterly resent Sheriff Jim Clark for his attempt to block the march and will vote solidly against him in his race against another white candidate.

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Gilchrist also calls for "an end to demagoguery and demonstrations and the things that create discord, mistrust and misunderstanding" in Alabama.

The former governors of Alabama — John Patterson and James E. Folsom—are not given any chance of winning. Patterson, who defeated Wallace for governor in 1958, started off strong but is now considered to have fallen back too far to make a run-off.

OTHER CANDIDATES

There are four other candidates, none of whom is expected to pick up many votes.

A record turnout of 800,000 voters is expected for the Tuesday primary. This means Lurleen Wallace would have to get more than 400,000 votes to win without a run-off. There are about 235,000 Negroes now registered to vote.

There is much evidence that Alabamians are just plain tired of listening to 10 gubernatorial candidates fussing back and forth at each other.

"I'll be glad when the whole mess is over," declared a lady clerk in a Sylacauga drug store.

And although every indication points to a final victory for Lurleen, there are some in Alabama who feel that there is a sizable "silent vote" which might surprise some politicians.

NOT FOR WALLACE

An example of this might be the newsstand operator in Talladega who said:

"I'm not for Wallace. He's done more for integration than any governor we've ever had."

The winner of the Democratic primary still must prove himself —or should we say herself — in the November general election because Republican Congressman Jim Martin will be on the ballot as a candidate for governor.

It was Martin who in 1962 came within a whisker of defeating Sen. Lister Hill. Martin, a proven vote-getter who was elected to Congress in 1964, may well prove to be the strongest candidate to face Lurleen this year.

ALABAMA NEGROES STUDY CANDIDATES

ALABAMA

Many Illiterates Memorize Names for Tomorrow

6/2/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala, May 1 — Mrs. Martha Hornbucker, a 70-year-old Negro, was in deep concentration as she studied the name "Richmond Flowers," which had been printed in crayon on the back of a cornflakes carton.

Mrs. Hornbucker cannot read or write, and she was trying on a recent night to imprint Mr. Flowers's name upon her mind "like a picture."

Just how well she and thousans of other Negro illiterates can distinguish one name from another in Tuesday's Democratic primary may have a major bearing upon the chances of 54 Negro candidates and Mr. Flowers, a white candidate who is being supported by Negro political organizations in his campaign for Governor.

And to help the Negro illiterates, who will be voting in Alabama Tuesday for the first time in this century, civil rights workers are making voting instruction a major part of their 11th-hour election preparations.

Other preparations include the organization of car pools and canvassing teams that will go from house to house to get out the Negro vote.

'Memorization Classes'

In nearby Perry County, for example, civil rights workers have printed candidates' names on cardboard squares and are using them like flash-cards in "candidate memorization classes."

After one evening of instruction, Mrs. Hornbucker learned to pick her favorite candidates in 13 different contests, and subsequent "tests" have shown she still remembers.

In other counties, civil rights workers are supplying illiterates with marked sample ballots and teaching them to copy off the "X's" onto unmarked ballots.

The United States Department of Justice, however, expects some Negro illiterates to have difficulty in marking their ballots despite the instruction.

As a result, it is insisting that Federal voting observers have the right to watch any local voting official who might be called upon to help Negroes fill out their ballots.

A department spokesman

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A department spokesman said "a few" white officials were resisting the idea of such observation, but added that department attorneys would hold last-minute conferences with them in an attempt to persuade them to comply with the Voting Rights Act.

Pool of Observers

The Justice Department will decide tomorrow how many observers it will send into the state from a pool of 350 in Atlanta.

The observers—plus from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a team of 20 Justice Department attorneys — also will process any complaints of fraud received during the primary, the spokesman added.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights leader, charged during a three-day tour of the state last week that white officials may trie to "steal" the election to keep the segregationists in power and defeat Negro and liberal white candidates.

His aides said Dr. King made the charge because of "his knowledge" of Southern history. Some historians are convinced that widespread election fraud enabled white supremacist candidates to defeat the integrated Populist party in the late 19th century, and thus, paved the way for the disenfranchisement of many Negroes in the South.

Cooperation Cited

"But most counties are cooperating in this election," the Justice Department spokesman said. "One county named 37 Negroes—seven of them illiterates—to work at the polls, and when we objected that illiterate officials would be a case of the blind leading the blind, they replaced them with Negro school teachers."

In addition to the Negro election officials and Federal observers, many of the Negro candidates will have their own observers at the polls.

The Southern Regional Council and the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., recently trained 100 poll watchers at special classes in Montgomery.

Albert Turner, state director of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, presented this view of the primary:

"Our big concern is the Negro illiterates. About half of the old people in many rural counties can't read at all and a lot of others can't read very well.

"We had thought each voter could take some one to the polls to assist him in voting, but it turned out that this law applies only to the general election and not to the primary.

"That's why we are trying so hard to teach illiterate people to recognize the names on the ballots. I believe we are going to get the voters to the polls, but this won't do us any good if they can't figure out which candidate to vote for."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Negro Seeking Sheriff's Office Given Edge in Alabama Voting

5/2/66 ALABAMA

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ANNISTON, Ala., May 1—Of the seven Negroes running for sheriff this year in Alabama, the Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore of Greene County has the best chance, mathematically, of winning.

Negroes outnumber whites 4 to 1 in that southwest Alabama county, and they outnumber them on the voter registration books by about 3,700 to 1,550. Negro registration has increased from 275 since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and since civil rights demonstrations began in Eutaw last year.

Sheriff William E. Lee, the white incumbent, observed today that he needed about 1,000 Negro votes to defeat Mr. Gilmore in Tuesday's Democratic primary. He said he thought he would get them.

"I'm a racial moderate," the sheriff said. "We've handled the niggers here for 45 years without a gun. They never saw Lee wearing a gun. We don't go out and arrest them; we just send for them."

In the Family Since '23

Sheriff Lee; his brother, A. F. Lee, now head of the State Corrections Department, and his father, the late J. F. Lee, have been the sheriffs of Greene County since 1923.

The sheriff said that he would take it calmly if defeated. Other whites—those with loose ties to the county and no property—will probably move away if Mr. Gilmore becomes sheriff, he said.

Sheriff Lee and four other sheriffs in the fertile area of the state known as the Black Belt are running for re-election in counties where Negroes, for the first time this century, have voting majorities.

In all, 54 Negroes are running for nomination to local offices or for seats in the Legislature in the primary.

About half of the Negro candidates live in 11 counties where Negroes have a population majority. In nine of those counties, according to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Negroes now have a voting majority or a near majority.

Ten years ago, the refrain of a favorite freedom son in the civil rights movement was, "If you miss me at the back of the bus, and can't find me nowhere, just come on up to the front of the bus, I'll be riding up there."

Now at the mass meetings the Negroes sing the same tune but with new words:

"If you miss me in the jailhouse, and can't find me nowhere, just come on over to the sheriff's office, I'll be sheriffin' over there."

Politically, a generation has passed between the two verses. More and more white Alabamans, like Sheriff Lee, are aware of it.

The sheriff is obviously in earnest when he calls himself a moderate. In 1964, hedid something that few whites in the Black Belt would have done. He escorted four Negroes and ate lunch with them in Eutaw's two eating places the day after President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act. Recently, he hired a prosperous Negro cattleman as a deputy.

The sheriff, who is 54 yars old, is a former football star at the University of Alabama. Later, he played seven years for the Green Bay Packers and worked as a wrestler in off seasons.

Mr. Gilmore, who turned 25 today, was once called by Sheriff Lee "a cottonpatch nigger."

"I recognize my stepfather," Mr. Gilmore said this week. "I haven't had much contact with my father. I was raised by my grandmother."

Mr. Gilmore has developed a rare eloquence through his leadership in the civil rights movement. When demonstrations began last year in Eutaw, he led them. A tall, well-built man, he would stride to the front of a line and people would fall in behind and march.

Negro Rated a Sure Bet To Be Alabama Sheriff

ALABAMA

AC 5/2/66

By SAM HOPKINS

Constitution Political Editor

SELMA, Ala.—Two adjoining counties in this Black Belt area will demonstrate the power of the new Negro vote in Alabama when the Democratic primary is held Tuesday.

Just a year ago there was not a single registered Negro voter in Wilcox County, located just south of this county of Dallas.

But after the violence connected with last year's Selma "freedom march" and the passage of the voting rights bill, there are now 3,700 Negro voters to only 2,100 white voters in Wilcox.

Walter J. Calhoun, a tall, raw-boned Negro who speaks softly and flashes a big, white-toothed smile to everyone he meets, is running for sheriff against a white incumbent, P. C. Jenkins.

There doesn't seem to be a way Calhoun could possibly lose.

"I can't conceive of a single Negro in Wilcox County not voting for Mr. Calhoun for sheriff," the Rev. Martin Luther King said Friday in Camden as hundreds of Negroes gathered in the street in front of the Antioch Baptist Church.

"If you elect me as sheriff," said the 30-year-old Calhoun, "you'll have good law and order. Some of the things that have happened in the past won't happen again if I'm elected."

Calhoun, dressed neatly in a dark suit, blue shirt and a tie with a stickpin in it, stood in the coolness of the old Negro church and told an Atlanta Constitution reporter that if he is elected he plans to "have both white and Negro deputies if the white ones will serve."

Wilcox Negroes are also running candidates for the state Senate, two county commission seats and two board of education posts.

"The eyes of America will be on Alabama, and particularly on Wilcox County, this coming Tuesday," Dr. King told the Negroes. "You must go to the highways and the byways to see that your brother votes."

Later that night King drove

Continued on Page 6, Column 3

Negroes Challenge In Bama Voting

Continued From Page 1

here to Selma to urge Dallas County Negroes to "get out the vote and unite" to unseat Sheriff Jim Clark, whom Negroes charge used intimidation and brutality last year during the Selma civil rights march.

"Retire him for ever and ever more," King declared.

There were only 314 Negro voters in Dallas County last year. Now there are 10,200. There are 11,800 white voters. If the Negroes stick together Clark likely will be defeated by another white candidate, Wilson Baker, Selma's former public safety director.

Although other out-of-state newsmen had been unable to get in touch with Sheriff Clark for two days, a jailer on the third floor of the jail house was talked into getting Clark to get up from his sick bed for an interview.

Dressed in a white terry-cloth robe open at the chest, Clark sat down at the big table in the center of the jail's kitchen and talked calmly and goo-naturedly for some 40 minutes — mostly about his Alabama ancesters of whom he is intensely proud. There was coffee brewing and cold biscuits and cornbread on the top of the stove.

Clark described his illness in detail and said it "first causes constipation and then diarrhea and then does this over and over again." Sheriff Clark looked a little pale.

MUD SLINGING

Clark charged Baker with "mud-slinging" in the campaign and that he "is criticizing me for a lot of things he was responsible for last year."

At one point the sheriff suddenly got up and pointed out the window to a building across the street. "Snick, Slick and the Black Panthers are all located over there. Look, you can see the black panthers pasted on the windows."

Clark seemed aware that he might well get defeated. But even if he beats Baker, a Negro is considering running for sheriff in the November general election, and by that time there may be more Negro voters registered than whites.

Although the Negroes are being urged to bloc-vote for Baker, they do not consider him an ideal candidate.

One speaker told a mass rally of Selma Negroes Friday night, "If I were voting for two rats I'd vote for the best rat."

Election day will take on new meaning for the people of Dallas and Wilcox counties Tuesday.

U.S. Watchers Off To Alabama Polls

ALABAMA

AC 5/2/66

By TED SIMMONS and MARION GAINES

A fleet of government cars carrying trained Civil Service Commission poll watchers moved out of Atlanta for various points in Alabama Sunday to "be in position" in case the Justice department requests their services for Tuesday's elections.

The poll observers, who declined to tell newsmen their destination or the purpose of their trip, began leaving the interagency motor pool shortly before noon, traveling singly and in pairs.

Government officials later said they did not know how many men had been sent into Alabama on a "standby" basis, but two reporters saw at least 30 leave the motor pool.

A number of them expressed concern about having to use marked governmental vehicles.

"That's typical of the government," one joked to a colleague. "Two days of closed-door sessions, and then they send us off in marked cars."

The poll watcher was referring to an unpublicized training session staged by the commission. It ended at the Atlanta Biltmore Saturday.

The session, described by the commission's Southern regional director, Hammond B. Smith, as probably the only one of its kind to be held in the country, was attended by an estimated 300

Continued on Page 6, Column 6

U.S. Watchers Off To Alabama Polls

Continued From Page 1

federal employes from all over the nation.

Questioned Sunday afternoon about how many observers were being sent to Alabama, Smith told The Constitution he did not "have any records" at home and could not give a specific number.

STANDBY BASIS

Smith acknowledged, however, that observers had been detailed to Alabama "on a standby basis."

"We have not been called upon officially to be observers," he said, "but if we are called on by the Justice department, then our men obviously have to be in position."

Smith said he had no idea when any such call from the Justice department might come. "Anytime between now and Tuesday morning," he said.

J. E. Doran, manager of the regional motor equipment division, also said he was unable to deal in specific numbers.

"We dispatched a number of vehicles to them, but whether they went out one in a vehicle or five, I just don't know," he said.

NOT AUTHORIZED

Efforts to determine the number of cars and men being used in the project from motor pool personnel also failed. The dispatcher issuing cars told reporters that he was not authorized to say "anything about anything."

He acknowledged, however, that the motor pool, which normally is closed on Sunday, was opened to allow the poll watchers to obtain vehicles for the trip.

Smith said if the services of the observers were not requested, the men would return to their regular jobs after the Tuesday elections. If they are called on, he said, they will perform their duties "openly and publicly."

The elections in Alabama are the first in which the Justice department could request poll watchers to prevent civil rights violations at polling places under the 1965 Voters Rights Act.

Negro Turnout Heavy in Alabama

A 15 5/3/68

WASHINGTON, May 3 (AP)—Negroes — many voting for the first time—helped pile up a massive total of ballots Tuesday in the Alabama Democratic primary, focus of national attention on voting in six states.

It was the first major voting in the South since enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Law and federal poll watchers were in seven counties to guard against election law infractions.

The earliest closing hour for any Alabama polls was 7 p.m., EDT. Some polls had a 9 p.m. EDT closing time and it could be well into the night hours before any clear picture developed of how Mrs. Lurleen Wallace did in her effort to win the Democratic nomination to succeed her husband, Gov. George C. Wallace. She was opposed by nine male opponents.

Most political analysts expected Mrs. Wallace to be the leader among the field. Advance questions were whether she could get a majority and, if not, who would be the runnerup, and contestant, in a runoff May 31.

IN FLORIDA, where there was also a contest for the Democratic nomination for governor, voting was heavy in some areas, moderate to light in others.

Mayor Robert King High of Miami was one of three contesting Gov. Haydon Burns for the Democratic nomination for governor. Closing time for most Florida polls is 8 p.m. EDT.

In other primaries:

OHIO—Balloting light. Republican Gov. James A. Rhodes was opposed for nomination by William L. White, a candidate who was overwhelmed four years ago. Frazier Reams Jr. of Toledo and Harry H. McIlwain of Cincinnati vied for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

OTHER CONTESTS of major interest in Ohio were between Robert Taft Jr. and William E. Flax, a member of the John Birch Society, for a Republican nomination to Congress, and a bid by James H. Bell of Cleveland, a Negro, for the Democratic nomination for secretary of state. Poll closing is 7:30 p.m. EDT.

Oklahoma — Twelve contestants sought the Democratic nomination for governor, and there were three candidates for the Republican nomination. There were contests also for Senate nominations.

Indiana—Principal national interest focused on a clash between Richard L. Roudebush, thrown into the same district by redistricting.

New Mexico—Contests for both Democratic and Republican nominations for governor.

These primaries are first round eliminations, removing within the parties hopefuls for Democratic or Republican nominations for the Nov. 8 elections when 435 House members, 35 senators and 35 governors will be elected.

ALABAMA NEGROES THRONG TO POLLS; 54 BID FOR OFFICE

ALABAMA

Waiting Lines Stretch Up to 3 Blocks Long as Whites Turn Out Strongly, Too

5/4/66

WALLACE RACE IS ISSUE

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9 Oppose Wife of Governor in Move to Succeed Him—U.S. Observers in State

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By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 3 — Negroes and whites jammed polling places today to vote in Alabama Democratic primaries in which government segregation was the overriding issue.

Drawn to the polls by the hope of electing 54 Negro county officials and defeating Mrs. George C. Wallace in her bid to succeed her husband as Governor, Negroes began forming lines an hour before the polls opened at 8 A.M. Central Standard Time (10 A.M. Eastern Daylight time). They continued to turn out in large numbers until the polls closed.

Closing time varied from 5 to 7 P.M., with voting officials empowered to keep polling places open longer to admit persons still in line.

Whites also crowded the polling places under a warm spring sun. Racially mixed lines of voters stretched as long as three blocks in many of the state's 67 counties.

In seven counties, the first Federal voting observers since the Reconstruction period after the Civil War looked on as thousands of Negroes marked ballots and pulled voting-machine levels for the first time in their lives.

Sheriff Races Watched

The turnout underlined the importance of the primary, which could sweep white county officials and legislators out of office in as many as nine Alabama counties and give Negroes the Democratic nominations for such offices as sheriff, state representative, county comissioner and tax collector.

In the view of many voters, victories in any of seven Negro races for sheriff would mean a major social revolution. Most of the Negro candidates were not even allowed to vote in their counties before this year.

Because Alabama is the first state to feel the impact of mass Negro registrations under the new Voting Rights Act, Southern segregationists and civil

Continued on Page 28, Column 5

Alabama Negroes Throng to the Polls

United Press International Telephoto

Laving voting booth in Clayton, Ala., a voter has to duck under arms of Gov. and Mrs. George C. Wallace, posing for photographersb efore casting their ballots in the primary.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

rights leaders were watching the election for clues to what may lie ahead for Louisiana, Mississippi and other Deep South states.

The United States Department of Justice sent more than 200 observers into the state to enforce the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which guarantees Negroes in Alabama and five other Southern states the right to register and vote without interference.

Since the act was passed last August, 122,000 Negroes have registered in Alabama, raising the number of Negroes enrolled as voters in the state to 235,000.

The Birmingham News, which last Sunday predicted that 750,000 persons would vote, revised the forecast at noon to "more than 800,000." And this may have been a "conservative estimate," an editor said.

Such a total would shatter the previous record of 633,000 in 1962, when Governor Wallace was elected after having promised militant resistance to racial desegregation. Barred by the State Constitution from succeeding himself, the Governor entered his wife, Lurleen, in today's race.

Nine Opponents

Although her nine opponents conceded almost unanimously that she was the favorite, they predicted she would fail to get a majority and thus would face the second-place candidate in a runoff on May 31.

Nominees were also named today for the United States Senate seat held by John J. Sparkman, eight House seats (five of them contested) and hundreds of state and county offices.

All but one of Mrs. Wallace's opponents promises to steer the state toward a moderate course in race relations. But Negro political organizations urged Negroes to "make your vote count" by voting in a bloc for Richmond M. Flowers, the State AAttorney General.

Mr. Flowers broke with precedent in Alabama by appearing at civil rights rallies to promise that he would appoint civil rights activists to state posts if he were elected Governor.

"I'll appoint Negroes — and they will not be Toms," he said in the language of the civil rights movement. "I'll appoint Negroes who are active in the movement and know what it is all about."

Three other candidates—former United States Representative Carl Elliott, former Gov. John Patterson and State Senator Robert Gilchrist—charged that Governor Wallace's racial policies had tarnished the state's image, but they stopped short of promising to integrate state government offices.

They accused Mr. Wallace of "demagoguery" and of turning the State Constitution into a "sham" by entering his wife into the race.

Governor Wallace, who made the major campaign pronouncements for his wife, ignored opponents and concentrated his attacks on Northern newspapers, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Federal courts and Communists.

"Stand up for Alabama," he said, "by standing up for the man who stood up for you."

Although Mrs. Wallace's candidacy initially prompted a rash of jokes — "Bedfellows make strange politics" and "We'll need 'him' and 'her' desks"—the laughter stopped as thousands showed up at her rallies.

A Word Avoided

Although Mr. Wallace pronounced the word "Negro" carefully and avoided the word "segregation" in the campaign, many persons remembered that he used state troopers in a futile effort to halt last year's civil rights demonstrations for Negro voting rights.

Only last week, he kept the segregation issue alive by rescinding a one-week-old desegregation program that the state's two mental hospitals had instituted in order to qualify for Federal aid.

Other Democratic candidates in the Governor race included former Gov. James Folsom; Charles Woods, a multimillionaire businessman; A. W. Todd, the State Agriculture Commissioner; Sherman Powell, a Decatur lawyer, and Eunice I. Gore, a retired office worker and outspoqen segregationist.

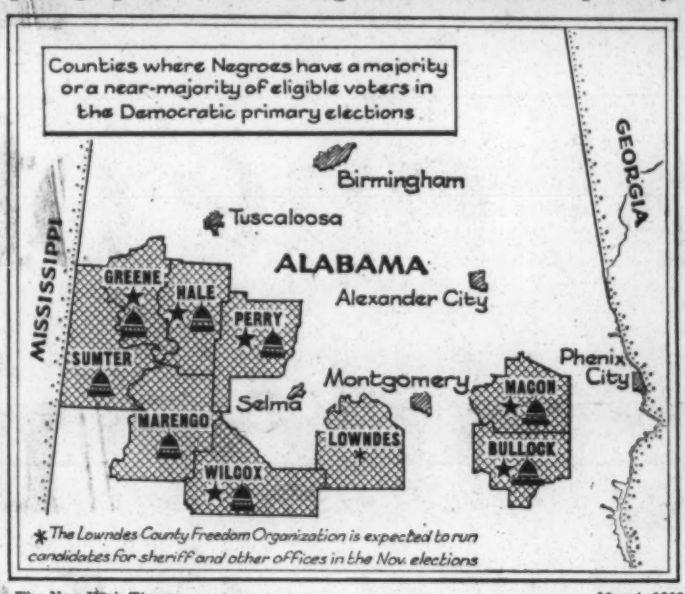
The Democratic nominee will face an aggressive campaign from United States Representative James D. Martin, a Republican who narrowly missed upsetting Senator Lister Hill in 1962.

In the Senate race, Mr. Sparkman was opposed by two men and one woman, none of them politically prominent in Alabama.

Republicans were watching the race closely, however, and were expected to nominate a former state Republican chairman, John Grenier, or a Republican member of the House to oppose Senator Sprkman should the primary show his voter appeal to be sagging.

A Negro political organization, the Alabama Democratic Conference, endorsed Frank Dixon, a Huntsville space engineer, over Senator Sparkman.

Another Negro organization, the Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, refused to make an endorsement in the Senate race because none of the candidates had appeared before it to outline a program for Negroes.



The New York Times May 4, 1966

Star symbol shows where Negroes are candidates for sheriff, dome symbol where they are running for other offices.

Alabama

Wallace Takes Over, Rips Poll Observers

AC 5/4/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (UPI)—Gov. George Wallace Tuesday marked the Democratic primary victory of his wife in the governor's race with a blast at the federal government for sending federal poll observers into Alabama.

"I could have used some of those fellows in primary campaigns I was in," Wallace said referring to his presidential primaries in Indiana, Maryland, and Wisconsin, which he lost.

Wallace made the comments with his wife standing beside him at his campaign headquarters before more than 300 supporters who greeted them enthusiastically with deafening rebel yells and prolonged applause.

Mrs. Wallace, tears glistening in her eyes and with a wide grin, spoke first. She was introduced as "the next governor of Alabama."

She made a one minute statement saying, "This is a wonderful night for us. We are deeply grateful for the overwhelming endorsement to continue the type of government that we have had.

"We will continue to stand up for Alabama," Mrs. Wallace said, and then turned the microphone to her husband who

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

Wallace Scorns Poll Observers

Continued from Page 1

was sporting a "Wallace for Governor" button.

NEXT FOUR YEARS

"We appreciate the splendid support and the endorsement of our administration and the desire of Alabamans who want to continue the same type of government the next four years as we have given the past three years and six months," Wallace said.

The governor denounced the federal observers who came into the state to make sure Negroes were able to cast ballots without difficulty.

"I guess they learned we have always had clean elections in our state," the governor said.

Wallace charged that sending the federal agents into Alabama was "against all the people of our state and nation."

"The next administration will concern itself with all the people of this state," Wallace pledged, "regardless of who they happen to be."

ALABAMA NYT 5/5/66

Crosscurrents in Alabama

The fact of overwhelming importance about Alabama's primary was its peacefulness. For the first time since Reconstruction, Negroes voted in large numbers, and there was no violence or disorder. Politics in a free society scored another impressive triumph.

That triumph is scarred but not basically altered by Mrs. George C. Wallace's easy success in winning the Democratic nomination for Governor. Her election, presuming she defeats her Republican opponent in November, will mean another four years of negative, backward-looking Government under the domination of her husband. Yet he cannot stop social change in Alabama any more than he has been able to prevent school desegregation or the registering of Negro voters in the past four years. Indeed, it can be argued —as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. did yesterday—that "Negroes have made more strides in the face of Wallace's stubborn resistance and emotional reactions than under many so-called moderate administrations."

The tragedy is that violent repression, time-killing court suits and racist demagoguery by elected officials merely breed pointless conflict and civil strife. It is unfortunate that the majority of white Alabama voters did not have the courage and good sense to choose a Governor who would inculcate respect for law and begin the constructive work of racial cooperation that needs to be done. The Alabama whites voted instead to try to escape reality for another four years.

The results in the gubernatorial primary suggest two additional conclusions. One is that restrictions against the length of service of a state official are useless; in a democracy, the majority ultimately gets its way. In this instance, if a constitutional provision had not debarred Wallace from running for re-election, he might have polled fewer votes than he did through the shadow candidacy of his wife.

Secondly, the poor showing of former Representative Carl Elliott, the favorite of the white moderates, demonstrates that events have swept aside the old-fashioned strategy of the middle-of-the-roaders. It is too late to conciliate white racism with discreet silences while covertly courting the vote of Negroes. The stronger race run by State Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, who openly campaigned for racial equality, suggests that candor is the better course—politically as well as morally.

Most Alabama Negroes eagerly and proudly exercised their hard-won right to vote, ignoring in most places the "go it alone" strategy of the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. These new voters recognized that politics is no panacea for all life's problems, whether one lives in Alabama or New York. It is only one of several ways of building a better society. And politics, by its very nature, is a slow, disjointed, complicated way of making progress. In voting freely and in electing a few of their number to legislative and county offices, Alabama's Negroes have at last started on the adventure of democratic self-government. Their beginning on May 3, 1966, will be remembered long after the Wallaces have faded into oblivion.

Alabama

Sheriff Election Row Flares at Selma

AC 5/6/66

SELMA, Ala. (UPI)—An election dispute flared Wednesday over the closely fought sheriff's race between Wilson Baker and incumbent Jim Clark, the man who became the symbol of resistance to the historic Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march.

Baker, former Selma safety director, grabbed a slight lead over Clark and Clark filed a protest, claiming he had found several voting boxes unattended.

Meanwhile, tabulation of the race was halted. At last count, and on the basis of 74 of 80 boxes, Baker had 7,537 votes to 7,445 for Clark.

The two men once cooperated with each other on law enforcement in Selma. But they differed sharply over who was to blame for Selma's racial woes, and Baker quit his post to run against Clark.

Another man who worked with Clark during the hectic days of Selma, and who was unpopular with Negroes—former highway patrol director Al Lingo—lost a bid to win the nomination for sheriff in Montgomery County (Birmingham).

Lingo made an appeal for Negro votes, but lost out to incumbent Sheriff Mel Bailey.

Because of the new federal voting rights act, thousands of additional Negroes were able to vote in Tuesday's primary, but one of their most notable victories was watered-down by a late vote count.

This happened in a legislative race in the 31st District, where it earlier appeared that Negro attorney Fred Gray had defeated two white opponents in his bid for a seat in the Alabama Legislature. But the last ballot box — filled with absentee ballots — to be counted forced him into a runoff and kept him from becoming the first member of his race in 100 years to win nomination to the state Legislature.

The 23-year-old Gray, apparently had won the nomination early Wednesday with 74 of the district's 75 boxes reporting.

The 75th box however gave Gray only seven votes and split the remaining 264 votes between his two white opponents, Bill Neville Jr., and C. T. Milldrum.

Gray will face Neville May 31st in the runoff. The Negro received 8,318 votes to 5,820 for Neville. Milldrum had 3,029.

Several Negro candidates made strong showings in sheriffs' race in the Black Belt region and at least three of them made runoffs against white opponents.

Air Force Veteran Lucius D. Amerson led three white men—including incumbent Sheriff Harvey Sadler—in the Macon County race. Amerson had 2,608, Sadler 2,501. They also meet May 31.

In Hale County the Rev. Henry McCaskill received the most votes but was unable to clear the 50 per cent needed to avoid a runoff. McCaskill had 2,631 to 1,355 for former state trooper Ben Kizziah.

Negro Henry C. Williams pulled down 1,996 votes in the Bullock County sheriff's race and will meet incumbent C. M. Blue Jr., in the runoff. Blue polled 1,210. Rev. Newman had 1,096 for third place.

Another runoff possibility loomed in Perry County where Negro Pat Davis battled it out at the polls with Sheriff William U. Loftis. Two other whites were far behind.

Not all Negro candidates were as fortunate as Amerson, McCaskill and Williams.

Negro Wesley McNear finished a distant third to incumbent Barbour County Sheriff William J. Adams and another white man, Gerald Green. McNear received only 584 votes to 3,246 for Adams and 1,185 for Green.

Thomas Gilmore put up a strong fight at the polls before losing to incumbent Green County Sheriff William E. (Bill) Lee. Lee, a rugged ex-professional football player, polled 1,855 to 1,722 for Gilmore.

In another hotly contested race for sheriff, P. C. (Lummie) Jenkins won his eighth term in office in defeating Negro Walter J. Calhoun 2,923-2,451.

In other races for the state legislature it appeared as though five Negroes could join Gray at Montgomery if they win runoffs.

GOPs Vow to Beat Wallaces in Fall

Alabama

AC 5/5/66

WASHINGTON (AP) — Alabama Republicans took the view Wednesday that temporary emotional factors propelled Lurleen Wallace to her sweeping victory in the state Democratic primary and that their party's chances of winning the governorship are bright.

"I think there will be a different story in the fall," Rep. James H. Buchanan of Birmingham said in an interview. Buchanan is one of five Republicans elected to Congress from Alabama last year.

Mrs. Wallace, who made it clear Gov. George C. Wallace will continue to run things if she is elected, outdistanced nine male opponents and captured a majority vote for the Democratic nomination for governor in Tuesday's primary.

Baker ahead of Clark in Selma sheriff's race; at least nine Negroes make run-off for sheriff, legislator. Page 2.

FLOWERS FAR BEHIND

Runnerup but still far behind was State Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers who had openly bid for the Negro vote and received strong support in Negro voting precincts.

It was the first major voting in the South since enactment of the 1965 voting rights law, and Negroes made their strength felt in many local offices.

The Republicans will nominate their candidate against Mrs. Wallace in a convention to be held July 29 at Montgomery. Unless plans go awry, the nomination will go to James D. Martin of Gadsden, now a representative in Congress.

CHALLENGED HILL

Martin tried for the Senate in 1962 and lost to Democrat Lister Hill by less than 7,000 votes. Martin, 47, is in the oil distribution business in Gadsden. He is a Methodist who teaches Sunday school and served in the Army during World War II, coming out as a major.

There is no general agreement among Republicans as to who may be named to run against Sen. John J. Sparkman, who won renomination in the Democratic primary over two opponents. There has been some talk of John Grenier of Birmingham, if he can be persuaded to make the race.

Buchanan said that the presence of federal registrars and federal referees in Alabama had, in his opinion, stirred up a great deal of emotion which generated support for the Wallaces from many voters with more moderate views on racial matters. He said he felt that there was something of a protest vote against what these people regarded as outside interference and that most of such votes went to Mrs. Wallace.

CALLED A LANDSLIDE

Wallace himself called the outcome a landslide endorsement of his policies and a repudiation of his critics.

Five other states also held primaries Tuesday.

In Indiana, Republican Congressman Ralph Harvey, 65, who first came to Congress in 1947, was beaten for the nomination by Richard L. Roudebush, also a member of the present Congress. A redistricting put them in the same district.

Robert Taft Jr., son of the late senator, won a Republican congressional nomination in Ohio with a 4-1 swamping of an opponent who supports the John Birch Society. Taft served in

Continued on Page 16, Column 5

U.S. Sues On Selma Vote Count

ALABAMA
6/6/66 AC

SELMA, Ala. (UPI) — Six boxes of predominantly Negro votes that could have beaten segregationist Sheriff Jim Clark were thrown out by local officials Thursday, spurring the Justice department to file suit to have Wilson Baker declared the primary winner.

Clark had protested that he found three of the six boxes unguarded before votes were counted in Tuesday's Democratic primary. They were voided by the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee.

The Justice department immediately filed suit in federal court in Mobile, Ala. Assistant U.S. Atty. Gen. John Doar was in Selma awaiting the committee's decision and federal observers were present when the votes were counted.

Without the votes, Baker, Selma's former public safety director, would have won a plurality but not a majority. That would have put him in a runoff against Clark, who beat Baker in a runoff four years ago after trailing in the primary.

Alstin Keith, head of the executive committee, charged the Justice department would "do anything to stomp Jim Clark's guts.

"It's a personal vendetta between the Justice department and Jim Clark," Keith said.

During Selma's racial turmoil last year Clark, in the eyes of Negroes, became the symbol of resistance to their historic Selma-to-Montgomery civil-rights march. Baker took a more moderate stand during the demonstrations that rocked Selma.

The suit said the committee's decision had deprived voters of their rights under the 1965 federal Voting Rights Act.

U.S. ASKS COURT TO DECLARE BAKER WINNER IN SELMA

ALABAMA

Justice Department Sues After Democratic Panel Backs Clark Challenge

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1,672 VOTES REJECTED

5/1/66

Action Might Mean a Runoff May 31 in Sheriff Race in Dallas County, Ala.

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., May 5 — The Justice Department charged today that local Democratic officials had disqualified 1,672 Negro votes to save Sheriff James G. Clark Jr., a segregationist leader, from defeat in Tuesday's Democratic primary.

The department, which had been watching the Democratic primary closely, filed a suit in the Federal District Court at Mobile asking the court to overturn the action of the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee and declare Wilson Baker, Sheriff Clark's moderate opponent, the winner.

The suit asked for a preliminary injunction to prevent the disputed ballots from being destroyed or altered.

Enough to Win

With the disputed Negro votes, Mr. Baker would have won the Democratic primary by a majority of 376 votes over Mr. Clark and two minor opponents, thus avoiding a runoff with Sheriff Clark May 31.

A decision in the sheriff's race in Tuesday's primary had been delayed because Sheriff Clark had challenged the validity of the ballots in six of the county's 80 voting precincts.

The Democratic executive committee agreed with his contention that the six boxes, in predominantly Negro neighborhoods and supervised by Negroes working in an election for the first time, had been improperly handled.

M. A. Keith, chairman of the committee, said the boxes were "so infected with irregularities as to make it impossible to determine which were proper and valid ballots and which were not."

The election had been hotly contested and tempers had grown short on both sides after the results were delayed. Some of Mr. Clark's partisans talked of the possibility of violence last night.

The Justice Department's suit said that Mr. Baker had won the election with 8,994 votes to 7,537 for Sheriff Clark and 1,081 for two minor candidates.

It said that the six boxes challenged by Sheriff Clark contained 1,672 Negro votes and

Continued on Page 41, Column 4

U.S. GOES TO COURT IN SELMA ELECTION

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

162 white votes, of which 1,412 had been cast for Mr. Baker, 92 for Sheriff Clark and 21 for the other two men.

Mr. Doar sent a Justice Department lawyer with the lawsuit to Mobile in an airplane as soon as the Democratic committee announced its closed-door action. The suit had already been prepared.

It alleges that Dallas County voters were deprived of their right under the 1965 Voting Rights Act "to have their votes counted and the results declared in accordance with the votes as cast."

The preliminary injunction would order the local officials to comply also with Alabama law, which requires a party committee to declare the election results before permitting any challenges. The Dallas County committe did not announce the voting results.

Thousands of Negroes who had registered since passage of the Voting Rights Act went to the polls to try to unseat Sheriff Clark. He had become a symbol of segregationist resistance during the Selma civil rights movement when he and his men clubbed Negro demonstrators and jailed hundreds of them.

Sheriff Clark was one of the few white Alabama officials against whom Negroes voted as a bloc in the primary. Several other white candidates, including some incumbent sheriffs, were elected with Negro support.

Mr. Keith said the committee had found in studying the disputed ballot boxes that one had been left unattended for a period of time.

The Negro election officials had "walked off and left it," he said. "It was just too much for them."

He said some boxes had contained sample and duplicate ballots.

Another member of the committee said the vote on the challenge had been along political lines, with friends of Mr. Clark voting to throw out the boxes and friends of Mr. Baker voting against it. The committee has 42 members.

The delay in deciding the election has led to considerable ill temper, particularly among the Clark partisans.

A Los Angeles Times reporter tried to shake hands with Sheriff Clark at the Courthouse this afternoon and the sheriff said to him, "Why don't you go to hell."

A few minutes later, a Baltimore Sun reporter approached the sheriff to ask a question. A man standing beside Mr. Clark said, "Why don't you leave him alone?" and struck the reporter in the abdomen with his elbow. The sheriff restrained the man.

A few dozen friends of Mr. Clark, including armed deputies, talked grimly of "blood in the streets" last night as it appeared that the six ballot boxes might cost their man the election.

A special subcommittee of the County Democratic Committee was up all night last night counting and examining the disputed ballots.

Federal observers watched and helped at the invitation of County Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds, the official in charge of elections.

The Negro election officials of the six precincts had bogged down in their counting early Wednesday morning and Judge Reynolds asked the Federal observers to join a local crew of officials in finishing the count.

The exhausted group interrupted its work about 7 A.M. yesterday and Judge Reynolds impounded the boxes, locking them in a vault at the courthouse.

Federal guards stood watch at the vault, as well as at another room where the remaining 74 boxes of the county were stored.

The Democratic Committee met in emergency session last night and decided to appoint the subcommittee to resume the counting. This decision came over the protest of Sheriff Clark, who wanted the six boxes thrown out without a count.

Several of the sheriff's friends stood in the dark street outside until after midnight, complaining among themselves and warning of violence if the sheriff lost.

Mr. Baker needed more than 1,000 votes to win a clear majority and thus avoid a runoff May 31. The returns from the first 74 boxes gave him 7,537 to 7,443 for Clark. Two lesser candidates received about 1,000 votes between them.

Other Primary Results

Meanwhile, near - complete primary results from throughout the state showed that at least 24 of 54 Negro candidates achieved successes in Tuesday's Democratic primaries. They will be in runoffs against white legislators and county officials.

Eight of these contests will be for the State Legislature and four for sheriff. The others will be for tax assessor, tax collector, county commissioner and school board posts.

Many of the Negro candidates are banking on a "backlash" of Negro resentment against the landslide white vote for Mrs. George C. Wallace, who won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination to succeed her segregationist husband.

"Some Negroes voted for white candidates Tuesday," said Albert Turner of Perry County, a Negro candidate for the State House of Representatives. "But I don't think there will be as much of that on May 31. The vote that the Wallaces got will draw Negroes together much tighter."

One Negro legislative candidate, Fred D. Gray, said he was "looking into a 1,000-vote discrepancy" in the balloting in his three-county district.

HEARING ORDERED ON VOTE IN SELMA

ALABAMA

Court Sets May 16 Session and Bars Tampering With Clark vs. Baker Ballots

NYT 5/7/66

By The Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 6—A Federal district judge ordered the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee today to appear for a hearing May 16 to show why it should not count disputed ballots in the county sheriff's race.

The judge, Frank M. Johnson Jr., earlier issued a temporary injunction forbidding any tampering with the ballots.

The main candidates in the race are Sheriff James G. Clark Jr. and Wilson Baker, former Public Safety Commissioner of Selma, the seat of Dallas County.

Mr. Baker is a moderate on racial matters while Sheriff Clark has become a symbol for segregationists.

Votes Disqualified

In his order setting hearing date on a suit filed by the Justice Department, Judge Johnson also required the members of the committee to defend themselves against a request for an injunction. The injunction would forbid them to give any effect to Sheriff Clark's challenge of ballots cast in six boxes until the votes are counted and Mr. Baker is declared the nominee.

The Justice Department contends that almost 1,700 Negro voters were improperly disqualified in the primary Tuesday to prevent Mr. Baker from winning the nomination. The department says that these votes would give Mr. Baker a clear

Continued on Page 25, Column 5

HEARING ORDERED ON VOTE IN SELMA

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

majority — and the nomination —in the four-man race.

In the earlier restraining order, Johnson temporarily enjoined the Democratic committee and its chairman, Alston Keith, from failing to have Federal observers present when further action is taken involving the six contested boxes.

The Government complaint, filed by John Doar, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, asserts the committee kilure to declare a winner "deprives persons entitled to vote in Dallas County of their right to vote under the 1965 Voting Rights Act."

Sheriff Clark had charged improper handling of the ballots in six of the county's 80 voting precincts, and the county committee upheld him.

Mr. Keith said today, "We were really leaning over backward to stay out of trouble." He said most of the officials handling the disputed ballots were inexperienced. Only two of the 18 poll officials were white.

According to Mr. Keith one box was found untended, another had 40 more ballots than the number of voters assigned to it and two others contained several ballots marked with the names of more than one candidate for the same office. At the other two polling places, he said, the officials were discovered sleeping.

If the predominantly Negro votes among the contested ballots are included, Mr. Baker would win the Democratic nomination and would not have to face Sheriff Clark in a runoff primary May 31.

The committee counted the votes in a secret session yesterday, which was watched by Federal observers, and then announced there were too many irregularities and a runoff must be held.

Mr. Keith said it was impossible to determine which were proper ballots and which were not.

The Justice Department complaint said Mr. Baker had received 1,412 of the votes in the six disputed boxes, Sheriff Clark 92. Including the disputed boxes, Mr. Baker would have 8,994 votes, a majority of the 17,618 cast. Sheriff Clark would have 7,537, with the two other candidates far behind.

U. S. Observers Restricted

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., May 6 — Local officials in three Black Belt counties kept Federal observer from watching white poll work ers mark the ballots of illiterate Negroes in Tuesday's Demcratic primary.

The observers were sent to only seven counties. Thus, in almost half, their immediate effectiveness was curtainedl.

The observers encountered the restrictive policy in Greene, Sumter and Marengo Counties in western Alabama. Some precinct officials permitted them to watch in spite of the policy.

White candidates defeated Negro candidates in all three counties. Negro voters outnumber white voters in Green County by 2 to 1.

The restriction raised a question about the effectiveness of the section of the 1965 Voting Rights Act providing poll watch ers in areas where Negroes have traditionally been denied the right to vote.

The Justice Department said it had not been able to override the local officials because the Voting Rights Act does not explicitly authorize observers to watch the marking of ballots.

A department spokesman in Washington said, however, that the observers had copied the numbers on all ballots cast by illiterates and had interviewed the voters to find out hos they intended to vote.

The records are being studied and if they show that enough illiterates were incorrectly voted to change the outcome of an election, the department will ask a court to take action, he said.

Some Negro candidates and civil rights workers have expressed dismay over the observers' not being allowed to operate freely.

Albert Turner, a Negro candidate for the Legislature from the district comprising Perry, Sumter and Marengo Counties, said the observers had done a good job in his home county of Perry but had not been as effective in the two others.

Mr. Turner said he hoped the Justice Department would correct the situation before the runoff election May 31 in which Mr. Turner faces a white opponent.

A Justice Department spokesman said he did not know whether Federal observers wo be provided for the runoff.

Tells of Complaints

Mr. Turner said he had heard several complaints that election officials in Greene, Sumter and Marengo counties had marked illiterates' ballots for candidates other than those the voters specified.

The Justice Department spokesman said the policy of no allowing the observers near enough to watch the marking of illiterates' ballots had been laid down by the Circuit Solicitor (Prosecutor) of the judicial district made up of Marengo, Greene and Sumter counties. He said the department had ied to persuade him torelent, but failed.

Mayor Willie Gray Little of Linden in Marengo County threatened to arresthe observers if they got too close to the voters.

The Justice Department spokesman said that about 30 per cent of the 80 polling places in Dallas County (Selma) had been covered by Federal observers.

Many of the places not covered in Dallas and the other six counties were manned by Negro election officials and the department did not cover them because it felt that there was little chance of fraud by whites in those precincts, the spokesman said.

Observers did not watch at the six polling places involved in the dispute in the Dallas County sheriff's race.

The Justice Department spokesman said the observers in Greene, Sumter and Marengo, although restrained from watching illiterates vote, still carried out their other duties: watching to see whether state laws were followed, whether persons voted at the right place, whether the counting and tallying were correct, whether voters were challenged properly and whether intimidation was used at the polling places.

Nurses Vote to Resign

The Professional Public Health Nurses Association said last night that its members had voted overwhelmingly at a meeting to resign from their city jobs on May 23 if a new contract agreement were not reached by then. The association said that 450 of its 550 members attended a meeting at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43d Street. The nurses' group has rejected a contract recommended by a mediation panel that would have raised the present annual starting salary to $6,400 from $6,050 and the maximum salary to $8,200 from $7,190.

Court Bans Destruction Of Ballots

Alabama
AP 5/1/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — U.S. Dist. Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. has issued a temporary restraining order barring destruction, mutilation or alteration of any ballot cast in the disputed Dallas County sheriffs race.

The Justice Department had charged that nearly 1,700 Negro voters were disqualified improperly in Tuesday's democratic primary to prevent Wilson Baker from winning the rac from Sheriff James G. Clark without a runoff.

Baker, the city's public safety director, is a racial moderate while Clark is known for his segregationists views.

5-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, MAY 8, 1966

NEWS OF THE
SOUTHEAST
Empire

Lurleen's Victory Pressures Martin

5/8/66

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 7—Long will the tale be told in the commonwealth.

Lurleen Burns Wallace, a farm girl who wanted to be a nurse but became a clerk in a dime store, married a bantam law student who came to call in a highway department dump truck.

She became First Lady of Alabama and, rising to an occasion in fairyland, won an incredible victory as a candidate for governor of Alabama.

Mrs. Wallace did what to many railbirds appeared impossible—she won without a runoff against the Negro bloc vote and nine male opponents, two of them former governors.

SHE CARRIED the home counties of each of her opponents. She ran powerfully in the Tennessee Valley, in the Birmingham area and by the sea in the Mobile area.

She carried all Alabama counties except a few Black Belt counties where Negro voters outnumbered whites. There was nothing sectional in her victory, it was an all-Alabama sweep.

But recently delivered of a cancer, Mrs. Wallace, 39, swiftly mastered the ways of a campaigner. She spoke briefly on the stump ahead of

ALABAMA

Gov. Wallace and she did it with poise and confidence.

THE NEGRO bloc vote in this case was an impotent wheeze. While it made Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers a poor second, it also kept him from getting more than the merest handful of white votes.

It was a great day for George Wallace. Whereas most Alabama governors are dismally unpopular in the last year of their terms, the Wallaces ran far better than he himself had run in 1962.

Former Gov. John Patterson, who had defeated Wallace in 1958, made an unbelievably poor showing. Incomplete returns had him in sixth place.

Republican Congressman Jim Martin, who had expected to run against the Wallaces in November, said that it would be very difficult to defeat them.

The heat will now be on Martin to run against U.S. Sen. John Sparkman instead of Wallace. It will be argued that he can't defeat Wallace and he can't lose to Sparkman.

WHITES OVERCOME ODDS IN ALABAMA

Past Favors Won Votes of Some Negroes in Wilcox

NYT 5/8/66

BY GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

CAMDEN, Ala., May 7 — The chances of political survival looked slim for five white officials of Wilcox County when Negroes filed as candidates against them three months ago.

Only a year before, Negroes were not allowed to vote in the county, but passage of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 changed all that, and now 3,691 Negroes were registered.

The total white population of voting age was only 2,624 in 1960, according the census, and, if a 50-year trend continued, it was still lower this year.

But with the aid of Negro votes, the white officials survived in the primary Tuesday election.

How did it happen? Why did avowedly segregationist white officials get Negro votes in Wilcox and other predominantly Negro counties throughout Alabama's fertile, cotton-and cattle-producing Black Belt?

"It was too early for us to have a colored sheriff," said Lee O. Taylor, a 54-year-old Negro house painter who also works for Wilcox's white officials as a school bus driver. "The white folks wouldn't have liked that a bit and it would have caused us some trouble."

Stays in His Place

"So," he went on "I voted for Mr. Lummie Jenkins to keep on being sheriff. He was well qualified for the job and some of the other white folks were, too, for their jobs. I don't have any kick about them because I stay in my place and try not to give them any trouble."

Buster Lawrence, who is 58 and farms on shares at Possum Bend four miles outside of Camden, the county seat, said he did not care who knew that he had voted for Pete Jones, the county tax assessor, over his Negro opponent. He said he and Mr. Jones had known each other "all our lives." He went on:

"I lived across the road a ways from him when he was little. He's loaned me his car before to go to Birmingham, and when I need borrow a little money, I can get it from him and his family. He helped me, so I helped him."

It was also a case of "doing smething for somebody that did something for me "that led Louis Handley, a 60-year-old farmer who cannot read or write, to bypass a Negro candidate in favor of County Road Commissioner J. C. Martin.

Sent 3 Loads of Gravel

"This little lane of a road that runs from my house to the highway was getting mighty rutty," he said. "And way before all this politics started I went to Mr. J. C. Martin about it and Mr. J. C. Martin sent three loads of gravel out here."

Sheriff P. C. (Lummie) Jenkins, who was the leading vote-

afraid to vote with all of those white people working in the polling places as election officials. They were afraid they might lose their jobs, or something."

Sheriff Jenkins says, however, it was a "real fair election and it went real smooth—there wasn't any trouble at all." And he supports his statement by pointing out that Justice Department spokesmen told newsmen that Wilcox had cooperated fully with Federal observers dispatched there under the Voting Rights Act.

"I would have got even more nigger votes," Sheriff Jenkins says, "if some of those civil rights workers hadn't gone way out in the country and told people that I'd drop out of the race and that they would be wasting their vote if they

next time it won't be so new to us and we'll win."

But Sheriff Jenkins, who at 66 is thinking of still more terms, believes his problems are over.

"This was something new to them [Negroes] and a lot of them voted," he says, "but next time of them won't bother."

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Sheriff P. C. (Lummie) Jenkins, who was the leading vote-getter in Wilcox's primary with 3,460 votes against 2,738 for his Negro opponent, Walter Calhoun, is convinced that Negroes voted for him because he had "never mistreated them."

He had served 27 years as sheriff, refuses to wear a gun, and believes he owns a pair of handcuffs but cannot remember where he put them. When he needs to arrest a Negro, he almost never goes out and brings him in.

"I just send out word to the niggers and they generally come on in," the sheriff says.

After Mr. Calhoun filed to run against him, Sheriff Jenkins fought back by shaking hands with Negroes for the first time in his life.

'I've Always Been Fair'

"You know, I've always been fair to everbody in this county, now," the sheriff declared when he campaigned among Negroes.

Albert Gordon, director of the Wilcox County Civic League, an affiliate of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, concedes that Sheriff Jenkins does not have a reputation for brutality. But he said that his organization wanted a Negro sheriff for protection against white segregationists who openly carried guns in their cars.

Mr. Gordon concedes that Sheriff Jenkins received Negro votes, but he says they totaled less than half as many as the "four to five hundred" the sheriff estimates he received.

Dr. King announced the day after the primary that his "suspicions" had aroused by results in some counties with Black Belt, an area of dark, rich soil and large Negro population. He said that his staff would file formal complaints with the Justice Department.

Mr. Gordon says the complaint from Wilcox County will charge among other things that the combined total of the votes Mr. Calhoun and Sheriff Jenkins received in their race "just don't add up."

The total vote in the sheriff's race comes to 6,198, or 127 fewer than the sum of the number of registered Negroes and the county's entire white, voting-age population as shown by the 1960 census. hisT amounts to a 98 per cent turnout.

The registration rolls in Wilcox list the names of 3,349 white voters and have not been purged in years of people who have died or moved away.

Mr. Gordon said that his organization would ask the Justice Department to "determine whether some of the people who voted in Wilcox are now official residents of other counties and states."

"For the vote to run as high as it did, we would have had to get almost all of the registered Negroes in the county out on Election Day, and we didn't come close," Mr. Gordon says. "We wish we had, but we didn't.

"A lot of Negroes were afraid to vote with all of those white people working in the polling places as election officials. They were afraid they might lose their jobs, or something."

Sheriff Jenkins says, however, it was a "real fair election and it went real smooth—there wasn't any trouble at all." And he supports his statement by pointing out that Justice Department spokesmen told newsmen that Wilcox had cooperated fully with Federal observers dispatched there under the Voting Rights Act.

"I would have got even more nigger votes," Sheriff Jenkins says, "if some of those civil rights workers hadn't gone way out in the country and told people that I'd drop out of the race and that they would be wasting their vote if they didn't vote for Calhoun."

Mr. Gordon denies this assertion and says instead that the primary points to "weaknesses" in the Voting Rights Act. It should have required Southern counties to purge their voting rolls and should have made provision for relatives and friends to hel pilliterates cast their ballots, he says.

Although Federal observers watched as local election officials marked ballots for a large number of Negroes who could not read, Mr. Gordon adds, some of the Negroes were afraid to call out the names of Negro candidates in the presence of whites.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gordon is consoling himself by saying that "we learned a lot about how to campaign this time, and next time it won't be so new to us and we'll win."

But Sheriff Jenkins, who at 66 is thinking of still more terms, believes his problems are over.

"This was something new to them [Negroes] and a lot of them voted," he says, "but next time of them won't bother."

Candidates, Parties Uneasily Yoked

5/15/66

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 14—Evidently the November election will begin with a summer storm and end with an autumn sale.

The Republicans are disputing the Democrats for the office of governor and a United States Senate seat, not to mention lesser offices at every level.

But for the phenomenon of Gov. George C. Wallace, the Republicans would expect to grind all and devour it. As it is, they start with their backs to the wall, for the final returns showed that Mrs. Wallace won 54 per cent of the vote — 480,841 to 407,977 for her nine opponents.

ALABAMA

THE CANDIDATES and the parties are unhappily and uneasily yoked. Gov. Wallace and Sen. John Sparkman are aligned only nominally as Democrats. Sparkman has clamped himself rigidly to the perch in their Democratic dovecote, but the Wallace coo is a growl.

Republican Congressman Jim Martin, who will oppose Wallace, and Atty. John Grenier, former executive director of the Republican National Committee, who seeks the nomination to oppose Sparkman, are wary of one another.

The national Republicans are uneasy over what the Alabama Republicans will say on race matters. The national Democrats see that Wallace may put the hellhacked state party back together, but only to run for President in 1968 on a third party ticket and melt the solder.

DEMOCRATIC officeholders of every rank are of a mind to heave together in the hope of blighting the Republican movement, hitherto a menace to all.

Republican officeholders, not least the four congressmen who seek re-election, are apprehensive over the effect if Wallace achieves another sweep in November.

The momentum of the state's Republican movement is subject to the Wallace peril. The paradox is that in 1964 Wallace made it certain that Alabama's electoral vote would be denied to President Johnson. And he aims to do it again in 1968.

The Republican nominating convention will not be held until July 29 and a lull in the combat might have been expected. But that assumption did not reckon with Wallace.

He telegraphed the two senators and the eight congressmen that he wanted them in his office at 2:30 p.m. Friday to discuss the effects of the new federal guidelines on Alabama's school system.

5/22/66

Talmadge Move Cheers Martin

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 21—Congressman Jim Martin, who expects to be the Republican candidate for governor, was stimulated and heartened over Sen. Talmadge's gubernatorial announcement.

ALABAMA

Picking up the phone in Washington, Martin called a newspaper supporter in Montgomery to alert him to the impending Talmadge announcement.

Martin felt that this development would fortify his theme that President Johnson feared the spread of the Republican contagion in the South and preferred the Wallaces to him.

MARTIN construed the Talmadge enterprise as an integral, Washington - blessed play to block that kick in the case of Congressman Howard Callaway. He argues that the President takes fright of the vision of a Republican South joining with those of other regions to carry the day for Richard M. Nixon.

A few minutes after this call, Gov. Wallace happened to ring the same newspaperman, who communicated the Talmadge tidings and its presumed relation to his race.

Wallace snorted and employed vivid, indecorous language to dissolve the notion that the President would prefer him to Republican Martin.

RECENTLY, Wallace addressed himself to the entire Alabama congressional delegation on this subject. He reminded Martin that in 1964 he withdrew as a candidate for President as a pro-Goldwater stroke and that Martin and other Republican leaders had gratefully called him "patriot," the telegrams being in his possession until this day.

It is widely understood in Alabama that Wallace means to run for President in a full-scale campaign effort in 1968.

MEANWHILE, John Grenier, of Birmingham, former Republican state chairman made a formal announcement that he sought the GOP nomination to oppose U.S. Senator John Sparkman.

"On May 3," Grenier said, "the voters of Alabama clearly called for the retirement of John Sparkman from the Senate. When a senator has been in Washington for 30 years and receives only 40 per cent of the total vote against three relatively unknown opponents; when he loses Alabama's largest urban area, Jefferson County, to those opponents by a margin of 60 per cent to 40 per cent; when he is defeated in the capital of our state by the same margin of 60 per cent to 40 per cent; when he barely carries Colbert County in Tennessee Valley — there can be no doubt manded a change."

ALABAMA AC 5/25/61

Supreme Court Upholds Editorial on Election Day

WASHINGTON (AP) — The supreme Court ruled Monday that a state cannot make it a crime for a newspaper editor to publish an editorial on election day urging readers to vote a certain way.

Alabama thereby was barred from prosecuting James E. Mills of the Birmingham Post-Herald for a 1962 election-day editorial calling for abolition of the Alabama City's Commission form of government.

Justice Hugo L. Black said for the Supreme Court:

"Suppression of the right of the press to praise or criticize governmental agents and to clamor and contend for or against change, which is all that this editorial did, muzzles one of the very agencies the framers of our Constitution thoughtfully and deliberately selected to improve our society and keep it free."

ALL JUSTICES AGREE

All nine justices agreed Alabama's law could not be applied to Mills, although one justice, John M. Harlan, said the court should have delayed its decision until Mills was tried for the violation.

Harlan said if Mills were convicted he, too, would vote for reversal.

Rejecting "such a roundabout process" as a "completely unnecessary waste of time and energy," Black wrote:

"The Alabama Corrupt Practices Act by providing criminal penalties for publishing editorials such as the one here silences the press at a time when it can be most effective.

OPINION CONTINUES

"It is difficult to conceive of a more obvious and flagrant abridgement of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press."

The court, which is expected to end its present term next month, announced several other significant decisions Monday.

Among them were:

1. A 7-1 ruling that the struck Florida East Coast Railway may make "reasonably necessary" changes in work conditions to keep its trains running, but the changes must be strictly limited and under supervision of a federal court in Jacksonville.

2. A unanimous decision permitting reinstatement of an indictment that charges comedian Ben Blue with evading more than $39,000 in income taxes for 1958 through 1960.

3. A 6-3 ruling that the government can move against the Standard Oil Co. for accidentally discharging 300 gallons of aviation gasoline into the St. Johns River from its Jacksonville terminal.

4. An unsigned order throwing out the federal obscenity conviction of a Nashville couple, William Hoyet Redmond and his wife, Dorothy Lucille Redmond, who took nude pictures of each other and later received prints of the films through the mail.

5. An unsigned order refusing to review the conviction of Joe Davis, a New York City phonograph dealer, on charges of mailing obscene records.

After decision— ALABAMA

Clark expected to contest ballot

BN 5/26/66

BY HUGH MERRILL
News staff writer

SELMA, May 26 — Wilson Baker will officially be declared the Democratic nominee for sheriff of Dallas County, the Steering Committee of the Democratic Executive Committee said here Wednesday.

But the committee left the door open for "any interested party" to contest the results of the balloting. And Sheriff Jim Clark, Baker's opponent left little doubt about who the interested party will be.

The seven-man Steering Committee's unanimous agreement was merely an acknowledgement that it must accede to the Federal court's demands that it count the votes in all boxes, including the six which figured in the original vote count dispute.

But it doesn't mean that Baker is home free.

ATTORNEYS FOR Clark are expected to demand an examination of vote counting in all 80 Dallas County boxes within the next few days.

After a 45-minute meeting which committee chairman Alston Keith called "friendly," the group issued a statement saying the committee would certify Baker as the nominee "at an early date."

"THIS WILL BE done in full compliance with the decree of Judge Daniel H. Thomas, although we do not agree therewith and are acting under compulsion and duress," the statement, read by committee vice chairman Chris B. Heinz, former Selma mayor, said.

Heinz refused to answer further questions.

Even though Baker will be certified as the Democratic

Turn to Page 8, Column 2

Clark

From Page 1

nominee, the committee carefully left the door open for a contest suit to be filed.

"THIS ACTION on the part of the court and the committee will in nowise detract from the right of any interested party to file a contest for the office of sheriff with the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee," the statement said.

Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark said he would contest the election on grounds of impropriety in all 80 boxes, rather than just the six ordered counted by federal court.

Lawyers for both Clark and Baker met briefly with the seven-man executive committee before the statement was issued.

Wednesday's meeting followed a decision a day earlier in which U. S. Dist. Judge Daniel H. Thomas ordered the executive committee to count the six contested boxes and declare Baker the winner without a runoff.

CLARK HAD previously filed suit contesting the entire election, but Tuesday's court order said a new contest suit must be filed after the results are certified.

Clark was unavailable for comment after the statement was issued by the committee.

Although there has been talk that Clark would run for sheriff as a Republican if he does not receive the Democratic nomination, a Democratic party official in Dallas County said Alabama law forbids him to become a candidate of another party.

Clark swore to a statement when he qualified as a Democrat saying he would support the nominee of the primary.

AND THE QUALIFYING date has passed for the sheriff to become an independent candidate. But Clark still insists his name will be on the ballot in November, "even if it's as a write-in candidate," he said.

There is also some expressed concern among the white community that a white Republican candidate running for sheriff against a white Democratic candidate might mean a victory for a Negro "Black Panther" candidate.

The Justice Department suit filed in the Selma sheriff's election was the first under the 1965 voting rights act.

One committee member said the official certification of the vote at the meeting expected next week would be little more than tallying the votes in the contested boxes and checking totals against totals found by the Justice Department.

ALABAMA

TURNOUT IS HEAVY IN ALABAMA VOTE

6/1/66

Negro-Versus-White Races Highlight Run-Off Priority

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 31 —Voters turned out in heavy numbers today in 16 counties in which Negroes opposed whites for public office, but they showed little interest in Alabama's other Democratic primary run-off races.

By late afternoon, some Negro and white election workers were predicting that today's vote in the state's predominantly Negro and agricultural Black Belt would approach the record number of ballots cast in the initial primary on May 3.

Almost all white voters in the Black Belt were expected to vote against Negro candidates. Civil rights organizations fought back by bringing Negro voters to the polls in car pools.

It was a crucial election for Alabama, where the races have been aligned against each other in the long struggle over civil rights.

First Election Effort

By transferring their struggle from the picket line to the ballot box, civil rights organizations were hoping to put Negroes into such offices as sheriff, state legislator and tax collector for the first time since Reconstruction.

Segregationists, meanwhile, had urged whites to vote en masse to preserve white dominance in state and local government.

In all, 26 Negroes—eight candidates for the Legislature and 18 for county offices—were seeking Democratic nominations. Twenty-three of them were survivors from the first primary in which 54 Negro candidates had sought a voice in county government and the Legislature.

Two others, candidates for county commissioner in Bullock County, 30 miles from Montgomery, were put into the primary by a Federal court decision that said the county had discriminated against Negro voters by extending the terms of its white commissioners.

Federal Observers on Hand

As voters went to the polls under sunny skies, Federal voting observers watched in six counties to ensure that election officials accepted and tabulated Negro votes without discrimination.

Albert Turner, Alabama director of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who is a candidate for the Legislature, said he had asked the Justice Department to pay especial attention to the absentee votes cast in today's election. He said whites had applied for absentee ballots in "unusually high numbers" in several counties.

Mr. Turner and other Negro candidates also contended that the Justice Department had not sent enough voting observers.

New Negro registrations under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had given Negroes a voting majority in at least five Black Belt counties and two legislative districts in which members of their race are running against whites. But in the face of a unified white electorate, Negroes can win only if members of their race vote more solidly for them than they did four weeks ago.

In that primary, some Negroes voted for white candidates and, thus, prevented Negro candidates from getting enough votes to win nominations without a run-off.

Later, a survey of Negro voters showed that some voted for white candidates in return for past favors, while others had feared that the election of Negro officials might touch off a wave of economic retaliation and intimidation by white segregationists.

Irregularities Charged

Civil rights organizations in Greene County near the Mississippi state line also charged in a suit filed in Federal Court last week that election irregularities had caused the defeat of a Negro candidate for sheriff and forced candidates for tax collector and the Board of Education into a run-off with white opponents.

Civil rights workers contend, too, that many semiliterate Negroes were confused by the long list of names on the ballot earlier this month and could not complete the ballot within the three-minute time limit imposed by some election officials. In contrast, today's ballots were short.

To help prepare "poor readers" for today's election and to work for a bloc vote, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference converted 50 civil rights volunteers into election workers.

The workers pointed out repeatedly that only one of the state's counties, Macon, had Negro officials.

In Macon, the home of Tuskegee Institute and the county with the heaviest Negro population (84 per cent) in the United States, Negro voters desegregated the county commission and Board of Education two years ago, but have yet to elect a full-time public official.

ALABAMA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 2, 1966.

Macon County, Ala., Whites Dismayed by Victory of Negro in Sheriff Race

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

TUSKEGEE, Ala., June 1—Macon County's white minority was dismayed today over the Democratic primary victory of a Negro candidate for sheriff.

There was vague talk of violence, of moving from the county, of depending on the all-white state highway patrol for protection, and of simply learning to adjust to the situation in peace.

But all agreed that yesterday's victory by Lucius D. Amerson, a 32-year-old former postal employe, was the most startling development yet in the Negroes' long drive for racial equality in Alabama.

In a county where the Democratic nomination is tantamount to victory, Mr. Amerson seems assured of becoming the first Negro sheriff in the state since Reconstruction. The office has broad powers and will give him authority to arrest and question whites and even to intervene in their domestic quarrels if one of the parties swears out a warrant.

Negroes were confident that in the end the whites would come to accept the idea of a Negro sheriff, but some thought that there would be a temporary setback in race relations.

School Setback Feared

"I'm worried that some whites will take their children out of the integrated public schools and put them in the private white schools here," said a Negro professor at Tuskegee Institute, a predominantly Negro college here. "Many whites just returned to the public schools this year and this could cause them to leave again."

Others thought that Mr. Amerson's defeat of the incumbent Sheriff Harvey Sadler, who had appointed a Negro deputy, would discourage white moderates in the county.

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Races in 16 Counties

In 15 other counties where a total of 23 Negroes were running for State Legislature and county offices in yesterday's runoff Democratic primary, all but one went down in defeat. The one victory was for the Board of Education in Greene, a predominantly Negro county near the Mississippi state line.

What made Macon County Negroes decide to abandon their go-slow policy? Although opinion was divided, several Negro politicians, including Mr. Amerson, thought one major factor was the commanding victory of Mrs. Lurlene Wallace, wife of the state segregationist Gov. George C. Wallace, Democratic gubernatorial primary May 3.

"Negroes thought the whites were changing, and that they weren't as segregationist as they used to be, but they found out differently in the May 3 election," Mr. Amerson said. "In the local election here, Negroes helped elect a white woman to the school board, but most of the whites voted for Mrs. Wallace and for other segregationists right down the line."

In the first primary, Mr. Amerson failed to win a majority of the votes and as a result had been pessimistic about his chances in yesterday's runoff.

"I never thought it would happen," he said today. "I had all the whites against me and a lot of Negroes, too."

One leading Negro who opposed him was the Rev. K. L. Buford, a City Councilman in Tuskegee and vice president of the Tuskegee Civil Association, whose leaders were divided over whether to support a Negro for sheriff. Mr. Buford believed that Mr. Amerson's victory would be interpreted as a "kick in the teeth" by white moderates."

ALABAMA

Winner in Alabama

NYT 6/2/66

Lucius Davenport Amerson

Special to The New York Times

TUSKEGEE, Ala., June 1—Lucius Davenport Amerson's ambition did not sound unreasonable. He wanted to be a policeman.

But Mr. Amerson is a Negro, and in his home state of Alabama, enforcement of the law has always been the prerogative of white men. The state's largest city, Birmingham, hired its first Negro policeman only this spring. The state police has no Negro troopers and no Negro investigators. Very few Alabama towns have Negro policemen.

Man in the News

In spite of that, Mr. Amerson prepared himself. At two different periods in his life he felt the ambition so strongly that he went to night school to study police methods.

Then, when the chance came to run for sheriff of Macon County, he grabbed it—and won in yesterday's runoff primary.

Great Aspirations

Like the ram charging the dam in the song, "High Hopes," he professes to see nothing remarkable in having aspired to an office that no Negro had held in Alabama since Reconstruction.

Nevertheless, his first, inadvertent comment on his historic victory was, "I never thought it would happen."

Mr. Amerson was born Oct. 7, 1933, on a small farm in Greene County, the son of Henry and Lue Vinnie Amerson. Greene is near the Mississippi state line in a part of the South where thousands of Negroes have grown up, worked out their lives and died without ever having heard of Horatio Alger and the great American dream.

As a youth, he discovered the dream through the Army. He went into the Army at 17 and the Army took him far from Greene County—to Germany, to Korea, where he fought and won a soldier's medals.

He left the Army after 8½ years, then worked for the post office, first at Montgomery, Ala. and later at Denver. Last year, he worked in food service at the Veterans Administration Hospital at Tuskegee.

Mr. Amerson studied electronics at Tuskegee Institute and moved his wife and two young sons into an apartment at Simmons Gardens, which is, as he points out, not a public housing project but a regular apartment complex.

He dismounted today from a new Pontiac—one of two cars in his family—and stepped onto a busy sidewalk to accept the congratulations of Negro passersby. As he stood in his gray sharkskin suit, wearing a Masonic ring with a tremendous setting, he was approached by an old Negro in overalls who told him he was happy he had won.

United Press International Telephoto

"I never thought it would happen."

(Mr. Amerson after winning nomination for sheriff of Macon County.)

"If it hadn't been for you and people like you "I wouldn't have made it," Mr. Amerson replied. "Anytime I can help you, just call me up. It was the everyday masses of people—some of them very poor—that voted for me."

Not Quite Accepted

Mr. Amerson, a serious, quiet-mannered, stocky man, has lived in Tuskeegee 10 years and is still not accepted by some Negroes.

"There are three or four levels in this town," he said. "There is the Ph.D. circle, and the Ph.D.'s run around with each other."

The circles continue downward to include the Negro working people. He did not have to add that his own position is somewhere in the middle.

Already worried about his image, he was considerably upset to learn that white courthouse officials were saying that he had been arrested and had spent a night in jail last December for beating his 25-year-old wife, Windora. He contends the charge is false.

ALABAMA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 2, 1966.

Macon County, Ala., Whites Dismayed by Victory of Negro in Sheriff Race

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

TUSKEGEE, Ala., June 1—Macon County's white minority was dismayed today over the Democratic primary victory of a Negro candidate for sheriff.

There was vague talk of violence, of moving from the county, of depending on the all-white state highway patrol for protection, and of simply learning to adjust to the situation in peace.

But all agreed that yesterday's victory by Lucius D. Amerson, a 32-year-old former postal employe, was the most startling development yet in the Negroes' long drive for racial equality in Alabama.

In a county where the Democratic nomination is tantamount to victory, Mr. Amerson seems assured of becoming the first Negro sheriff in the state since Reconstruction. The office has broad powers and will give him authority to arrest and question whites and even to intervene in their domestic quarrels if one of the parties swears out a warrant.

Negroes were confident that in the end the whites would come to accept the idea of a Negro sheriff, but some thought that there would be a temporary setback in race relations.

School Setback Feared

"I'm worried that some whites will take their children out of the integrated public schools and put them in the private white school here," said a Negro professor at Tuskegee Institute, a predominantly Negro college here. "Many whites just returned to the public schools this year and this could cause them to leave again."

Others thought that Mr. Amerson's defeat of the incumbent Sheriff Harvey Sadler, who had appointed a Negro deputy, would discourage white moderates in the county.

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HE NEW YORK TIMES

STATES FACE LOSS OF POVERTY FUNDS

~~POVERTY~~ ALABAMA

8 Lagging on Applications —Alabama May Lose Most

6/3/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 — Eight states are going to forfeit millions of dollars in anti-poverty funds unless they submit acceptable community action projects quickly.

As matters stand now, Alabama will forfeit the largest amount. It is the only Southern state that will probably not receive even the minimum sum due it. The forfeiture strikes hardest at the state's poorest counties.

The other states on the list are Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The end of the Federal fiscal year is four weeks away. The books will be closed on June 30 and money from the old appropriation not distributed by then will stay in the United States treasury. This leaves little time to process applications for grants unless they arrive in perfect order.

Total of Grants Flexible

There is no way to calculate exactly how much a state can get, or how much it forfeits for not acting aggressively. A distribution formula assigns specific amounts to each state, but these are minimums. If states do not claim their minimum the money is redistributed among the other states. In addition, the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity has about $100-million to distribute at his discretion.

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HE NEW YORK TIMES

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As a result, the District of Columbia, for example, has received five times its minimum allotment. Before the fiscal year was half over, the city had filed applications for its mimimum allotment. It continued to file acceptable applications.

New York State may get nearly twice its minimum allotment provided New York City comes in before the deadline with an acceptable group of project applications.

The minimum allotments are based on three considerations: average income, unemployment, and public relief payments. The counties are the basic units used for these calculations.

Alabama's share of the community action funds available (not counting the director's discretionary fund) was calculated as 3.15 per cent, which is about $11.7-million. As of May 20, when the most recent calculation was made, Alabama had received $4.8-million.

Alabama Won't Get All

The approval of pending applications will raise that figure before June 30, but according to authoratitive estimates Alabama will fall $1.4-million short of its minimum allotment.

Other shortage estimates are: Idaho, $659,000; Indiana, $457,000; Iowa, $694,000; Maine, $406,000; Nebraska, $809,000; Wisconsin, $432,000; Wyoming, $193,000.

These are estimates, not final figures. They can change under the pressures generated by publication of the estimates. Governors may storm at the Office of Economic Opportunity as Gov. John B. Connally Jr. did last January when similar data showed Texas lagging. Pressures may be brought to force approval of substandard applications and the antipoverty agency will be criticized.

For these reasons, the O.E.O. staff is reluctant to make these estimates available and note that they can change from day to day.

Texas apparently is going to get its minimum allotment plus about $2-million. Some states will get more than that, proportionately, above their minimums. These include: California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, and New Jersey.

5-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, JUNE 5, 1966
NEWS OF THE
SOUTHEAST
Empire

Negro 'Bloc' Vote Proves Ineffective

6/5/66

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 4—Negro candidates and white candidates considered beneficiaries of the Negro bloc vote fared poorly in the Democratic runoff.

ALABAMA

A handful of Negro candidates was nominated in county races, but generally they were defeated even in the counties where there was a Negro majority.

In district and state races, a history of having received the Negro vote proved a fatal blight.

The potency of Gov. George C. Wallace was further witnessed in the destruction of two state senators who had filibustered against legislation to permit gubernatorial succession.

FOURTEEN senators filibustered against succession and, either because they did not run for reelection or were defeated, are all out of office.

In all of this campaigning in two primaries, the word "segregation" and its associates were never heard. But while the words were muted, it was business as usual.

Negro candidates fared best in Macon County, where Negroes have a two-to-one majority and wherein Tuskegee Institute is located. Lucius D. Amerson, 32, defeated Sheriff Harvey Sadler.

A Negro funeral home operator, L. A. Locklair, won nomination for Macon tax collector and Harold W. Webb unseated an incumbent white to win a seat on the Macon Board of Revenue.

HOWEVER, Negroes were in 22 races and they were generally defeated either because Negroes didn't vote or gave part of their votes to whites.

Perhaps the most remarkable victory of a white candidate was that of State Sen. Roland Cooper of Wilcox. In a district composed of Wilcox, Clarke, Monroe and Conecuh, Cooper defeated his Negro opponent 12,747 to 2,616.

Cooper is a bristling Wallace partisan and fully a symbol of a county that until this year had not a single Negro voter, but he plainly ran quite well among his Negro constituents.

In the race for state treasurer, Mrs. Agnes Baggett, a 61-year-old widow, overcame a deficit of 52,000 votes to defeat Mrs. Bettye Frink, hitherto an invincible winner. Mrs. Frink was credited with the Negro boxes in the first primary.

Clark to Run As Write-In

ALABAMA

AJ 6/5/66

SELMA, Ala., June 4 (AP) — Sheriff James G. Clark announced Saturday that he is withdrawing his contest for the Democratic nomination for sheriff of Dallas County and will run instead in the November general election as a write-in candidate.

Clark issued a statement saying that "due to insistence of my friends, my name will be submitted to the voters of Dallas County as a write-in candidate for sheriff in the November general election."

Alabama Gets $247 Million A-Power Plant

6/18/66 AC

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. (AP) — The Tennessee Valley Authority announced Friday plans to build a $247 million nuclear power plant near Decatur, Ala.

The authority said it had awarded to General Electric Co., a $122.7 million contract for construction of two nuclear generating units for the plant.

The facility will be the government agency's first venture into atomic power production.

The authority already is the nation's largest power producer.

The nuclear plant will add 2.2 million kilowatts of power to the TVA system.

Wallace Begins Campaign For 1968 Presidential Effort

6/19/68

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ALABAMA

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 18 — With this year's November general election to go, Gov. George C. Wallace began his 1968 campaign for president of the United States.

This occurred as most of the candidates defeated by Mrs. Wallace in one shot in the May primary said they would support the Democratic ticket in November. But characteristically their words were pale and pinched.

TICKETS were on sale in Baton Rouge, La., for a $25-a-plate fund-raising dinner for Gov. Wallace. He will address the dinner meeting after a speech to a joint session of the Louisiana Legislature June 22.

In response to the invitation by legislative resolution, Mrs. Wallace, the Democratic standard bearer in the governor's race, will accompany Wallace and speak briefly ahead of him.

Wallace's chief sponsor in Louisiana is Leander H. Perez. It was his resolution, adopted by the state's Democratic committee, 54-39, that established a preferential primary for Wallace and President Johnson.

In the primary, Louisianans will vote on whether Wallace or Johnson is to run in 1968 under the sign of rooster, the traditional Democratic party emblem.

THAT UNDOUBTEDLY MEANS that Wallace will campaign in Louisiana, as in other states. At the moment, he has no doubt that Mrs. Wallace will achieve another landslide victory in November over Jim Martin, the Republican congressman.

Wallace's conception of the 1968 presidential race is more daring and his ardor for combat in the national arena more intense than is generally comprehended outside of Alabama, and even within.

Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers, a lost-ball second in the May primary, has so far declined to say that he will or won't support the Democratic ticket headed by Mrs. Wallace in November.

Flowers has always billed himself as an undeviating Democrat, but he won't even discuss his November voting directly. Reporters are referred to his press officer.

Former Gov. James E. (Big Jim) Folsom said: "Why, hell yes, I'll vote Democratic . . . I'll campaign for the ticket, too."

Most of the others have said or indicated they would swing into line, though they have said it grudgingly.

ALABAMA

Rights Leader Named A Poverty War Director

AC 7/15/66

By DON McKEE
Associated Press Writer

An official of a civil rights organization has been named staff director of a $302,081 federal anti-poverty program in Wilcox County, Ala.

"This is probably the first time such funds have been made available where a civil rights organization was involved from a strictly educational standpoint," said Dr. Robert Green of Atlanta, who will be staff director of the project.

Green, 32, is education director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the civil rights organization headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Green is on leave from Michigan State University, where he is an associate professor of education.

The Wilcox grant and a $241,604 grant for a Lowndes County, Alabama, project have been approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Washington, the OEO said Wednesday.

The grant to the Anti-poverty Coordinating Committee of Wilcox County was approved for an adult education program for 900 seasonal farm workers and an educational program for 300 children at day-care centers, OEO said.

The other grant was approved for the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights for a basic education program for 500 heads of households. This program will train season farm workers in the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, OEO said.

Green, who took a leading role in the recent Mississippi civil rights march, said in an interview that both the recipient organizations were SCLC-related "in the sense that we have been working closely with them."

Probably part of his salary will now be paid from the federal grant, Green said, but no other SCLC employe or officer will be paid from the OEF funds.

"I'm on a private foundation grant," Green said. "Probably part of my salary will be paid by the education grant. But probably no one else on the SCLC staff will be paid out of this fund."

Green said efforts are under way to find a staff director for the Lowndes County program. He said his selection for the Wilcox post resulted from SCLC's work in organizing the programs and getting federal approval.

An SCLC staff member, Miss Mew Soong-Li, was very active in organizing the programs and spearheading the efforts in Washington, he said. "Here at SCLC, we jointly drafted the proposals," he said.

"But the local people had a tremendous hand in pulling the proposals together," Green said.

Composer Gains

MOSCOW (AP) — Soviet composer Dimitri Shostakovich, who suffered a heart attack in May, was allowed by his doctors to get up Thursday for the first time and write at a table, Tass reported. The composer is feeling well, the Soviet news agency added.

Associated Press Wirephoto

PEEK-A-BOO—NEW YORK—Among the fashions shown by West Coast designer James Galanos in New York Thursday was this white fur hat with a goggles brim.

Poll Indicates Wallace Victory

7/17/66

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 16—The other shoe was dropped in the case of a general election poll and Congressman Jim Martin, Republican candidate for governor, reacted as though it had fallen on his toe.

John Grenier, GOP candidate against U.S. Sen. John J. Sparkman rejoiced in the thud.

For some time it was known that Republican leaders had ordered a professional poll to determine, among other things, the chances of Martin against Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, the Democratic nominee who won in one shot in May.

A capital city newspaper then published a partial revelation of the poll's finding. The poll, the paper said, showed that Mrs. Wallace had 56 per cent of the vote, which is about what she had when she vanquished nine male candidates in the primary.

The poll gave Martin 24 per cent, leaving 20 per cent undecided. The presumption is that undecideds divide in much the same proportion as the decideds.

The poll gave Sen. Sparkman 45 per cent and Grenier 24 per cent, with 31 per cent undecided. Grenier professed to be very pleased over this as he has yet to make himself and the issues pervasively known.

ALABAMA

Martin reacted swiftly to the poll revelation, saying:

"I don't believe it. I think that the race is much closer than the poll reveals."

He added that his own organization had made some polls and they registered dissimilar results, but he declined to disclose what they did say.

Grenier said for the record that he doubted the poll's 56 per cent finding for Mrs. Wallace, but chiefly his eyes were for the Senate element of the poll. Grenier's Birmingham headquarters released a statement from him:

"I know nothing of the accuracy of the poll mentioned in The Montgomery Advertiser. However, if it is correct, it must have been taken at least a month ago before my campaign had really begun and before I had been exposed to the voters. If this is true, I am encouraged by the results shown."

Wallace Accuses Poverty Aides Of Financing Black Power Drive

ALABAMA 7/20/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Gov. George Wallace accused federal poverty officials Tuesday of financing the "Black Power" movement. He said a convicted Negro killer is helping run the poverty program in one Alabama county.

Wallace told newsmen that Robert Strickland, who was recently assigned to direct the poverty program in adjoining Lowndes County, was convicted of first degree murder in Birmingham 25 years ago and sentenced to life in prison.

The Negro was paroled five years later, the governor said at a news conference, and in 1957 was given a pardon which restored his citizenship. Records show that pardon was granted because of good conduct.

PART OF PANTHERS

Strickland was not available for comment.

Wallace charged that the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights Inc., which was designated by the federal government to receive a $241,000 poverty grant in Lowndes County, is an "adjunct of the Black Panther party," a pro-civil rights faction which is running Negro candidates for office in Lowndes.

The governor said further that the leaders of the Black Panther party are the ones who took an active part in organizing the Christian movement. He distributed copies of a letter from four civil rights leaders recommending the movement as the agency to handle the poverty program.

CITES CARMICHAEL

Wallace said Stokely Carmichael, the new national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and an advocate of "Black Power," was active in setting up both in the Black Panther party and the Christian movement. And the chairman of the movement, John Hulett, was identified by the governor as a man who "is or was" president of the Black Panther group. Hulett was not available for comment, nor was Carmichael.

ALABAMA

Wallace Charges Halt Poverty Cash

WASHINGTON (AP)—The head of the federal antipoverty program said Wednesday he has suspended more than $500,000 in grants to aid seasonal farm workers and migrants in Lowndes and Wilcox counties in Alabama pending an investigation of charges made by Gov. George C. Wallace.

Wallace charged at a news conference that the grant in Lowndes, made to Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, Inc., amounted to federal financing of the "Black Panther" political movement. He made no reference to Wilcox County at a news conference.

George Wallace

SHRIVER STATEMENT

Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, said in a statement replying to a query from Gov. Wallace:

"In response to his telegram, I have ordered an investigation and report on all the allegations and objections contained therein.

"No funds have as yet been disbursed under these grants and I have asked that all disbursements be held up, pending completion of the investigation and submission of the report."

On June 28, the OEO signed grants allocating $241,604 to Lowndes County and $302,081 to Wilcox.

In his statement, Shriver said "To the best of our knowledge" the grants would not finance the "Black Panther" party.

FORMED YEAR AGO

"Both Lowndes and Wilcox organizations who have applied for these grants were organized more than a year ago, before the so-called Black Panther party came into existence," he said. "They are both nonprofit organizations, chartered under laws of Alabama to provide assistance for poor and needy families.

"I feel that it is unfortunate that Gov. Wallace has equated this self-help and training program with social and political movements he dislikes.

"OEO has regulations restricting political activities by any recipients of OEO money. Gov. Wallace can rest assured that these regulations will be enforced."

Exile Returns

VIENTIANE, Laos (AP) — Bounthieng Voravong, former secretary of state for sports, youth and fine arts, who has been under house arrest in Luang Prabang since the abortive coup of February 1965, returned to Vientiane Wednesday.

Alabama Areas Face Loss Of Aid Over Black Power

AC 7/23/66

By ED ROGERS

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Office of Economic Opportunity will refuse to finance a rural job-training program in Alabama if it proves to be a front for a "black power" organization, a spokesman said Friday.

Poverty program director Sargent Shriver this week halted disbursement of a $241,604 grant to the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, Inc., after Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace charged the group was an agent of the militant Black Panther party.

Shriver also held up a $302,081 grant to the Antipoverty Coordinating Committee of the Wilcox County Southern Christian Leadership Conference in a nearby south Alabama area.

JUDGE ASKS DELAY

Probate Judge Bill Dannelly, chairman of the Wilcox County Commission, had wired Shriver last week urging the program be delayed "until it can be properly administered."

A spokesman said an investigator arrived Thursday to learn whether Wallace was correct in saying the Lowndes grant would be "financing the revolutionary black power movement in this country."

The investigation was extended to Wilcox although Dannelly did not mention black power in his telegram. The so-called Black Panther party was founded in the area.

A spokesman indicated the Office of Economic Opportunity which administers President Johnson's antipoverty program is aware of possible ticklish aspects of the case.

"I think it will be awfully difficult to pin down," the spokesman told United Press International. "Political affiliation is a matter of conscience."

NO PARTY FUNDING

"We would not fund a political party. But I suppose the Constitution provides for the right of people to be embued in a movement so long as it does not interfere with the regulations of the funding.

"There is no question that this adds to the problem of determining how the grant is going to be used."

Kenneth Vallis, program analyst for the migrant division of Community Action programs, said his office had received no prior hint that the proposed grants might be challenged.

Local government officials of both counties have encountered delays in setting up Community Action programs which could qualify to handle antipoverty projects, he said.

Meanwhile he said Negro farm workers are being forced from their seasonal farm work by acreage reductions and other factors and need training for jobs in new industries in the areaa.

Wilcox and Lowndes counties, both rated as 100 per cent rural because they have no cities of 5,000 population, are also said to be among the poorest in the state and in the nation.

Talmadge Asks Tax

G.O.P. PROSPECTS DROP IN ALABAMA

Polls Show Party Lags for Senate and Governor

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 29—Alabama Republicans, who only six months ago were favored to take control of the state, opened their nominating convention today in a new political climate that makes them underdogs in the November election.

Their own polls show that Mrs. George C. Wallace, the Democratic candidate and wife of the state's present Governor, is far ahead of United States Representative James Martin, who is expected to get the Republican nomination tomorrow without opposition.

The polls also show that John Grenier, who is almost certain to get the party's Senatorial nomination, is trailing United States Senator John J. Sparkman, the Demrocatic incumbent, with many of the state's voters still undecided.

To add to the Republican's frustration, their polls show that Representative Martin, an avowed segregationist and conservative, would be leading Senator Sparkman if he were in the Senate race.

Might Split Party

Representative Martin could not switch to the Senate race at this late date, however, without alienating Mr. Grenier's followers and thus splitting the party.

The current political confusion was set in motion late last year when Republicans were confident that Governor Wallace, an arden segregaionist, would run for the Senate.

Mr. Grenier, former state chairman and a top aide to Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential campaign, felt that a Republican had an excellent chance to succeed Governor Wallace in the State House and let it be known he wanted to be the party's gubernatorial nominee.

Initially, there was little opposition to his proposal, but after a few weeks Representative Martin decided that he, too, wanted the Republican nomination.

Mr. Grenier, according to some of his supporters, then bowed out of the race after a behind-the-scenes struggle, and after receiving assurances that he could have the Senatorial nomination if he wanted it.

Caught by Surprise

After the agreement between Mr. Martin and Mr. Grenier had been reached, Governor Wallace caught both men by surprise by entering his wife in the Democratic gubernatorial primary as his "stand-in" candidate.

A provision in the state constitution prevented the Governor, a popular segregationist in this deep Southern state, from running to succeed himself.

Then, in the May primary, Mrs. Wallace rolled up more votes than her nine opponents combined, while Senator Sparkman was scoring a politically unimpressive victory over three relatively unknown opponents.

After studying the election returns, Mr. Grenier announced for the Senate race, leaving Representative Martin to face the politically powerful Wallace team.

Since Representative Martin had already announced for the Governor's race, he could not easily withdraw unless the Republican convention were to draft him for the Senate.

Delegates Reminded

This is a possibility that Mr. Grenier's supporters have been trying to head off. They reminded delegates that the party could not very well expect Mr. Grenier to defer twice in succession to Mr. Martin.

There is still some possibility of a floor fight over Mr. Grenier's nomination, although it appears certain, and today Mr. Grenier was busily greeting convention delegates with campaign literature showing that he intends to wage an aggressive campaign against Senator Sparkman.

In his militantly conservative literature, Mr. Grenier disassociates himself from the Liberal wing of the Republican party by declaring that Senator Sparkman is "more liberal" than Senator Jacob Javits, the New York Republican.

He also charged that Senator Sparkman is a "rubber stamp" for President Johnson and "occupies the same political ground as Wayne Morse and Bobby and Teddy Kennedy."

Representative Martin, however, was left without a major issue. Although Mr. Martin opposes racial integration, "creeping federalism" and the Johnson Administration, Governor Wallace has built his political reputation on exactly the same points.

Meanwhile, Alabama Democrats are confident that they will not only stop the Republican upsurge in Alabama, but will roll back some of the gains that the G.O.P. made during the Goldwater landslide in Alabama in 1964.

BAN ON FARM VOTE IN ALABAMA ASKED

ALABAMA

Negro Group's Suit Seeks U.S. Court Injunction

8/10/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9 — Some of the poorest people in the land—Negro sharecroppers and small-farm owners in Alabama—took the United States Government to court today.

Local farm elections — easily translatable into Federal dollars — are dominated by whites, who exploit ignorance and fear and, where necessary, use bribery, fraud, and violence, they complained in Federal Court here in seeking an injunction to bar an election scheduled for next week.

Peter Agee opened the testimony with his account of the approach of a white man who said:

"I'll give you 10 acres of the best farming land and show you how to get free loans if you get out and put some of those scared Negroes in."

Mr. Agee was running for a seat on the committee that administers local programs of the United States Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

Disburses Funds

Funds disbursed by the service "are so large that county government operations are dwarfed," the complainants say.

The committees decide such questions as the eligibility of farmers, the adjustment and program benefits between landlords and tenant farmers or sharecroppers, the appeals of farmers whose crop allotments have been cut, the setting of procedures for elections and the hiring of staff.

The Nergo framers and sharecroppers are supported in their suit by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

They want the court to bar a Lowndes County election Aug. 16, and all other Alabama Conservation Service elections until the Department of Agriculture has informed and explained to these Negroes their rights and protects them in the exercise of these rights.

The suit is directed specifically at the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman; the administrator of the service, Horace Godfrey, and the state executive director of the service, B. L. Collins.

Gil Zimmerman, Assistant United States Attorney, representing the Government, argued that there were no differences in the goals of the plaintiffs and of Mr. Freeman, who "has sent his major advisers down there."

Mr. Zimmerman also questioned the court's authority to act in an administrative matter unless it was shown that the Secretary had been arbitrary and capricious and had abused his discretion.

Judge Howard F. Corcoran is hearing the action in district court. He served in the legal section of the Department of Agriculture in 1933 and 1934.

ALABAMA

Wallace Asking Anti-Guideline Fund

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (UPI) — Gov. George Wallace said Sunday he plans to ask the legislature to pass a bill which will give extra state money to public schools whose federal assistance is cut off for failure to comply with desegregation guidelines.

The governor said he hoped the measure would be ready for introduction when the legislature resumes its special session Tuesday.

Wallace conferred with numerous lawmakers last Thursday and Friday about the proposal and reports from some were that it would give him broad new powers, including, perhaps, the authority to take away state funds from school boards which complied with the federal guidelines.

Wallace said he decided to disclose the contents of the bill to correct the "misinformation."

"The proposal that will be offered to the legislature will declare in its preamble that it is the lgislature's determination that the integration guidelines drafted by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare are illegal in that they go beyond the law," the governor said.

"The preamble will further declare that the guidelines are null and void in this state.

"The bill itself will simply state that any school board which has federal funds withheld for refusing to sign these illegal guidelines will be appropriated a like amount of state funds from the surplus in the special education trust fund.

"We have reached a sad state of affairs in this country when we must agree to do something illegal to get money that is rightfully ours," Wallace said.

The governor denied reports the bill would withhold state funds from school districts which signed compliance forms, give him the sole authority to enter into agreements with federal authorities or abolish local school boards that abided by the guidelines.

A bill to replace lost federal money with state funds was seen as a move to encourage local educators to join the governor's fight.

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ALABAMA

EDUCATORS SCORE WALLACE'S PLAN

8/20/66

Key Alabama Groups Attack His Fight on Guidelines

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 19—Gov. George C. Wallace's proposal to circumvent the desegregation guidelines of the United States Office of Education ran into unexpectedly stiff opposition of Alabama educators today.

Dr. Robert L. Saunders, president of the influential 23,000-member Alabama Education Assocition, which represents virtually all of the white teachers in the state, said his organization would fight the Governor's plan with all its resources.

Representatives of the state's two major colleges, the University of Alabama and Auburn University, joined in criticizing the Governor's proposal to appropriate additional state funds to make up for any loss of Federal revenue by the local schools' refusal to comply with the guidelines.

In his speech to the Legislature last night, the Governor also asked the lawmakers to declare the guidelines "null and void" in Alabama and to allow the Governor to take over the duties of local school boards in dealing with Federal agencies. boards.

Alabama schools are receiving about $38-million a year in Federal funds. The Governor said the state could make up this deficit without raising school taxes.

Never before in his three-and-a-half years as Governor has Mr. Wallace encountered such united opposition from the education community. Besides the education association and the universities, four other professional education organizations took a stand against the pending legislation.

Wallace Surprised

State Senator Ed Horton said he conferred with the Governor this morning and got the impression that the educators' opposition came as a complete surprise. "I think it hit him right between the eyes," said Senator Horton.

The A.E.A. president, Dr. Saunders, said the proposed legislation would usurp the authority of local boards and would not accomplish its goal of delaying desegregation. Also, he said, replacing Federal funds with state funds in effect costs double because the state money could be used to match Federal funds instead.

Dr. Jefferson Bennett, speaking for the University of Alabama, said, "The guidelines are either lawful or legal or they are not. Courts will have to decide. This bill won't change anything at all."

Dr. George Howard, executive secretary of the Alabama Asso-

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Dr. Jefferson Bennett, speaking for the University of Alabama, said, "The guidelines are either lawful or legal or they are not. Courts will have to decide. This bill won't change anything at all."

Dr. George Howard, executive secretary of the Alabama Association of School Boards, said, "Our educational program in Alabama has never had the frills — just the bread and butter. Here we had the opportunity to do for our children what others have had for years. This bill would do away with past improvements and preclude future ones."

Other education groups opposing the Governor's bill were the Alabama Association of School Administrators, the Alabama Association of Secondary Principals, and the Alabana Division of Classroom Teachers.

In the State Legislature, 80 of the 140 lawmakers have endorsed the Governor's proposal. Hearings on the plan will start next week.

Governor Wallace had no immediate coment today on the educators' opposition, but State Senator James S. Clark denounced the A.E.A. statement.

"It appears," he said, "that there are some school administrators and college presidents who are willing to sell out our children for a price. How many of this group has come out in trying to protect the people of Alabama and our children from the tyranny of those Federal guidelines?"

U. S. Vows Fund Cutoff

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19 (UPI) — The Department of Health, Education and Welfare will start proceedings to cut off funds for any Alabama school system that refuses to comply with desegregation guidelines, a spokesman said today.

Derrick Bell, Deputy Special Assistant Secretary in charge of civil rights, said the proposal of Gov. George C. Wallace would make things more difficult for systems that seek to comply.

"To date, 67 of 94 school districts in Alabama have given assurances that they will comply with the guidelines and others have indicated they will provide such assurances," Mr. Bell said.

"The department will continue to use the guidelines. If school districts fail to comply with provision of the Civil Rights Act as detailed in the guidelines the United States Office of Education would have no alternative but to initiate foenforcement procedures to terminate Federal financial assistance."

Mr. Bell added that Mr. Wallace's request to the Alabama legislature calling on defiance of the guidelines would "make more difficult the good faith efforts being made by Alabama school districts" that are seeking to comply with the guidelines.

Mr. Bell said Alabama schools during the fiscal year 1966 ending last June 30 were eligible for more than $41-million in Federal aid and similar amounts would be available for the current year.

A Correction

A dispatch published in The New York Times yesterday concerning Israeli relations with the Soviet Union erroneously listed Iran among countries receiving Soviet military aid. The nation getting Soviet assistance is Iraq.

5-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 1966

NEWS OF THE
SOUTHEAST
Empire

Wallace Seeking New Confrontation

8/21/66

By RAY JENKINS
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 20—Gov. George C. Wallace set the stage this week for a massive new confrontation with the federal government over school desegregation.

The governor maintains his newest move is designed to rescue the local school systems from domination by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare desegregation guidelines.

But his critics say he is opening the door for the federal court to clamp a single desegregation order on all schools in the state and, thereby, bypass filing of individual suits against each system.

GOV. WALLACE'S call to battle came Thursday night in a speech to a joint session of the state legislature which was telecast statewide. He asked the legislature for a bill which would:

1. Declare "null and void" the guidelines for desegregation as laid down by the U.S. Office of Education and to invalidate any compliances already signed by local school boards.

2. Appropriate funds to reimburse school districts which lose federal funds by refusing to comply with the guidelines.

3. Give local boards the option to transfer to the governor and a state commission their right to enter into agreements with the Office of Education. The state commission would be composed of the entire membership of the state legislature.

THIS LATTER provision, the governor believes, would place the governor and the

ALABAMA

legislature between local school boards and the federal government in event of any desegregation guidelines.

Before he proposed the legislation, the governor held lengthy private conferences with his leading legislative enemies to get their assurance they will not fight the bill with filibusters. He is said to have gained this assurance.

But a number of legislators have expressed private fears that such an assertion of state control over local school boards would pave the way for a one-shot federal court injunction covering all state schools. A court order, they point out, could be a strait - jacket in contrast to the guidelines, which are but bureaucratic edicts. For proof, they point to a decision on desegregation of Mobile schools, handed down this week by Chief Judge Elbert Tuttle which stated emphatically that the guidelines are the minimum requirements the court will accept on the pace of desegregation.

Gov. Wallace's sudden new offensive may have been encouraged in part by claims of a victory in the fight against the guidelines by congressman Jim Martin, Republican candidate for governor against Mrs. Wallace. Martin claims he helped write a provision into the pending civil rights bill in Congress which would nullify the guidelines.

Alabama

Martin Opens Campaign Today For Governorship of Alabama

NYT 8/26/66

G.O.P. Leader Is Confident That Goldwater Following Will Carry Him to Office

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 25—Representative James D. Martin, Alabam's No. 1 Republican, will open his campaign for the Governorship tomorrow, confident that a lingering Barry Goldwater following in the state will enable him to defeat the Democratic candidate, Mrs. George C. Wallace Jr., wife of the Governor.

Mr. Martin, a freshman Congressman, and John E. Grenier, Republican candidate for Senate, have agreed to undertake identical campaigns patterned after Mr. Goldwater's Presidential race in 1964, when the G.O.P. standard-bearer got 70 per cent of the vote.

Mr. Goldwater has agreed to stump Alabama for Mr. Martin and Mr. Grenier during the week prior to the election on Nov. 3.

"We believe Alabama is still Goldwater country," said a campaign assistant to Mr. Grenier.

Mr. Grenier, who was executive director of the National Republican party in 1964, began his campaign against Senator John J. Sparkman on Aug. 8 in a ceremony at Fredonia, Ala., chosen for this purpose because Senator Goldwater ended his Presidential race at Fredonia, Ariz. "We picked up the torch," said Mr. Grenier.

Statewide Coverage

Mr. Martin's campaign will begin with a full poiltical production at the fairgrounds in Birmingham. It will be televised on a statewide network and on stations in Chattanooga, Tenn. and Columbus, Ga., which cover parts of Alabama.

Mr. Martin, who has been touring the state for two weeks, is scheduled to arrive at the fairgrounds rally by helicopter. There he will mount a horse and gallop to the speaker's platform where Mrs. Martin, a former Miss Alabama, will sing several love songs to the crowd.

Although Mr. Martin has proved to be one of the most popular Republicans in Alabama's history, most political experts in the state believe that Mr. Grenier has a better chance of winning in November.

"We know we have a tough job," said Ralph H. Marlatt, one of Mr. Martin's Congressional aides, who added:

"A woman candidate is always difficult to run against, especially in the South. You cannot slug it out toe to toe."

For this reason, most of the attacks will be against Governor Wallace, who proposed his wife to succeed him after he lost a legislative battle to repeal a state constitutional section that prohibits Alabama Governors from succeeding themselves.

Although Governor Wallace has been a frequent outspoken critic of President Johnson, Mr. Martin and Mr. Grenier said they would try to link the two men together because both are Democrats.

The New York Times

James D. Martin

The Republican candidates have already decided to label Senator Sparkman a "me too echo" of President Johnson.

The Governor and Mrs. Wallace and Senator Sparkman have not combined their campaigns.

Campaign headquarters for Mr. Martin and Mr. Grenier was a scene of confidence this week.

"The philosophy in this state has not changed' said Mr. Marlatt. "It stands for what Goldwater stood for."

"The people down here in Alabama plain don't like Lyndon Johnson," said R. J. Bennett Jr., campaign manager for Mr. Grenier.

Although segregation is still the paramount political issue in Alabama, the Republican candidates said they did not intend to bring up the race issue during their campaign.

Mr. Bennett said that Mr. Grenier would deliver speeches attacking "civil disobedience, riots in the streets, and anarchy" and a speech supporting the rights of private property.

Inflation, rising prices, and President Johnson's handling of the Vietnam war have also figured in pre-campaign strategy, even in the Governor's race.

Mr. Marlatt said that Governor Wallace could not escape the fact that he is a Democrat and that the Vietnam war policy was made by the head of his party.

"And the people of Alabama want to see this war brought to a successful conclusion, and not handled in the current wishy-washy fashion," Mr. Marlatt said.

By defeating Mrs. Wallace in November, the Republicans hope to forestall Governor Wallace's ambition to run for President on a third party ticket in 1968.

A third candidate for the governorship is Dr. Carl R. Robinson, a lawyer and physician, who is running as an independent and speaks of himself as a loyal Democrat. Dr. Robinson does not have an extensive campaign organization and political experts in Alabama do not give him any chance of winning.

NEW YORK TIMES, TH

9/1/66

SENATE IN ALABAMA PASSES SCHOOL BILL

~~Alabama~~

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 31—The Alabama Senate approved tonight Gov. George C. Wallace's plan to prohibit the state's public schools from desegregating voluntarily under agreements with the Federal Government.

The vote was 28 to 7. The House, which had approved an earlier version of the legislation, is expected to pass the Senate bill on Friday.

Under the bill, Alabama would spurn more than $30-million in Federal aid, which voluntary desegregation of the public schools could have brought to the state. About $25-million of this had been allocated to help needy students, most of them Negroes.

The Wallace plan also would give the Governor almost unlimited power to take over the public schools if he found there was a threat to "the peace and order."

Governor Wallace drafted the legislation as 64 of the state's 106 school districts prepared to integrate students and teachers this fall. Twelve of these districts are under Federal Court orders to integrate and apparently will not be affected by the state legislation.

~~ALABAMA~~ REJECTS SCHOOL GUIDELINE

Wallace Signs Law Defying U.S. on Desegregation

9/3/66

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 2—Gov. George C. Wallace signed today a bill that declares "null and void" the desegregation guidelines of the United States Office of Education and prohibits Alabama schools from signing any statements of compliance with the guidelines.

The Governor was so certain of passage of the bill he had requested that he called a news conference for the signing of the measure even before it had been approved by the House of Representatives, 70 to 16. The Senate approved the bill Wednesday, 25 to 7.

Many opponents of Mr. Wallace in the Legislature supported it.

Aside from nullifying the guidelines, the act allows local school boards to transfer to the Governor and a 160-member state commission their authority to negotiate with the Office of Education on desegregation.

Strategy Meeting Called

Shortly after passage, the Governor appointed the 141 members of the Legislature to the commission and called a meeting to map strategy. He said he would appoint 19 other members later.

At the meeting, Mr. Wallace was named chairman of the commission and Lieut. Gov. James B. Allen vice chairman. Twelve of Mr. Wallace's strongest supporters in the Legislature were chosen as a subcommittee to act for the commission because the legislature will not be constantly in session.

The new law also provides for the state to replace, in part, any funds that might be lost by the refusal of local school districts to sign forms of compliance with the guidelines.

The state's education leaders contend, however, that the act will replace only about 10 per cent of the estimated total of $40-million that Alabama schools are supposed to receive from Federal sources.

The United States Commissioner of Education, Harold

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The state's education leaders contend, however, that the act will replace only about 10 per cent of the estimated total of $40-million that Alabama schools are supposed to receive from Federal sources.

The United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, indicated this week that Alabama school districts that proceeded with desegregation under the guidelines would continue to receive Federal revenues regardless of the state law. About half the state's 118 school districts have signed the compliance forms.

Governor Wallace conceded that the law carried no penalty for those systems that chose to carry out desegregation, but he said the school boards "are supposed to obey the law and I believe they will obey the law."

'Veil of Secrecy'

The Governor said that the law "rips away the veil of secrecy from the web of intrigue, bribery and blackmail by which the Health, Education and Welfare Bureau has invaded and destroyed the local autonomy of our schools."

He said the new law "stops the requirement of percentage quotas and prevents the busing of little children away from their neighborhood schools."

He said the guidelines were "trifling with the safety and security of your children and mine."

Representative James D. Martin, a Republican who is running against Mr. Wallace's wife, Lurleen, for Governor, called the new law "the strategy of massive defeat." He said it opened the door to a single Federal Court desegregation order that would cover all state schools.

But Mr. Wallace contended that no Federal Court order could go any further than the guidelines in requiring desegregation and said he would prefer to take his chances with a local Federal judge than "a bureaucrat 1,000 miles away."

As the bill was being enacted, Alabama schools were preparing to open with a greater amount of desegregation than ever before. Even so, less than 3 per cent of the state's estimated total of 250,000 Negro pupils were expected to enroll in previously all-white schools.

The Governor is said to believe that the new legislation will not result in the loss of any Federal funds but will pave the way for a court test of the guidelines. He contends that these ground rules for desegregation go beyond the intent of Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1965, on which the guidelines are based.

While the Legislature was considering the Governor's proposal to circumvent the guidelines, Chief Judge Elbert P. Tuttle of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit issued a ruling in a Mobile school desegregation suit that emphasized that the guidelines were "the minimum standards" the Federal courts would accept in desegregation.

Presidential Aims Hinted by Wallace

ALABAMA

AC 9/4/66

By WARREN M. ATCHISON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (UPI) — Gov. George Wallace said Monday that if the two major political parties "don't give us somebody to vote for" he may run for president in 1968.

Wallace, removing his coat for his speech before a crowd of about 500 at a Labor Day barbecue, said that he withdrew from the 1964 presidential race "to help conservatism."

However, Wallace said "if we get in the '68 race it won't be me doing the withdrawing."

Wallace said both parties have been "coming out with" statements that he could hurt their chances in the next presidential race if he decides to run. "I don't care if they do get hurt if they won't give us somebody to vote for," he said.

NO DIFFERENCE

Wallace said there was no difference between the Democrats and Republicans.

"You can put Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and Robert Kennedy in a sack with Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney and Earl Warren, shake it up, and it wouldn't make any difference who you pulled out," he said.

The governor also took a shot at Republicans for the recent visits of House Minority Leader Gerald Ford and former Vice President Richard Nixon to the state.

Wallace said his wife, the Democratic nominee for governor, "doesn't need anybody to speak for her—she can speak for herself or I'll speak for her."

DEFENDS SCHOOL BILL

Wallace covered a variety of topics and defended his newly passed anti-guidelines bill that declares all school desegregation guidelines null and void in Alabama.

He said the guidelines, issued by the Health, Education and Welfare Department, were designed to "take over our children and destroy the neighborhood school."

"They (the federal government) may run over us and take over our children but they're not going to do it in the secret of the night," Wallace said. "If we make them come out in the open maybe it will wake some people up."

NAACP Slates Suit to Attack Alabama's Antiguidelines Law

ALABAMA

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP)—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said Thursday that it will file a suit attacking Gov. George Wallace's new school antiguidelines law.

The announcement came from Dr. John Nixon, president of the Birmingham chapter of the civil rights organization.

Nixon said an announcement of the nature of the legal attack will be made Friday by Robert Carter, general counsel of the NAACP and lecturer at New York University School of Law.

The Alabama Legislature passed the antiguidelines law last week.

The law declares illegal the school desegregation guidelines set forth by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and nullifies all agreements made by local school districts with the department to comply with them.

Failure to follow the guidelines could result in loss of federal aid to the Alabama schools. The total could approach $40 million, although U.S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe II has said he will try to keep the federal money flowing to those Alabama local systems which disregard the state law and abide by the guidelines.

The Wallace law provides for reimbursement of part of the federal money with state funds, but these are estimated to total onyl about $3 million—less than one tenth of the potential loss.

Times-Review 9/9/66

STUDENTS COMPLETE KAYAK SEA JOURNEY

YOKOHAMA, Japan (AP) — Eight American and British students reached here Thursday in four Kayaks, virtually completing a 1,380-mile sea journey along the Japanese coast in 75 days.

The maritime safety board in this port city, 20 miles south of Tokyo, said the four American and four British youths were in "good spirits," terming the voyage "very enjoyable."

feed on itself. It may [illegible] for example, that for m[illegible] the post-war period male Ne[illegible] unemployment and the number of new AFDC cases rose and fell together as if connected by a chain from 1948 to 1962. The correlation between the two series of data was an astonishing .91. (This would mean that 83 per cent of the rise and fall in AFDC cases can be statistically ascribed to the rise and fall in the unemployment rate).

In 1960, however, for the first time, unemployment declined, but the number of new AFDC cases rose. In 1963 this happened a second time. In 1964 a third. The possible implications of these and other data are serious enough that they, to, should be understood before program proposals are made.

However, the argument of this paper does lead to one central conclusion: Whatever the specific elements of a national effort designed to resolve this problem, those elements must be coordinated in terms of one general strategy.

What then is that problem? We feel the answer is clear enough. Three centuries of injustice have brought about deep

2-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1966

NEWS OF THE
SOUTHEAST
Empire

Martin, Wallace Exchange Attacks

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 10—The punching and counterpunching between Gov. George C. Wallace, husband of the Democratic nominee for governor, and Republican Congressman Jim Martin became more vigorous.

Martin attacked Wallace frontally, but Wallace replied indirectly and in the posture of a candidate for President.

Wallace spoke to throngs and received ovations. Martin did not.

At this point, it is possible that there is not an established railbird in Alabama that thinks Martin has a chance to defeat Mrs. Lurleen Wallace.

The Republican candidate for U.S. senator, young John Grenier of Birmingham, was hacking away at Senator John Sparkman and doing splendid work in organization, but there were no surface signs that, to borrow a phrase, the bees were getting off Sparkman and settling on him.

Martin stuck to the theme that Wallace, however hostile Wallace might be to the Johnson Administration, was nevertheless an element of the national Democratic apparatus.

Martin then blamed the Johnson Administration, and Wallace by extension, for cost of living increases and the

ALABAMA

"riots and demonstrations in our cities."

He taxed Wallace with signing a Democratic loyalty oath, then added:

"Jim Martin will not sign a loyalty oath to any party."

He said the Wallace administration had borrowed $250 million in the past three years without permitting the people to vote on it. And he contended that the bonds carried excessive interest rates which he said went to New York bankers when it could have been used in behalf of Alabamians.

Wallace said he wasn't committed to run for president, but that he was prepared to:

"I'm against Lyndon Baines Johnson, but I'm against Richard Milhous Nixon, too. Both national parties are worried about the movement we have started in Alabama. Let them worry. We want to hurt both of them. If they don't want us to hurt them, let them give us someone we can vote for."

Alabama Suit Filed By NAACP

AC 9/13/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked a federal judge Monday for a temporary injunction to bar enforcement of the school guidelines law of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

The suit also wants a three-judege federal panel to rule on constitutionality of the law.

The suit comes only three days after Wallace threatened to use state police power to back up the law.

At least two Alabama school systems — Tuscaloosa and Lauderdale counties — have integrated their faculties. Niether is under a federal court order.

The law under attack was signed Sept. 2. It sets up a 160-member governor's commission, empowered to act for school boards which refused to abide by the 1966 integration guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Wallace appointed the commission which in turn named him chairman. Included are all members of the legislature, although two said they were resigning.

The law declares null and void the federal integration outline which requires integration of faculty as well as students.

Wallace Doubts U.S. Jail Power

ALABAMA
AC 9/24/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Gov. George Wallace, facing possible contempt proceedings, challenged the power of the federal courts Friday to jail a governor for "his political and social beliefs."

Wallace declined to say what course he might take if a three-judge court holds him in contempt for violation of a two-year-old order against interference in school desegregation.

CALLED HYPOTHETICAL

That, he told reporters at a news conference, "is a hypothetical question."

He said a motion filed Thursday by attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asking for a contempt citation is "another step toward the eventual jailing of political prisoners in this country."

If federal judges "who are not elected by the people can assume the power of jailing a governor who is elected by the people," Wallace said in a prepared statement, they then in effect "invalidate the people's vote and their right of self-government."

TIME OF FEAR

And, he continued, if the courts can send a governor to jail "because of his political and social beliefs, then the time has come when the people must begin to fear the knock on the door in the darkness of the night."

The court has set no date for a hearing on the NAACP motion which asked for a civil contempt citation against the governor or, in the alternative, total statewide school integration.

Judges Veto Citation for Wallace

ALABAMA

AC 10/1/66

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — Three federal judges refused Friday to order Gov. George Wallace to show cause why he should not be cited for contempt of court for alleged interference with school desegregation in Alabama.

A ruling the other way could have sent Wallace to jail.

The judges' ruling, filed in U.S. district court here, came in response to a motion filed by attorneys for the legal defense fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP attorneys filed the motion shortly after the state legislature, at Wallace's bidding, passed a law declaring federal school desegregation guidelines illegal. The law nullified compliance with the guidelines by local school boards.

The NAACP sought to have the governor cited as being in violation of a 1964 injunction, stemming from a Macon County school suit.

The original suit enjoined Wallace from interfering with school desegregation in his capacity as ex-officio chairman of the State Board of Education.

The Macon County suit was filed after the governor sent state troopers to the county when its schools were desegregated under a court order in 1963.

The judges Friday set a hearing for Nov. 30 on an alternate request that the court order immediate desegregation of all Alabama public schools.

NYT 10/1/66

WALLACE PLEDGES TO FIGHT PRESIDENT

Alabama

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 30 (AP)—Gov. George C. Wallace, campaigning for his wife, says people across the nation have turned sour on both major political parties.

Mr. Wallace promised thousands of followers last night that he would "keep on fighting Lyndon B. Johnson" and do it "in the states where it counts."

The speech was the formal start of Mrs. Lurleen Wallace's race for Governor. It brought loud and frequent rebel yells from a crowd estimated by police Capt. George Wall at from 8,000 to 10,000.

Hundreds unable to get into the City Auditorium got a glimpse of the Governor and his wife when they spoke briefly outside after the rally.

Mr. Wallace, who is reportedly considering heading a third-party ticket in the Presidential race in 1968, divided his criticism between President Johnson and former Vice President Richard M. Nixon. He said that "more people than ever before" were listening to him now when he deplored the trends toward centralized government prevalent in the nation.

Mr. Wallace pointed to Lester G. Maddox's victory in the Democratic gubernatorial runoff primary in Georgia this week as evidence that the states' rights movement was gaining momentum "day by day, hour by hour, across these United States."

The Governor made no mention of Mrs. Wallace's Republican opponent, Representative James D. Martin.

1, 1966.

U.S. Panel Denies Plea to Cite Wallace Over School Case

NYT 10/1/66

ALABAMA

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 30 (AP)—Three Federal judges refused today to order Gov. George C. Wallace to show cause why he should not be cited for contempt of court for alleged interference with school desegregation in Alabama.

The judges' ruling, filed in United States District Court here, came in response to a motion filed by lawyers for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

The motion was filed shortly after the state Legislature, at Mr. Wallace's bidding, passed a law declaring Federal school desegregation guidelines illegal. The law nullified compliance with the guidelines by local school boards.

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Selma Times-Journal - 10/27/66

ALABAMA

Clark Portrayed As Red Target In Disorders

Sheriff James G. Clark was portrayed last night at a "Write In Clark" for sheriff rally as a "principal target of the Communist conspiracy" during Selma's civil rights disorders in 1965.

Main speaker for the free barbecue feed was Rev. Ferrell Griswold of Birmingham, who said the only defense against Communist enslavement is to be "a determined people, proud of our Southern heritage without any apology to offer that we were born white".

During the meeting, Bill England, a Browns service station owner, and one of the organizers of the event, presented Sheriff Clark a citation for his "dedication, devotion to duty . . . and vision" in handling Selma's racial disorders about 18 months ago.

Occupying the speakers' stand with the sheriff, his wife and five children were Sen. W. C. Givhan, Judge James A. Hare, Judge Hugh Mallory, Lee Calame, chairman of the Dallas County Citizens' Council; Carl McQueen, president of the state Citizens' Council, Rev. C. O. Rhodes of Selma, and Mrs. John A. Fuller, Selma.

Former Mayor Chris Heinz of Selma emceed the program and said Clark "fought, bled and nearly died" to preserve the heritage of Dallas County's white citizens.

While he was mayor, Heinz said, he turned law enforcement over to Sheriff Clark during racial disturbances "because I knew the sheriff was a more powerful officer of the law than my chief of police was, and I was willing to abide by that."

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Heinz was defeated in his bid for re-election and was not in office when Selma experienced its major racial demonstrations. At that time, the Democratic nominee for Sheriff, Wilson Baker, was Selma Public Safety Director, under Mayor Joe Smitherman and the city did not surrender its police authority to county law enforcement.

Baker defeated Clark in the Democratic primary but Clark is attempting an unprecedented comeback via the write-in ballot.

Rev. Griswold, a Baptist and member of the American Opionion Speakers' Bureau asked the audience estimated at 800-1,000 persons:

"Why should you be embarrassed that you are white and that Jim Clark is a white man?"

The speaker warned his listeners that "we are in a life or death conflict as free people with the most well organized, criminal conspiracy the world has ever faced—communism." He said the movement is being led by intellectual liberals "working for social good."

"The main program of the Communist conspiracy is quote 'civil rights' unquote," he said.

But before the Communists can destroy this country, Rev. Griswold outlined, they must wipe out county government because it is the closest to the people, and, as such, most important. This, he explained was where Sheriff Clark "as a symbol of resistance," came into the forefront.

"He became a target that had to be destroyed," Rev. Griswold said in a warning that "the situation is more alarming than you or I care to admit."

Sheriff P. C. Jenkins of Wilcox County and Sheriff Taylor Wlkins of Baldwin County spoke briefly on Sheriff Clark's contributions to the Alabama Sheriff's Boys' Ranch and his humanitarian role in a record flood here several years ago. Mrs. Fuller also made brief comments of gratitude on behalf of local women.

"Never" buttons were passed out at the doorway.

Representatives of both the KKK and the National States Rights were in evidence at the meeting.

The Changing Times In Lowndes County: An All-Negro Ticket

ALABAMA 10/31/66

By JOHN CORRY

Special to The New York Times

HAYNEVILLE, Ala., Oct. 27 — There are seven candidates from the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the election on Nov. 8. They are Negroes and their symbol is a toothy, crouching black panther. They probably will not win the county offices they seek, but it may not matter. What matters is that they are running.

Lowndes County is a place of long roads and empty spaces, where the mist rises from the scrub oaks before it is dark. Country stores lit by unshaded light bulbs sell things like grits and chimneys for kerosene lamps, and roadhouses cater to men in cowboy hats, who drink beer and swear a lot while they listen to country music.

The county is also a place of cotton and cattle and hand-hewn fenceposts, of elegant old homes and decrepit shacks. The flavor is passionately Southern, and there are whites and Negroes who would not live anywhere else.

Last night, John Hulett, the chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, stood on a red clay road and said that his party, which whites call the "panthers,"

Continued on Page 22, Column 3

The Changing Times in Alabama: All-Negro Ticket

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

would change things in Lowndes County.

Stokely Carmichael, who helped to organize the freedom organization, said in Atlanta last summer in a panel discussion of "black power" that "if you use the power to tax in Lowndes County, you can get some good schools and good roads."

Mr. Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, went on to say that "you have to control the government before you can get the right to tax the folks."

The fight, he said, is to "get black people the things they should have."

"And then they can decide," he said, "if they want to accept the white people in Lowndes County who've brutalized them, lo, these many, many years."

Mr. Hulett did not say precisely what would happen if his candidates won, but he said they would deal fairly with both whites and Negroes.

Mr. Hulett is a dark, friendly man who speaks very rapidly. He was born in Lowndes County, as were his parents, and he lives by a sandy road in a flimsy white house without a telephone.

He said no members of the student committee were members of the executive committee of the freedom organization, and that the organization officials and candidates were all Lowndes County Negroes.

He also said the organization had given Negroes a sense of participation in important things, and that the Alabama Democratic party, at least now, was hostile to Negro interests.

He said he thought his candidates could win, and that his chief problem on Election Day would be to get Negroes to the polls.

According to the census of 1960, there were 15,417 persons in the county, and 81 per cent of them were Negroes. Not one had ever voted in the county, and before this year only six were registered.

Now, 2,681 Negroes are registered, virtually all of them under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Also, 2,519 whites are registered, although the list of white voters has not been purged of absentees, and the true figure is somewhat less.

Lowndes County had not intruded itself much in the news until March 25, 1965, when Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker from Detroit, was slain there after the "Freedom March" from Selma to Montgomery. Three Klansmen from Birmingham were charged with the murder and subsequently freed by Lowndes County juries.

The following August, Thomas L. Coleman, an occasional sheriff's deputy here, killed Johnathan Daniels, a white seminary student from New Hampshire, and wounded the Rev. Richard

The New York Times Oct. 31, 1966

Lowndes County, Ala., is marked by diagonal shading.

Morrisroe, a white Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

Mr. Coleman said he had fired at the civil rights workers in self-defense. The charges against him were dismissed.

Temperament Held Changed

In the cool stone courthouse yesterday, Mac Champion, the county clerk, said that the "good Negroes in the county would help to elect the white ticket." He also complained that the newspapers had said that "we're all hoodlums here." Then he resumed his domino game with Mr. Coleman.

Upstairs, M. E. Marlette Jr. said the temperament had changed in Lowndes County and that whites were ready to accept a certain amount of integration.

Mr. Marlette, who was once a Presbyterian missionary in the Congo, now works for the County Board of Education. He said the panthers had caused no panic among whites, and that Negro schoolteachers had told him they would not vote for them.

A few miles away, a white politician, who declined to be identified, agreed with Mr. Champion and said that the "good niggers" opposed the panthers. He said whites were not concerned about the election. Indeed, he said, they did not even bother to "cover" meetings of the freedom organization any more.

The politician, who once led a group of whites armed with wrenches and tire irons in an assault on some young civil rights workers, said he still had no use for rights workers, but that he knew times were changing in Lowndes County.

The whites, he said, will now accept a "little integration."

The politician, however, seemed distrustful of Mr. Hulett. He said he had told "the Negro school in Lowndes County, to tell Mr. Hulett to meet with him, and that Mr. Hulett had never apepared.

Mr. Hulett, he said, is unlike most Lowndes County Negroes.

"My maid," he said, "chased the civil rights workers away from her house with a butcher knife. I asked her why she didn't take a shotgun to them, and she said she was sure she knew how to use the butcher knife, but that she just didn't know about the shotgun."

The politician declined to produce his maid, but he laughed a throaty laugh and said many Negroes in Lowndes County felt exactly as his maid did.

There are, in fact, Negroes who do oppose the freedom organization. A Negro property owner, who said he had known Mr. Hulett all his life, said he had no use for the panthers and even less for the young workers from the student committee who visited Mr. Hulett.

Once, he asserted, he threw Mr. Carmichael off his property. Then he said:

"The Snick workers will leave after the election, and the rest of us will have to stay. Now, I don't believe in going the third-party route. It's a foolish thing to do, and the people that John Hulett has running are unqualified anyway."

Another Negro, an old and dignified man who referred to the freedom organization as the "Christian movement," said he would vote for Mr. Hulett's candidates. But of the young people in the student committee, he said, "They're too fresh."

In May, Mr. Carmichael asked Lowndes County Negroes not to vote in the regular primary election. He said that if they did, Alabama law would rule out their participation in the freedom organization primary.

Nevertheless, Richmond Md. Flowers, the Alabama Attorney General, received 613 votes in the Democratic primary, and political observers say that virtually all of them were from Negroes.

Furthermore, only 813 Negroes voted in the primary for the freedom organization, while Mrs. George C. Wallace received 1,443 votes in the Democratic primary for Governor. Presumably, these votes were all from whites.

The freedom organization is seeking the offices of sheriff, coroner, tax assessor, tax collector and three seats on the board of education. The election is being watched by those in the South who see in it a hint of Reconstruction days, and advocates of black power who believe it is the most important election in the country.

Sidney Logan, the candidate for sheriff, said he had not thought much about what things would be like in Lowndes if the freedom organization won.

If he won, he said, his policy would be "honest, fair law enforcement" and he would try to appoint white deputies. Just a little self-consciously, he said:

"There are some good whites, you know."

2,519 White, 2,681 Negro--
And 7 Ride a Black Panther

ALABAMA

AC 10/31/66

By JOHN CORRY

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

HAYNEVILLE, Ala. — There are seven candidates from the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the election on Nov. 8. They are Negroes, and their symbol is a toothy, a crouching black panther.

They probably will not win the county offices they seek, but it may not matter. What matters is that they are running.

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He said that the Freedom Organization had no members of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee on its executive committee and that its officials and candidates were all Lowndes County Negroes. He said the organization had given Negroes a sense of participation in important things and that the Alabama Democratic Party, at least now, was hostile to Negro interests.

He said he thought his candidates could win, and that his chief problem on Election Day would be in getting Negroes to the polls. According to the 1960 census, there were 15,417 persons in the county, and 81 per cent of them were Negroes. Not one had ever voted in the county, and before this year only six were registered.

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WALLACE'S DRIVE STIRS G.O.P. FEARS

ALABAMA

3d Party Plans for '68 May Hurt Them in Alabama Now

NYT 11/6/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 4—What the Goldwater Presidential campaign gave to the Republicans of Alabama, the Wallace Presidential campaign is threatening to take away.

The G.O.P. picked up five seats in Congress in this state on the coattails of Senator Barry M. Goldwater in 1964, thanks to straight ticket Republican voting that gave the conservative Arizonan 70 per cent of the Alabama vote.

Now, Gov. George C. Wallace is running his wife Lurleen, for governor and preparing his Presidential campaign for 1968, and the possibility of a straight-ticket Wallace vote has the Republicans worried. They are likely to lose two of their Congressional seats and could lose all five.

Mr. Wallace's budding Presidential movement has caught fire in Alabama. The best response from his large audiences comes when he alludes to his plans for taking a third-party movement to other parts of the nation in 1968.

Five - hundred persons at Albertville last night burst into applause when he told them that "the Alabama movement" was having such effect already that the Mayor of Waukegan, Ill., now sounded like the Mayor of Albertville on the civil rights issue.

The style of his Presidential campaign is becoming clear.

"I'm no ultra-conservative," Mr. Wallace said over a hamburger steak before the rally at Albertville. "Those ultra-conservatives are conservative about just one thing—money."

Adopts Sharp Tone

At the rally, he sharpened his combative tone and said of the two national parties:

"It's the working man in this country that's got 'em all shook up. It's the working man that's going to change this country."

He said a group of top Republicans had met recently at the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York City to plot how to stop the Wallace movement and keep it from hurting the G.O.P.

"We're going to set the Chase Manhattan Bank back on its heels next Tuesday and teach it to keep its money and its mouth out of politics down here," he shouted, and the crowd, which sported business suits as well as blue jeans, laughed and clapped.

Mr. Wallace's enormous popularity is expected to sweep his wife into office by a large majority over her Republican opponent, United States Representative James D. Martin. The Governor is barred by the state constitution from succeeding himself.

Mr. Martin's leaving Congress to run for governor cost the Republicans one of their five seats, and Wayman Sherrer, the G.O.P. nominee to succeed him, is expected to lose to a Democrat, State Representative Tom Bevill.

A second Republican Congressman, Representative Glenn Andrews of Anniston, is in such difficulty that perhaps only a collapse of the Wallace bandwagon could save him. Mr. Andrews is being challenged by State Senator Bill Nichols of Sylacauga, a personal friend and legislative floor leader of Governor Wallace. The Governor has let it be known widely that he wants Mr. Nichols elected.

The other three Republican incumbents are somewhat stronger and are believed to be slightly leading their Democratic challengers.

Representative John Buchannan Jr., represents the Sixth District, comprising Metropolitan Birmingham, a stronghold of Goldwater Republicanism and the John Birch Society. He is opposed by State Representative Walter Emmett Perry Jr. Mr. Buchannan is popular in Birminham. He is a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and a member of the national advisory board of the Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative group.

Representative Jack Edwards is being opposed by Judge Warren L. Finch, an ultra-conservative Democrat, for the First District seat of which the port of Mobile is the heart.

Representative William Dickinson of Montgomery is being challenged by Robert F. Whaley, a salesman. Mr. Dickinson endeared himself to the white majority of the Second District by charging that the participants in the Selma-to-Montgomery rights march last year had engaged in drinking bouts and sexual orgies.

Governor Wallace has not spent much time campaigning for the Democratic candidates, but he has permitted them to stand on the speaker's platform with him while he reads a list of "good Democratic candidates who are supporting my wife's candidacy."

No Help for Sparkman

Senator John J. Sparkman is one Democratic candidate who has had no help from Governor Wallace, except that accruing from being on the same party list with the magic name.

It is common knowledge in Alabama that Governor Wallace has no use for Senator Sparkman. The Senator has voted conservatively in the last year or two, but prior to that he was considered a firm national Democrat on all except civil rights measures. He ran for vice president with the late Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952.

Senator Sparkman's Republican opponent, John Grenier, a New Orleans-born lawyer now living in Birmingham, is trying to widen the breach between Senator Sparkman and Governor Wallace. Mr. Grenier has begun to emphasize what he calls "the deep differences" between the two Democrats.

Mr. Grenier was executive director of the Republican National Committee during the Goldwater Presidential campaign. Despite his friendship with the Republican hero, he is the underdog in the race against Senator Sparkman.

One effect of Mr. Grenier's snuggling close to Governor Wallace has been to widen a division in his own party between himself, as its chief organizer, and Mr. Martin, its best vote-getter.

WALLACE DOUBTS REAGAN'S BELIEFS

11/10/66

Scores Him as '68 Nominee Because of Past Stands

ALABAMA

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 9—Not even Ronald Reagan is safely enough conservative to make it unnecessary for Gov. George C. Wallace to run for President.

"He used to be a liberal," Mr. Wallace said when asked about the Reoublican Governor-elect of California. "Now he's a conservative, and he might change back again."

Governor Wallace and his wife, Lurleen, held a news conference at the Governor's Mansion here to discuss the implications of her stunning victory yesterday. She defeated United States Representative James D. Martin, her Republican opponent for Governor, by polling more than 63 per cent of the vote. She ran as her husband's stand-in. The State Constitution prohibits his succeeding himself.

She Thanks The Voters

Dressed in a knit, off-white suit, the 40-year-old blonde briefly thanked the voters, then sat silently while the news conference turned to the newsmen's dominant interest—the prospect that her husband, as her "dollar-a-year assistant," will tour the country seeking the Presidency on a third party platform while she and her advisers run the Governor's office.

During the news conference Mr. Wallace repeated his intention of running for President in 1968 if neither major party nominates a candidate suitable to him.

"I don't have any burning ambition to be President," Mr. Wallace said in an unusually benign tone. "My only interest is the restoration of local government."

But if neither major party provides "a clear choice," he said, "then we'll be in that race."

Senator Richard B. Russell, the conservative Democrat of Georgia, who was re-elected yesterday, was the only person he could think of who would meet his standards as a Presidential candidate.

Mr. Wallace asserted, as he had many times before, that he was not a racist.

Opposes Violence

"I've never made a statement in my political career that reflects on a man's race, color or creed," he said.

Asked if he would accept the support of the Ku Klux Klan in his Presidential effort, he said, "I would accept the sup-

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Asked if he would accept the support of the Ku Klux Klan in his Presidential effort, he said, "I would accept the support of anyone who advocates states rights and strong local government. But anyone who advocates violence can look for a candidate somewhere else."

Mr. Wallace has frequently urged a continuation of segregation, but he contends that segregation does not reflect on one's "race, color or creed."

Mrs. Wallace received perhaps as many as one-third of the Negro votes yesterday. The others divided between Mr. Martin and an independent candidate, Dr. Carl Ray Robinson, who described himself as the only "real Democrat" in the race.

Mrs. Wallace was particularly strong in the Negro communities of Montgomery and other sections of south Alabama. Hugh Sparrow, a political writer for The Birmingham News, reported "a noticeable increase in Negro employment on Capitol Hill" in Montgomery recently.

Lauded on Education

Some Negro leaders, while decrying Mr. Wallace's racial policies, have spoken well of his liberal record in spending for education.

The Wallace triumph helped the entire Democratic ticket in Alabama. Senator John J. Sparkman was elected to a fourth term over John Grenier, a Birmingham lawyer who served as executive director of the Republican National Committee during Barry Goldwater' 1964 Presidential campaign. Senator Sparkman got more than 60 per cent of the vote, thanks to his own popularity as well as to the Wallace landslide.

The Democrats regained two of the five Congressional seats that they lost to Republicans when Senator Goldwater polled 70 per cent of the state's Presidential vote in 1964.

The Republicans gained a seat in the State Senate but lost

SELMA REJECTS BID BY SHERIFF CLARK

ALABAMA

His Write-In Drive Fails—Wilson Baker Elected

NYT 11/10/66

Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., Nov. 9—Sheriff James G. Clark Jr., the controversial figure in the Selma civil rights demonstrations last year, was defeated yesterday in his bid to retain his post by write-in votes.

Elected sheriff of Dallas County was J. Wilson Baker, a former director of public safety, who received 7,249 votes to 6,742 for Mr. Clark. The defeated sheriff, who had been in office for eight years, and Mr. Baker had been at odds over a series of mass arrests that occurred during the Selma demonstrations in 1965. Mr. Baker took the stand that peaceful demonstrations should be permitted.

The two men had previously met in the Democratic primary race and Mr. Baker was the winner. Observers here said that the Negro vote, which has increased greatly since the demonstrations, was a major factor in bringing about Mr. Clark's defeat.

Seven Negro candidates running in neighboring Lowndes County on the Lowndes County Freedom County Organization ticket were defeated in their attempts to win posts ranging from sheriff to coroner and members of the school board.

The candidates, running under the emblem of a black panther, had opposed regular Democratic candidates and lost by margins that ran from 200 to 600 votes.

During the pre-election campaign, Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, visited the county to urge election of the Negro slate.

Political observers contended that as many as 300 Negroes voted for the white candidates running on the Democratic ticket.

In Macon County, Lucius Amerson, a Negro who had won the Democratic primary against the incumbent, Sheriff Harvey Sadler, repeated his victory over Mr. Sadler, who was a write-in candidate.

Tuskegee Students Riot Over Acquittal In Negro's Slaying

12/10/66

ALABAMA

Special to The New York Times

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 9—Young Negroes smashed windows, looted a liquor store and painted a Confederate statue black today in protest over the acquittal of a white man accused of fatally shooting one of their fellow students.

About 700 Tuskegee Institute students rioted for three hours before dawn and then marched back to their campus.

The institute's president, Dr. L. H. Foster, said their action was "a very sad thing" and told them "mobs cannot be tolerated."

The Negroes were unhappy over the acquittal of Marvin Segrest, 68 years old, who had been accused of second-degree murder in the slaying of Samuel Younge Jr., 22, last Jan. 3.

Mr. Segrest's trial was held in Opelika, about 40 miles northeast of here in Lee County, because he contended he could not receive a fair trial in this Macon County city.

An all-white jury deliberated an hour and 15 minutes before returning its verdict yesterday.

Shortly after 1 A.M. today, according to the city of Tuskegee's Public Safety Director, Alton Taylor, Negroes gathered at a Confederate monument in the downtown square, listened to speeches, sang and chanted.

Then leaves in the square were set afire, bringing out the city fire department, and numerous false alarms were turned in. Black paint was poured on the monument to Confederate war dead and the

Continued on Page 26, Column 4

NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, DECEMBER

Tuskegee Students Stage Riot Over Acquittal in Negro's Death

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

words "black power" were smeared on it.

After about three hours, Mr. Taylor said, the students started back to Tuskegee Institute. Along the way, many of them tossed bottles and stones at white-owned establishments in a three-block area downtown.

Some 13 businesses suffered broken windows, including a bank and a state-owned liquor store. A glass door on the liquor store was smashed open and an undetermined amount of alcoholic beverages taken.

The store opened for business as usual today. Store officials said they had not yet determined how much was stolen.

No Arrests Made

The entire city force of 17 policemen, half of them Negro, watched over the demonstration but made no arrests.

Negroes heavily outnumbered whites in Macon County. A Negro, Lucious Amerso, was elected sheriff Nov. 8. He does not take office until next month.

Dr. Foster summoned the students to a meeting during the morning and told them:

"It is a very sad thing for the people of Tuskegee Institute to face this morning the evidence of wanton physical destruction caused by a very few people in a rather large group of students and others.

"All who were there share the blame. It is a reflection on the basic good sense of Tuskegee students and on our commitment as an educational institutional.

Students said that the president of the student government, Benny James, called a meeting last night to discuss M. Segrest's acquittal and to plan a demonstration for 9:30 A.M. today. However, an unidentified student suggested an immediate march and the demonstration began.

Mr. Segrest testified during hss two-day trial that he had fired two shots in Mr. Younge's direction "to bluff him." He said Mr. Younge argued with him over use of the rest room at the service station Mr. Segrest operated.

The elderly white man said the rest rooms were not segregated but that Mr. Younge had insisted on being permitted to use the women's rest room.

Mr. Younge started "cussing and raising hell," Mr. Segrest said and grabbed what "looked like a gun" from his car.

A golf club was found beside Mr. Younge's body.

Martin Strategy Is Direct Attack

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala. Sept. 3 — Congressman Jim Martin, the Republican candidate for governor, made a basic strategic decision: to attack Gov. George C. Wallace unsparingly.

ALABAMA

That this was a wise decision is not the belief of some Republican leaders and candidates.

John Grenier, the Republican candidate against U.S. Sen. John J. Sparkman, has sought to disassociate himself from the assault on Wallace by remaining away from Martin appearances.

Grenier sent a bouquet to Mrs. Martin when the congressman opened his campaign at a Birmingham rally. But Grenier's campaign business had him in Baldwin County, as remote as one can be from Birmingham without launching a boat in the Gulf of Mexico.

THOSE WHO believe that Martin erred in his assault strategy reason that the one-shot victory of Mrs. Lurleen Wallace in the primary is proof positive of Wallace's popularity.

They reason that the better course would have been an ungrudging tribute to the governor and the first lady and earnest persuasion based on the fact that the governor himself is not a candidate this year.

Martin, arriving at the speaker's stand by helicopter and horseback, centered his attack on the Wallace proposal to seek nullification of federal school guidelines. He followed this up with other attacks.

MARTIN SAID Wallace should be on the "NAACP payroll for all the help" he is giving the organization.

"I predicted when the school bill was first proposed by Gov. Wallace that it would only serve to speed integration of our schools," Martin said. "I maintained then and I maintain now that Gov. Wallace is playing into the hands of federal officials."

In another speech, Martin said:

"This ill-advised bill appears to be just another two-and-a-half-minute stand in the school house door while the whole state suffers to feed one man's ego and insatiable appetite for power."

Lurleen's Lead Appears Certain

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 30—On the eve of the May 3 primary, all hands agreed that Lurleen Wallace, First Lady of Alabama, would lead the field.

And a growing number of railbirds commenced to speculate that she would win without a runoff.

It was a reasonable guess that Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers would get the largest part of the Negro vote and place No. 2. At least one professional poll indicated that.

Should Mrs. Wallace win without a runoff or have Flowers as a runoff adversary and win big, Congressman James D. Martin, the GOP standard bearer, would face an uphill fight.

At the moment, Gov. Wallace plans to enter most, if not all, presidential preferential primaries in 1968. This not unlikely would lead to his candidacy for President on a third party ticket.

SPEAKER OF THE House Albert Brewer, a young Decatur lawyer and Wallace apostle, is generally expected to have a wide lead in the race for lieutenant governor.

U.S. Sen. John Sparkman has two opponents but no problems in the primary. It will be otherwise if a competent Republican is nominated.

On a typical morning of the last week of the campaign,

ALABAMA

Alabamians read that a great throng had defied soaking rain to hear the Wallaces in Birmingham. One invalid in a wheel chair defied the soaking to shake the governor's hand, a typical vignette in this campaign.

THE VAST throng occurred in Alabama's most populous county, Jefferson, and one which Wallace has not previously carried.

As this happened, former Gov. John Patterson had to content himself with an audience of 28 in an address to the Young Men's Business Club of Alabama in Birmingham.

"I feel very confident, "Patterson said, "that we will be faced with a runoff with Mrs. Wallace and that we will win."

Sen. Bob Gilchrist, of Hartselle, said: "Wallace knows he could beat Flowers . . . but Wallace knows he can't beat Bob Gilchrist."

At the same time, former Congressman Carl Elliott, of Jasper, was attacking Wallace in Anniston.

And Flowers was speaking to the students at Tuskegee Institute.

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
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"Correspondence - Allied Agencies"

January 11, 1966

ES

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In reply to your letter of January 6, we are sorry that you will be unable to attend our New Orleans Regional Consultation on Feburary 15th. We will be very pleased to have Mr. Stanfield attend in your stead and I look forward to meeting him then.

Very cordially yours,

Gordon Manser

Gordon Manser
Associate Director

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS file "Correspondence - Allied Agencies"

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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Legal Counsel

January 13, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Paul Anthony has notified me that you will be representing the Southern Regional Council on the Advisory Committee for Health and Welfare Services in Georgia.

The Advisory meeting has been scheduled for January 18th at 3:00 p.m., as you will notice in the accompanying mimeographed letter.

I hope that I may look forward to meeting with you on the 18th, and I am looking forward to working with you on this program.

Most sincerely,

Revelle

Revelle Pergament
Field Representative

Affiliated with National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference on Social Welfare
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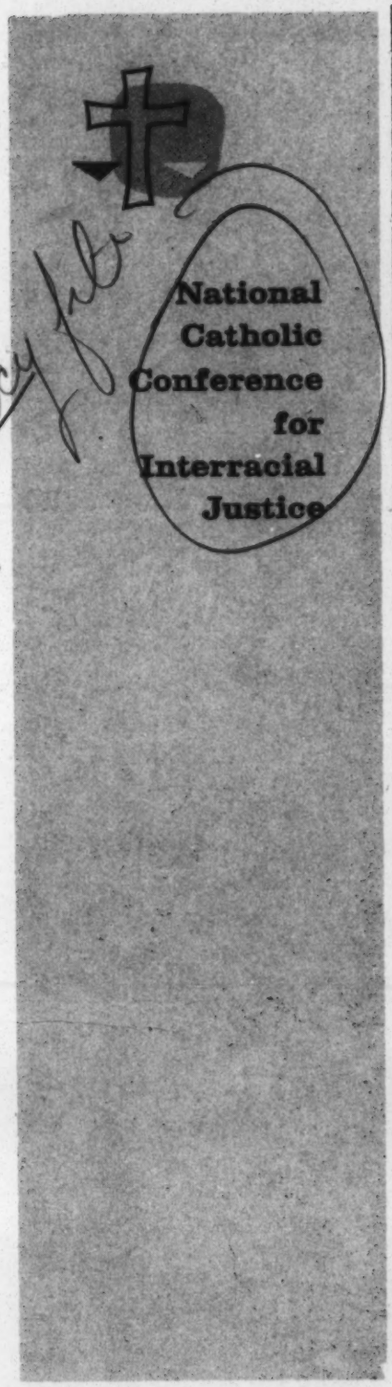

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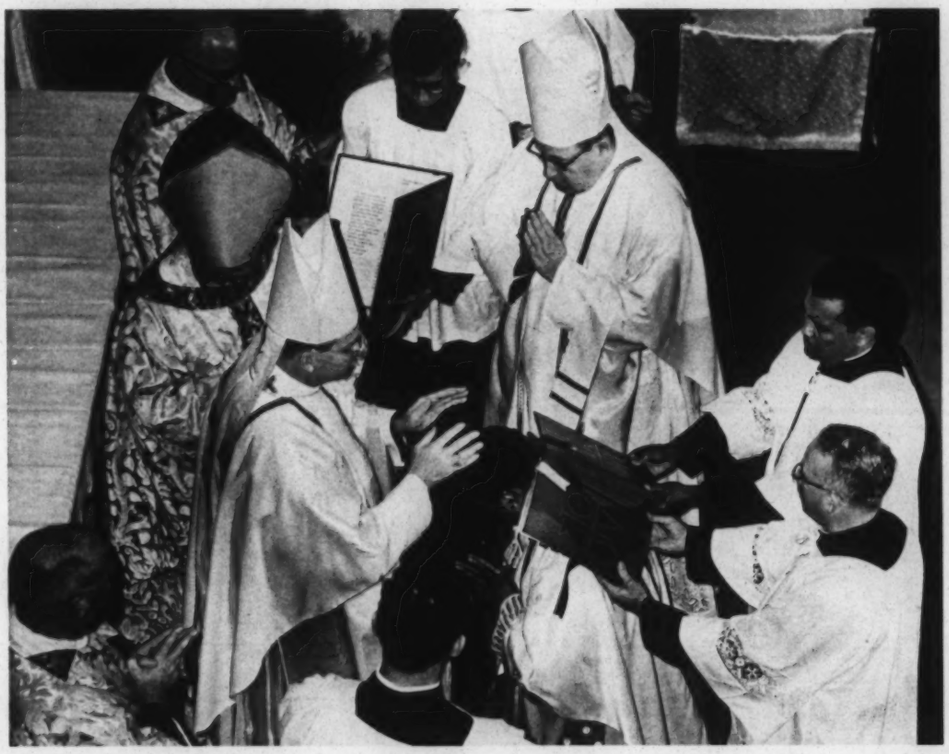

NEGRO BISHOP CONSECRATED

On January 6th the Very Rev. Msgr. Harold R. Perry became the first Negro bishop in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. In the words of Bishop Robert Tracy of Baton Rouge, Louisiana the ceremony occasioned "two principal sources of wonderment.....First, that we are witnessing the episcopal consecration of the first Negro ever to be raised to the high office of bishop in order to serve in a diocese of the U. S. .....And, second the fact that this bishop-elect has come through to the public - both here in the South as well as across the nation - as a highly cultivated person; a churchman with an impressive record of dedication and leadership in works of religion; a true 'man of God' in the modern tradition, fully in touch with the world around him, sensitive to such mundane things as public rela-

Published January, March, May, July, September and November.....$2 per year.

tions - an attractive winning person endowed with all the graces one would expect to find in one of his position.

Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States who officiated at the consecration, called Bishop Perry's elevation to the hierarchy "not an honor bestowed upon the Negro people" but rather "a contribution of the Negro race to the episcopacy of the Church."

Bishop Perry is a member of the Conference Board and the second member to be appointed Bishop this year. Bishop Perry has been named pastor of St. Therese's, a traditionally "white" parish in New Orleans presently in an integrated residential section.

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Conference Program Goals for 1966

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice has had general success with its program during the year of 1965. This, of course does not mean that we do not have a long way to go. To increase the commitment of the Church to civil rights the National Catholic Conference has outlined a broad-based expansion of its work in 1966. Among the specific goals are:

The development of more local Catholic human relations organizations, and the strengthening of existing local organizations. Through the expansion of Conference staff, services to Catholic human relations organizations has already been increased and the work of the Southern Field Service has been significantly strengthened. The Conference will focus additional energy on field work with the Councils in efforts to increase local level strength and relevancy to local issues and will provide occasion for regional leadership training and planning as well as staff development.

Conference Southern Field Service programs will rely more heavily on travel consultation in Southern dioceses, focused on response to local civil rights challenges. As a followup to two major regional conferences in 1965, the Conference will work to organize leadership conferences in sub-regions of the South to reach more deeply local Catholic leadership. The Southern Field Service and the Department of Educational Services will cooperate in staging a planning conference on hospital desegregation and will pursue specialized services for Catholic school superintendents, vocations directors, and religious orders largely serving Negro Catholics.

A heavy emphasis on Project Equality, designed to eliminate discrimination by Church institutions and their suppliers will reach out to cover construction, real estate insurance and banking, in addition to general purchasing. An expansion of this program is planned into 40 areas within the next two years. Plans of the Department of Employment Services will also include greater interreligious cooperation, with establishment of a national Project Equality organization on an interreligious basis.

Broad objectives for the Department of Educational Services organized one year ago will be continued and expanded. A steering committee of experts in curriculum, intergroup relations, theology, etc. will be formed to assist the Department. Operation Motherhouses will be launched in selected religious communities for the self-study of religious communities as they are relevant to problems of poverty and race. Project Cabrini and other summer volunteer work will be emphasized through a summer-work processing center in the Department. Based on 1965 experience, the Edu-

cation Department will organize three summer 1966 Traveling Workshops in Human Relations, offering intensive in-service training to parochial and public school teachers and other personnel such as police officers.

Finally, the Conference plans to establish a Department of Urban Services if funds can be raised, to concentrate on housing discrimination and related problems. In broad perspective, the objectives of the National Catholic Conference and its affiliate groups will be to eliminate from within the Catholic community any remaining vestiges of racial discrimination and to encourage the flow of the resources of the Catholic community into efforts to secure interracial justice in the civic community.

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Clergy Conference for the Interracial Apostolate

The Clergy Conference for the Interracial Apostolate in a meeting at the offices of the National Catholic Conference in executive sessions asked that the Conference act as secretariat for the group. The Clergy Conference is a group of priests organized for the purpose of creating a better understanding of problems of poverty and race among members of the clergy. Its president, the Reverend Matthew Gottschalk, O.F.M. Cap., pastor of St. Francis of Assisi parish in Milwaukee, Wisconsin also asked that the Conference assist the group in the publishing of a quarterly newsletter to members aimed at keeping them informed of important new developments across the country in parish work.

The Clergy and Social Justice

Auxiliary Bishop James P. Shannon of the St. Paul Diocese in a recent talk before the Stevenson Club in Minneapolis emphasized that the clergy should use public protest but use it carefully and judiciously. Bishop Shannon said there are some laymen who would like Catholic Clergymen to be more "sacristry priests" - to celebrate Mass and confine themselves to worship and teaching activities. But the whole thrust of the pontificate of the late Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council has been in the opposite direction, stressing the need of the clergy and the laity to concern themselves with the troubles of mankind. Bishop Shannon took part in the Selma, Alabama demonstrations last year and spoke at the memorial service for the late Rev. James Reeb.

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Vatican II on Christian-Jewish Relations

In company with the prophets and the Apostles, the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and serve Him shoulder to shoulder.....True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ. Still, what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures.....All should see to it then, that in catechetical work or in the preaching of the word of God they do not teach anything that does not conform to the truth of the Gospel.....the Church moved by the Gospel's spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone.....We cannot truly call on God, the Father of all, if we refuse to treat in a brotherly way any man, created as he is in the image of God.

.....Lawrence Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore was awarded a national brotherhood award by the National Conference of Christians and Jews for his leadership in the ecumenical movement and his constant condemnation of bigotry. Cardinal Shehan will also receive on January 25th another award from the Har Sinai Brotherhood. It will be presented by Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, only non-Christian recipient of the Cardinal Gibbons Medal.

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Education

Sister Peter Claver of Loretto Academy a Chicago school for girls will receive one of five citations for achievements in adult education to be awarded by the Adult Education Council of Greater Chicago.....Sister Claire Marie, former director of the Educational Services Department recently provided commentary for a new filmstrip titled "I Care" to be produced by George A. Pflaum, Publishers, Inc. of Dayton intended for showing to children who have not been exposed to the conditions depicted in the filmstrip.....Three teams of 1966 Traveling Workshops are scheduled for institutes in such cities as Chicago, New York, Washington, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, St. Paul etc. Fifteen teaching religious will be a university on wheels, bringing the glad tiding of social justice to all corners of the "land of the free and the home of the brave".....Bookings are still available. For information, write Director of Educational Services, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 1307 So. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60605.....Project Cabrini proved that sisters could successfully operate a summer school in the ghetto. Teaching religious who view the War on Poverty as an apostolic challenge are offered a Do-It-Yourself Cabrini Booklet. This outlines evaluations made of Project Cabrini by the press, the citizens of public housing, and the sisters themselves. It describes the OEO proposal, the curriculum offerings and related information. For this booklet write Director of Educational Services, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 1307 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill., 60605.....The CIC of Pittsburgh will sponsor a panel discussion on "De Facto Segregation in the Schools" January 16th at Ozanan Cultural Center in Pittsburgh.....Discussions will include de facto segregation in the area and possible solutions to the problem.....running concurrently with this program the Pittsburgh CIC will conduct for children a "Freedom School" loosely copying the freedom schools held in school boycotts in the North and South.....a New Orleans Diocesan school parents association at St. Peter Claver, recently purchased in the name of the school a life membership in the NAACP. .....the Catholic Council for Interracial Justice of Seattle, Wash. cosponsored a tutorial project called CARITAS. The government has approved funding for a two year period.....the project will provide pre-school classes for children, tutoring for elementary and high, special education classes for adults, youth activities, adult clubs, lectures and community meetings..... The Hartford CIC's women's auxiliary known as St. Benedict Guild is doing special work in the field of education and cultural enrichment. Named for the patron of Negroes of North America this program is under the patronage of Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien.....the CIC of Providence, N.J. is in the process of setting up a tutoring program for elementary children to employ high school and college students.....Archbishop William E. Cousins of Milwaukee praised the "guts" of a priest Fr. James Groppi arrested in a protest of alleged de facto segregation in Milwaukee schools. He said, however, that he was not giving blanket approval to boycotts. He will call a meeting of inner city priests to discuss programs for racial justice.

Housing

The CIC of Little Rock is investigating the set up of an autonomous Fair Housing Organization to list homes available for purchase by Negroes in white neighborhoods.....the CIC of Pittsburgh praised the initiative taken by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission in holding investigatory hearings on alleged discriminatory housing practices in Mt. Lebanon an area refusing to show homes to Negro buyers.....the CIC of Kansas City, Mo. is cooperating with the Kansas City Council on Religion and Race in a Fair Housing Campaign designed to gain community wide support of open occupancy. .....the Cincinnati CIC working with local organizations sponsored a public meeting in November to explain the new Ohio Fair Housing Law.....the Diocesan Commission on Human Relations of Washington under the direction of Bishop John S. Spence conducted a series of seminars on equal opportunity in housing for parish priests in four sections of the Archdiocese.

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Employment

With the expansion of Project Equality to an interreligious program in Detroit, eleven religious jurisdictions throughout the country have committed themselves to Project Equality in the year 1965. Joining the Archdiocese of Detroit, which adopted the program in May 1965, the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit, and the Detroit Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches announced the first interreligious Project Equality program in the United States, December 16th and appointed Mr. Launbural W. Spriggs, a Detroit resident and businessman, the first Religious Merit Employment Director in the nation..... The first locality in the East, the Archdiocese of Hartford (Conn.) joined St. Louis, Detroit, and San Antonio on November 18th.....Project Equality was presented by various representatives of the National Conference in a series of regional conferences scheduled by the Employment Security Agencies as part of its implementation program of Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Conferences were held in Washington, D.C. Louisville, Phoenix, Denver and Boston, attended by administrators of employment security agencies from over 15 states in an effort to better inform state agencies of the nature and potential benefit of community resources available in the area of nondiscrimination and equal employment opportunity for Negroes, American Indians, Spanish Americans and other minority groups.....the largest, longest farm labor walkout since the 1930s continues in Delano, California. Striking Grape pickers of Negro, Chinese, Filipino and Mexican-American nationality were receiving $1.20 per hour are now demanding $1.40 as recommended for farm labor by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. An 11 member ad hoc committee composed of well known representatives of Protestant and Jewish faiths is seeking a congressional investigation of the strike. Catholic Clergy and laymen on the committee included Fr. James Vizzard, director of the Washington, D.C. office of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Fr. William J. Quinn of the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking and Lester C. Hunt, executive assistant, Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking. This group called on churches and synagogues throughout the country to become involved in the strike thru participation and donation of food and funds to the strikers.....Archbishop Joseph McGucken was among contributors to financing a project in his diocese called Opportunities Industrialization Center - West designed to train the unemployed in currently needed job skills. .....Archbishop John Dearden of Detroit was honored in December by an interrel-

igious and Interracial Citizens' Committee of Detroit for his efforts in promoting human rights primarily through the launching of Project Equality in his Archdiocese. .....The Urban League and the Archdiocese of Los Angeles are jointly initiating a cooperative job finding and placement program. Cardinal James Francis McIntyre asked pastors of 300 parishes to report their needs for workers, skilled and unskilled to the new Job Finding Bureau of the Archdiocese.....Msgr. John P. Languille of the Archdiocesan Catholic Youth Organization said the program was a means by which Catholics could make basic, practical andpositive contributions to the solution of a serious social problem. "It is apparent that our minority groups have suffered from serious social and educational handicaps which have their roots in history."

COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

The Diocesan Council on Human Relations of Miami formed a committee on Negro-Cuban Affairs to foster and promote the continuation of intergroup harmony during the movement of Cuban refugees into the U.S. .....the Lorain County CIC last month gave its two yearly awards for work in securing interracial justice to Protestants one of which Rev. John Huston founded the Lorain Conference on Religion and Race.....the CIC of Chicago at a February dinner will present its John F. Kennedy award to Fr. Richard F. Morrisroe, Chicago priest who was wounded in Alabama last August aiding the civil rights movement there.....the New York CIC in October gave its James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice to the past president of the St. Martin's Human Relations Council of Atlanta and Editor of the Georgia Bulletin, Gerard Sherry, for his contribution to the cause of interracial understanding. The Bronx Chapter of the New York CIC is making plans to cooperate in store front operations in the County of Bronx in New York. Bronx Chapter members will act as volunteers in providing a broad scope of services to fulfill the needs of the community in all areas.....the CIC of Miami Valley is presenting a proposal to its members to change its name to CIC of Dayton.

The Tidewater CIC of Norfolk, Va. at a meeting in December passed a resolution to support efforts being made to repeal Virginia's "Miscegenation Law." In addition they have contacted the Virginia Attorney General and both houses of the Virginia General Assembly.....the CIC of Pittsburgh appeared before the City Council to support a pay raise for Pittsburgh Police.....the CIC of Marin County California held a Christmas prayer vigil to bear witness to principles of equal employment opportunities. Two days earlier the CIC asked archdiocese to adopt a program designed to open opportunities to minority persons working on the construction of the cathedral.....the Catholic Human Relations Council of Los Angeles is continuing with their program of Home Visits to foster better communications between racial groups with their latest set for February 12th.....the Junior CIC of Sacred Heart in Long Isl. a program of the Long Island CIC held the first area wide meeting of Junior CIC groups to commence an exchange of ideas among these groups.....the Junior CIC of Pittsburgh sponsored a workshop on Tactics in Social Change to which 400 teenagers attended.

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Any members of Councils or interested persons who are going to be in the Washington Area in the near future and are interested in lobbying with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights should contact Mr. Marvin Caplan, Director of the Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Wash., D. C. 20036.....phone 234-4722

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23rd ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
Fisk University - June 27 - July 9, 1966

"Race Relations to Human Relations - A New Agenda"

An intensive program designed for all people who wish to become more effective participants in the continuing struggle to remove inequities of every kind from the patterns of our social life.

Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association
United Church of Christ, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

.....

Staff Appointments

Reverend Geno Baroni was recently appointed by Archbishop O'Boyle of Washington, Executive Secretary of the Archdiocesan Commission on Community Relations for the Archdiocese of Washington, D. C. Fr. Baroni is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Catholic Conference.....James Leadon formerly a member of the Board of Directors of the National Catholic Conference and a founder and first president of the Twin Cities CIC has been appointed Assistant to the Executive Director for Administration and Fund Raising for the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

AUDIO - VISUAL

Lessons in Race Relations by Sister Joann Carmen, O.S.F.....A revised edition of A Study of Race Relations published by the National Catholic Conference last year. An attractive teachers' manual with fifteen well planned lessons. Available from Feb. 1st...George Pflaum Co.,...38 W. 5th Street, Dayton, Ohio, 45402...Price $2.50

Theology and Race Relations,...by Reverend Joseph T. Leonard, S.S.J. Presents basic principles of Catholic moral theology involved and an application of these principles to areas of race relations.Order from the National Catholic Conference,..1307 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill.,60605...Price $2.50

The New Negro...edited by Mathew H. Ahmann Paperback edition of a series of papers by outstanding authorities in their fields on the theme of the....1961 National Catholic Conference Convention. Order from...Fides Publishers, Inc. Notre Dame, Ind.$1.50 ea.

Children Without (Film).....A film dealing with the problems of disadvantaged youth and attempts being made by the schools of Detroit to meet the needs of children with difficult family backgrounds Available on rental from.....the National Catholic Conference, 1307 S. Wabash,....Chicago, Ill., 60605.....Rental $5 plus handling.

A City Decides (Film)..On desegregation in St. Louis even before the Supreme Court decision on segregation.....The story of what a city can do to meet the greatest moral challenge of our day....Available on rental from the National Catholic Conference, 1307 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill., 60605 Rental $5 plus handling.

American Brotherhood Week.....A packet of ideas, bibliographies, suggested movies, posters, etc that can be used to observe American Brotherhood Week, which begins on February 20th. Write to George Pflaum Co. 38 W. 5th Street, Dayton, Ohio.....45402

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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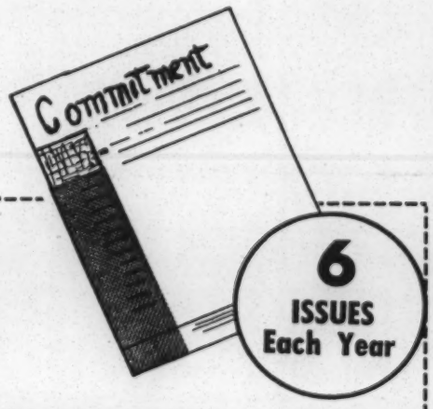

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SUMMER PROJECTS '66

Winter 1965-'66 Newsletter of The Encampment For Citizenship, Inc. 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023 103 PLEASE POST

Four Six-Week Sessions To Focus On Rights, Poverty

Photo by Eula Cassius

Montana Farmers Union member Jim Erickson explains the wonders under the microscope to Harlem youngsters. Jim and others from the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship helped out in a tutoring project in Harlem. Workshops in all four Encampment '66 projects will offer similar opportunities for part-time voluntary service in low-income

Two For 19-23-Year-Olds, Two For 15-18 Age Group

Four exciting six-week projects dealing with the unfinished business of American democracy will be sponsored by the Encampment for Citizenship during the summer of 1966.

Two new Encampment locations have been added: Washington, D.C., and a new site in rural Kentucky. Projects are also slated for New York City, where Encampments have been held each summer since 1946, and Puerto Rico, which has hosted an Encampment each summer since 1961.

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Civil rights, the whole range of anti-

SUMMER PROJECTS '66

Winter 1965-'66 Newsletter of The Encampment For Citizenship, Inc. 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023 103 PLEASE POST

Four Six-Week Sessions To Focus On Rights, Poverty

Photo by Eula Cassius

Montana Farmers Union member Jim Erickson explains the wonders under the microscope to Harlem youngsters. Jim and others from the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship helped out in a tutoring project in Harlem. Workshops in all four Encampment '66 projects will offer similar opportunities for part-time voluntary service in low income areas.

Two For 19-23-Year-Olds, Two For 15-18 Age Group

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Civil rights, the whole range of anti-poverty efforts, and world affairs will be given top priority in the educational programs of the Washington, New York and Kentucky projects. "Democracy and social-economic development in the Western Hemisphere" will be the focus of the Puerto Rico Encampment's educational program. The Puerto Rico Encampment is for campers from throughout the Hemisphere.

As in the past, campers will represent a cross section of the nation, of many racial, religious, ethnic and economic backgrounds. Also in the Encampment tradition will be the educational approach: no partisan or sectarian ax to grind, emphasis on discussions and see-for-yourself fieldtrips, and insistence that even the most distinguished speakers take time, after their lectures, for questions and thorough discussion.

DIVERSITY THE KEY

Speakers will represent many points of view, and will include members of Congress and other political leaders, officials in the federal Administration, the Government of Puerto Rico and local governments. Outstanding and controversial social scientists, social workers, journalists, and spokesmen for business, labor and farm groups will

(see SESSIONS, page 4)

Congressman John V. Lindsay, Mayor-Elect of New York City:

"The Encampment for Citizenship . . . has established in the hearts and minds of thousands of young people enduring adherence to fundamental democratic principles.

"The Encampments have done much to build citizens, not only of this country, but of other countries of the world, and this achievement cannot be underestimated. They have been a distillation of democracy, and their work in carrying the cause of freedom to the young will gain increasing numbers of friends as time passes."

Encampment Impact Hits Record Number In '65

A record number of 261 campers took part in the Encampment for Citizenship's three Summer '65 projects, in New York City, Puerto Rico and Berkeley, California. Their enthusiastic letters to the projects' directors, this fall, testify once again to the educational and emotional impact of the Encampment experience.

Allard Lowenstein, lawyer-teacher-author (**Brutal Mandate** — the story of South West Africa) and alumnus of the 1947 Encampment, was director of the New York Encampment, held for the 20th year at the Fieldston School, Riverdale. The 110 campers, highly diverse in racial, religious, ethnic and economic backgrounds, represented a broad spectrum of political beliefs. Stimulating sessions with guest lecturers, intense, often marathon-length staff and camper discussions, and frequent fieldtrips to points throughout the New York area added up to a dynamic confrontation with the country's major public affairs issues.

Guest lecturers, who dealt with civil rights, foreign policy, and economic and social problems (examples: law in American slums; problems of the press; narcotics; innovation in higher education) were a distinguished lot. Congressmen and other spokesmen for the Democratic and Republican parties were included, along with Yale, Princeton and Harvard faculty members, the President of Antioch College, representatives of the Civil Rights Commission and the State Department, and spokesmen for civil rights organizations, the labor movement, and left and right-wing dissent groups.

The gubernatorial candidate of the Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi was a speaker, as were two candidates for Mayor of New York City, the editors of the Lexington (Mississippi) **Advertiser** and the **New York Post**, Norman Thomas, UN Mediator Dr. Frank Graham and American Civil Liberties Union founder Roger Baldwin.

Workshops at the New York Encampment dealt with foreign policy, law and the poor, political and community organization, urban social problems, education, cultural affairs, and the New York City power structure. Another workshop enabled campers to take part in a tutorial project for disadvantaged youngsters, run by student volunteers on Harlem's West Side.

Workshop groups made frequent fieldtrips to the UN and various foreign missions to the UN, to the offices of a wide range of social agencies and community organizations, to the police and courts, treatment centers for drug addicts, Broadway and off-Broadway stage personalities and productions, bank, newspaper and trade union offices and television news studios.

PUERTO RICO ENCAMPMENT

Forty young men and thirty-four young women were campers at the Encampment

(see IMPACT, page 4)

FOUR EXCITING SUMMER PR
THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS

President Lyndon B. Johnson:

"This venture with which the name of Eleanor Roosevelt has been so closely associated has made a splendid contribution in citizenship education and in the training of young people."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was for seventeen years chairman of the Sponsors Committee of the Encampment for Citizenship. Each year campers at the New York Encampment

TWO ENCAMPMENTS FOR CITIZENSHIP, FOR THOSE 19 THROUGH 23 YEARS OF AGE:

WASHINGTON, D.C.: **"American Politics in a Revolutionary World."** The educational program will be concerned with U.S. national politics and foreign policy; problems of developing nations, of arms control and of disarmament; the anti-poverty program; civil rights; history of democracy; and community organization. Visits to offices and homes of leaders of both major parties, to embassies, to improvement programs in slum areas, and to Peace Corps, VISTA, anti-poverty and civil rights agency headquarters. Opportunity for part-time community service in the national capital's lowest income areas. June 19—July 30. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

PUERTO RICO: **"Democracy and Social-Economic Development in the Western Hemisphere."** Educational program concerned with achievements and problems of social-economic development in Puerto Rico and in Latin America generally; the Alliance for Progress, Latin American-U.S. relations and self-determination of peoples; U.S. domestic efforts against poverty and discrimination; history of democracy; means of involving people in the democratic process. Visits to social-economic projects and to cultural events. Opportunity for part-time community service in a Puerto Rican village. Preference given to applicants with knowledge of both Spanish and English. Many campers will be Latin Americans. June 26—August 6. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

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"The 1965 Encampment for Citizenship was the most unique, the most provocative, and in many ways the most rewarding experiment in living I can remember. It ended all too soon."—Howard Moffett, Chairman, Yale Daily; alumnus of the New York Encampment

Regional Action Groups Will Be Co-Sponsors

The Encampment's 1966 projects in Eastern Kentucky and in Puerto Rico will be co-sponsored by locally-based community action organizations.

The Encampment's high-school-age Center for Education in Democracy, in Eastern Kentucky, will be co-sponsored by the Council of the Southern Mountains and by the Southern Regional Council. The Council of the Southern Mountains, with headquarters at Berea, Kentucky, assists the work of hundreds of local agencies and individuals leading the anti-poverty struggle in Southern Appalachia. The Southern Regional Council, at Atlanta, aids and coordinates the work of local organizations throughout the South working toward equal rights and opportunities for all.

In Puerto Rico the Encampment for Citizenship will be co-sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. Cuerpo de Paz de Puerto Rico, a non-sectarian domestic Peace Corps supported by the federal anti-poverty program.

All three co-sponsoring organizations will assist the Encampment's staff in planning fieldtrips and community service work, and in locating outstanding guest lecturers, staff and campers.

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Joe Prewitt, University of Puerto Rico graduate and alumnus of the 1964 Puerto Rico Encampment for Citizenship, discusses a village youth program with a Puerto Rican family. After a year's service as a volunteer in the YMCA Peace Corps of Puerto Rico, Joe is now on the staff of that non-sectarian anti-poverty agency. He and his co-workers will help campers at the 1966 Encampment for Citizenship get first-hand community development experience in communities throughout the island.

PLEASE POST

OGRAMS DEALING WITH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

TWO CENTERS FOR EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY, FOR THOSE 15 THROUGH 18 YEARS OF AGE:

NEW YORK CITY: "Urbanism and American Democracy." The educational program will be concerned with efforts to achieve better housing, health and education, honest government and public safety in a great urban area; urban aspects of anti-poverty and civil rights programs; history of democracy; community organization; the United Nations and other aspects of world affairs. Visits to ethnic areas, improvement programs and economic and cultural institutions throughout New York City, to City Hall and to the U.N. Opportunity for part-time community service in Harlem. Site: the 15-acre campus of the Fieldston School, Riverdale, Bronx; July 3—August 13. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

EASTERN KENTUCKY: "The Rural South and American Democracy." Educational program concerned with efforts to bring the nation's major underdeveloped area closer to national standards in employment, education, housing and health; rural aspects of the anti-poverty program; civil rights in Southern and border states; history of democracy; community organization; world affairs, particularly problems of developing nations. Visits to improvement programs in rural areas of Kentucky and Tennessee, and to Tennessee Valley Authority installations. Opportunity for part-time community service in a Kentucky community, and opportunities to learn folk dances and songs of the area. July 3—August 13. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

Campers at the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship discuss alternative strategies in the struggle for equality and civil rights. Young leaders of civil rights groups in all parts of the United States were among the campers.

"I was born in East Harlem. I had never been out of Harlem—I thought Harlem was the world. I thought only Harlem had problems.

"Taking part in the Center for Education in Democracy for six weeks opened my eyes. During those six weeks I got well acquainted with people from every kind of background, from all over the country. It really hurt, at the end, to have to say goodbye to people I hadn't wanted to shake hands with, when I got there.

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"Now I'm on the steering committee of MEND (the anti-poverty coordinating group in Spanish Harlem), trying to put into practice some of what I learned at the Center."

—a 16-year old camper at the 1965 Center for Education in Democracy

Photo by Sam Cassius

Politics Workshop members at the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship study campaign plans and materials at a John V. Lindsay neighborhood headquarters. After an afternoon there, they visited with the new Mayor-Elect at his home. Two other candidates for Mayor of New York City were among speakers at the Encampment, and other candidates' headquarters were also visited.

Folk music always ranks high among recreational activities at Encampment projects. Dancing, swimming, volleyball, softball and other sports, as well as attendance at local cultural events, will be free-time activities at all Summer '66 projects.

"I learned something at the Center for Education in Democracy that will stay with me for the rest of my life. I learned to live with others, with people whose experiences and ideas are different.

"In the Social Problems workshop I became interested in mental retardation . . . . A visit to a migrant farm labor center was unforgettable . . . . I realize, now, what an apathetic community I live in—how important it is for **me** to care, and not just to leave it to the other fellow."

—from a letter by a 1965 Center camper

Encampment Projects Are Not Only For Students

"Active interest in public affairs, not merely educational status, is the factor we're most concerned with," says Mrs. Clara Kobrak, chairman of the Encampment's Admissions Committee.

"No one should be discouraged from applying for admission to one of the Encampment's 19 to 23-year-old projects because he's not in college. We're just as interested in the applicant who's active in his local union, or farm youth group, or in anti-poverty or civil rights work, for example, as we are in students."

Mrs. Kobrak also pointed out that the 15 to 18-year-old projects are not limited to high school students.

APPLICATIONS FOR THE ENCAMPMENT'S SUMMER '66 PROJECTS ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC., 2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY 10023. Use the form on page four.

LIVING NEAR NEW YORK?
SAVE THESE DATES!

Plan to attend these theatre parties to benefit the Encampment Scholarship Fund:

SWEET CHARITY, a new musical with Gwen Verdon, at the Palace Theatre, Tuesday, March 15

WAIT UNTIL DARK, a suspense play with Lee Remick, at the Barrymore Theatre, Monday, March 28

Annual Encampment Banquet: Hotel Plaza, New York, May 24

Tickets for all three events available from the Encampment office, 2 West 64th Street, New York City 10023

SESSIONS continued from p. 1

speak, along with leaders of organizations active in civil rights, anti-poverty efforts, and world affairs.

Recreational and cultural programs at each site will include showing of significant films, visits to museums, concerts and theaters, and opportunities for swimming, softball, volleyball, folk-singing, dancing of every kind, tennis, hiking and cycling.

In some of the "workshops" from which campers may choose at each project, practical training will be offered in organizing and leading community service efforts in low income neighborhoods. One workshop at each site will be concerned with running a tutoring program for youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds. A second workshop will give campers know-how in setting up "week-end workcamps" in which volunteers help build or repair needed community facilities. In each case campers will learn by

Encampment's Board Elects New Officers

New officers of the Encampment for Citizenship board of directors are Abraham P. Kanner, Chairman; Mrs. Jean Somerville Kotkin, Vice-Chairman; S. Arthur Dembner, Secretary; and Gerhart L. Kobrak, Treasurer. Mrs. Frances Mannheimer, a full-time volunteer worker in the Encampment office, is Assistant Treasurer. Mr. Kanner is Vice-President—Finance, of Maidenform, Inc., Mrs. Kotkin is with College and Career Consultants, Inc., Mr. Dembner is Vice-President and Circulation Director of **Newsweek,** and Mr. Kobrak is retired from the import-export business.

Peace Corpsman Is New EFC Executive Director

Douglas Kelley, 36, an alumnus of the first Encampment (1946) is the new Executive Director of the Encampment for Citizenship. He replaces Saal Lesser, who is now Acting Director for the Metropolitan New York District, Office of Economic Opportunity.

During 1962-'63 Doug served as Community Relations Director for the Peace Corps. He declined promotion to a staff desk job overseas and volunteered to serve in a Peace Corps community development program in West Cameroon, where he coordinated an adult literacy program, recruited young volunteers for road and bridge-building workcamps, and organized and managed a handicraft marketing cooperatve.

Kelley's earlier posts included: Administrative Assistant to Congressman Don Hayworth (D., Mich.); Administrative As-

IMPACT continued from p. 1

for Citizenship in Puerto Rico. They came from Puerto Rico, the continental United States, Jamaica, Spain and eight Central and South American nations. Murray Phillips, New York City vocational high school guidance counselor and staff member for twelve years at the New York Encampment, was director of the 1965 Puerto Rico Encampment.

Among outstanding speakers from government, universities and political movements were Puerto Rican Secretary of Education Angel Quintero Alfaro; former Dominican Republic President Juan Bosch; Sr. Manolo Ray, exiled former Public Works Minister in the Castro Government of Cuba; Professor Federico Cordero of the University of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Labor Relations Board; Dr. Gordon Lewis and Dr. Thomas Matthews of the Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, and many others.

Through fieldtrips throughout the island, as well as by lectures, discussions and workshops, campers learned about Puerto Rican culture, community development and economic progress, and the views of its varied political movements. Caribbean affairs and Latin American relationships with the United States were also studied, along with internal poverty and human rights problems in various Hemisphere nations. Swimming, dancing, folk music, volleyball, horseshoes and indoor games were popular recreational pursuits, and there were evening presentations of the music, dances and poetry of the countries represented. Campers formed their own government and edited a newspaper.

Both Spanish and English were used throughout the Puerto Rico Encampment, with simultaneous translations offered when-

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There will also be workshops offering more detailed study of lecture topics which prove of greatest interest to campers.

Cost of board, room, and tuition for the six-week projects: $450. Scholarship aid is available, to those most in need of it.

Dates of the older-age Encampments: Washington, D. C., June 19—July 30; Puerto Rico, June 26—August 6. High school-age Centers for Education in Democracy: New York City and Kentucky, July 3—August 13.

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Kelley's earlier posts included: Administrative Assistant to Congressman Don Hayworth (D., Mich.); Administrative Assistant to Michigan's U.S. Senator (then Lt. Governor) Philip A. Hart; and Assistant Professor at Michigan State University, in charge of world affairs adult education. He served two years in the Army Signal Corps.

Kelley is a graduate of Berea College, Kentucky, and holds master's degrees from Michigan State and Harvard. He and his wife were co-leaders of an Operation Crossroads Africa workcamp in Nigeria in 1960.

Roy Hoopes, author of **The Complete Peace Corps Guide,** credited Kelley with being one of the several initiators of the Peace Corps idea.

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BERKELEY CENTER

Seventy-seven teen-agers from twenty states and Jamaica brought to life the Encampment's second annual "Center for Education in Democracy," at Berkeley, California. Their director, a staff veteran of the 1964 Center, was William T. Rogers, former New York City high school teacher, now Leader of the Ethical Society of Essex County, New Jersey.

Camper questions continued at a rapid rate throughout fieldtrips to a huge automated Standard Oil refinery, the Synanon treatment center for drug victims, migrant farm labor camps, a longshoremen's union hall and a Swedish merchant ship, ethnic areas and other points of interest in San Francisco, and several of the beaches, forests and other natural beauty spots of California.

Democratic and Republican speakers, a debate of Vietnam issues by University of California faculty members, lectures by spokesmen for the labor and cooperative movements, social agencies, civil rights groups and the Civil Liberties Union, a "rumor clinic," a selection of outstanding films—all these contributed to a stimulating program, a summer which many campers have written was the high point of their lives.

Two campers who had personally helped integrate the school at Americus, Georgia, made a unique contribution to the campers' understanding of race relations in the South. A closing week finale was a moving camper dramatic production of Martin Duberman's **In White America.**

MAIL THIS REQUEST FORM, FOR FURTHER LITERATURE AND APPLICATIONS.
To: Encampment for Citizenship, Inc., 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023

Please send me:

..... additional announcements and ..... 1966 applications.
(number) (number)

I'm interested in these projects:

Encampments for Citizenship, (for those 19 through 23): ☐ Puerto Rico ☐ Washington, D.C.

Centers for Education in Democracy, (for those 15 through 18): ☐ Kentucky ☐ New York City

Name: ..... Occupation: .....
(if student, specify year)

Address .....

☐ I myself am interested. ☐ I want to inform others.

CAN YOU HELP THE ENCAMPMENT OFFER MORE SCHOLARSHIPS?
To: Encampment for Citizenship, Inc., 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023

To help the Encampment for Citizenship offer scholarships to outstanding young men and women who would not otherwise be able to take part, I am enclosing a check for $..... I understand that the Encampment for Citizenship is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational corporation, and that scholarships are awarded without regard to race, nationality, religious belief or political affiliation.

Name: ..... Address: .....

☐ Please send me a form for use in making a bequest to The Encampment for Citizenship.

Agency file

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
SUSQUEHANNA 7-2714

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MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Honorary Chairman, Sponsors, 1946-1962

MRS. ALICE K. POLLITZER
Honorary Chairman, Board of Directors

ABRAHAM P. KANNER
Chairman, Board of Directors

DOUGLAS KELLEY
Executive Director

Dear Friend:

Enclosed are announcements of the Encampment's four Summer '66 projects, and application forms for both the 19-23-year-old projects in Washington, D.C. and Puerto Rico, and the 15-18-year old projects in Kentucky and in New York City.

The new Washington Encampment will be on the University of Maryland campus; the Puerto Rico Encampment has a new and better site at Cayey; the new project in Kentucky will be at Union College, Barbourville; and in New York we will be at the Fieldston School again.

We hope you will be able to inform some young men and women about these exciting opportunities. As you know, we welcome applicants who have a keen interest in public affairs, people who want to "make a difference" in their communities. Some scholarships are available on the basis of need.

Could your organization, or another group in your community, offer one or more partial scholarships to encourage promising applicants from low-income backgrounds who might not otherwise apply?

Please let us know, on the enclosed card, if additional announcements or applications can be used.

Can one of the enclosed tabloids be posted on a bulletin board?

Thank you for your interest and help. We wish it were possible to write you on a more personal basis.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Douglas Kelley

Douglas Kelley
Executive Director

NON-PROFIT, NON-SECTARIAN, NON-PARTISAN; FOUNDED IN 1946 BY ALGERNON D. BLACK AND THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION.

"The Encampment for Citizenship has been an effective pioneering project in citizenship education. It has helped train people for all walks of American life. Our government, and now the Peace Corps, have reaped the harvest of its work. . . ." —*John F. Kennedy*

"This venture with which the name of Eleanor Roosevelt has been so closely associated has made a splendid contribution in citizenship education and in the training of young people." —*Lyndon B. Johnson*

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

Dear Friend:

As a person who is actively involved and concerned with the social problems in our State of Georgia, you have received a letter and accompanying material on a proposed Action Assembly on Services for Children.

Accompanying this information was an invitation for you to represent, or to authorize a representative of your organization to be on the Advisory Committee for planning the Assembly.

Your assistance is greatly needed in this cooperative citizens' effort to improve and provide adequate--qualitatively and quanitatively--health and welfare services in Georgia.

The Advisory Committee meeting will be held on January 18th at 3:00 p.m. in the Conference Room of the Y.W.C.A.'s National Student Council offices, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.

If you have not already returned the form indicating whether or not your organization will be represented on the Advisory Committee, we would appreciate your doing this as soon as possible. Furthermore, if you find it necessary to delay returning the form in time for us to notify your representative of the meeting, we would appreciate your relaying the above information to him.

I am looking forward to meeting with you next Tuesday and to working with you on a program to improve services in our State.

Sincerely yours,

Revelle Pergament

Revelle Pergament
Field Representative
Health and Welfare

RP:jd

HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES FOR GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

The exploratory meeting on November 9th was attended by the following representatives and concerned individuals:

Georgia Conference on Social Welfare
(Mrs. Nita Stephens)

Georgia Council of Churches
(Rev. Edward M. Brown)

Georgia Association for Retarded Children
(Mr. John M. Stephens and Mrs. Annie Cloud Maxey, Maude Daniels Chapter)

Door of Hope
(Mr. Jesse O. Thomas)

National Association of Social Workers, North Georgia Chapter
(Mr. W. Bruce Herrin)

National Council of Jewish Women
(Mrs. Niels Jacobson)

Georgia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
(Mrs. M. L. Dollar, Atlanta Chapter)

Mrs. Mae Frances Moody, Teacher

Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce
(Dr. C. Michael York)

Fulton County League of Women Voters
(Mrs. John Bredfeld)

Archdiocese Council of Catholic Women
(Mrs. Mary Fenton Doyle)

Mrs. Calvin W. Fenton,
WICS Volunteer

Community Council of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
(Mr. Jim Gaudin)

Children's Center of Metropolitan Atlanta
(Mr. Byron Ballard)

Mrs. Eva Driscoll, Convenor and Representative for ~~the United Church Women of Georgia and~~ the Y.W.C.A.

Miss Jeweldean Jones, Associate Director, Health and Welfare
National Urban League

Mr. Heman Sweatt, Assoc. Dir.
Southern Region, Nat'l Urban League

Miss Revelle Pergament, Field Rep.
Health and Welfare
Southern Regional Office

National Urban League

78 Marietta Street, N.W. SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE Atlanta, Georgia 30303

A PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE ON HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES FOR GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

Background Information

Responding to the War on Poverty's Economic Opportunity Act, the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League sponsored a series of Southern Workshops on Poverty during the Spring of 1965. Community leaders were provided with pertinent information and were encouraged to develop resources for expanding services to low-income families by participating in the anti-poverty programs. These Workshops were followed by consultative and advisorial servicing to individual communities and to Urban League Affiliates in the thirteen Southern States.

During the course of this activity, community leaders expressed extreme concern not only towards the job-training and skill development aspect of the economic opportunity programs, but also for the related area of health and welfare services to children--the economic potential of tomorrow.

We became aware of the severe hunger that community leaders have for information and technical and consultative help from social welfare and health agencies. However, besides the over-all need for referral services and information centers, specific problems were brought to the forefront of our attention in the areas of mental retardation, unwed parenthood, and day care services.

Realizing the serious extent of these problems, this office determined to initiate action to improve and provide adequate health and welfare services to children. First, it was decided to initiate such action in a pilot project in the State of Georgia and to manifest action and concern from our Atlanta-based office. Not only is Atlanta the regional headquarters for most of the national organizations and agencies concerned with child health and welfare; but also, Georgia, specifically, has been experiencing a growing awareness of the need to improve such services. This awareness has been reflected in the reorganization of the State Departments of Public Health and Family and Children's Services, and has been seen in the passage of legislation applying to higher standards of operation for agencies serving children.

Secondly, a number of exploratory meetings were sponsored to consider methods which would initiate action towards improving services to children. These meetings, on an individual and/or group basis, were with directors and representatives of national, state, and local organizations, whose programming are relevant to children's services--Division of the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Divisions of Georgia State Departments of Public Health, Education, and Family and Children's Services; Office of Economic Opportunity

officials; the Child Welfare League of America; National and Georgia Chapt of the Association for Retarded Children; the National Council on Illegitimacy; Florence Crittenton Association; the National Association of Day Car Services; the Metropolitan Atlanta Citizens Committee on Day Care; State a local voters' leagues; the National and Georgia Council of Churches; the National Council of Christians and Jews; the Salvation Army; the American Friends Service Committee and other human relations agencies; and the Comm ity Council of Greater Atlanta, Inc.

The cumulative consensus of these meetings, which began last August at the National Urban League Annual Conference in Miami Beach, clarified and delineated the following aspects of program action and were presented to a group of potential advisors and co-sponsors in a meeting on November 9th:

A. Goals
B. Participation
C. Methods
D. Advisory Committee
   1. Action Assembly
      a. Purposes
      b. Sponsorship
      c. Budget
      d. Date and time
      e. Program
   2. Citizens Committee
E. Role of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League.

Goals

The goal of the Child Health and Welfare Program shall be to set in motion those forces which will work towards developing and providing adequate--quantitatively and qualitatively--specialized services for all children, and particularly those from low-income families, in the State of Georgia, with emphasis on the following interrelated areas:

1. State-wide maternal care and well- and sich-child clinics.

2. State-wide mental retardation testing, evaluation, and follow-up services, and publicly supported day care for retarded children.

3. State-wide licensed day care centers for children from low-income families.

Participants

Because a lack of adequate referral and information services is one of the greatest problems confronted by the public and those offering services in the above-mentioned areas, the focal point of attention shall be on reaching leading citizens from communities throughout the State of Georgia.

Hence, for the most effective fulfillment of the goals and purposes of this program, participation shall include not only responsive governmental agen-

cies (at all levels) and private agencies having interests and responsibilities in these fields of services, but emphatic emphasis will be placed on the participation of leading responsible citizenry--leadership from citizen groups such as PTA's, teachers' organizations, fraternal orders, women's auxiliaries, professional organizations, civic clubs, church leaders (such as ministers, priests, and rabbis and leadership from their congregations), voter's leagues, etc., and other leading citizens with interest and concern in health and welfare services.

Methods

As an effective method for setting appropriate forces, or machinery into motion, a State-wide Action Assembly shall be held and a State-wide Citizen Committee shall be developed.

Advisory Committee

Following the goals and purposes of the Action Assembly--providing adequate health and welfare services to children by bringing pertinent information and guidelines for community action to leaders throughout Georgia--the Advisory Committee shall be composed of representatives and/or volunteer workers (non-salaried positions) of agencies, organizations, and associations with interest in the noted areas of concern. These "citizen-representatives" might include chairmen, presidents, board members, heads of organizational committees, etc.; in any case, the representative should hold a position of responsibility and decision-making within his organization.

The future position and purpose of the Advisory Committee would be dependent upon the accumulative decision of the Committee and the establishing of a State-wide Citizens Committee.

ACTION ASSEMBLY ON SERVICES FOR CHILDREN

Purposes:

1. Inform about current and proposed health and welfare programs.
2. Spotlight and define problem areas and establish public concern.
3. Consider the role of agencies of the federal government in interpreting its services and responsibilities under the law and in delineating standards.
4. Propose the forming of a State-wide Citizens Committee to implement resolutions passed by the Assembly.

Sponsorship

Sponsorship of the Assembly will be a cooperative effort provided by responsible governmental and private agencies and organizations having interest and responsibilities in services for children. However, based on the aims of the Assembly, sponsorship should especially represent state, regional, and local agencies and organizations with interest in Georgia and are designated as citizens groups.

Budget

Financing of the Assembly will be kept at a minimum. Anticipated major it of expenditure will include printing costs, postage, public relations, records and reports, telephone calls, supplies, staff for Assembly, and staf expenses related to the Assembly. Sponsoring agencies, organizations, and associations might be expected to participate with contributions, staff ti and/or other services as their resources permit.

Proposed Location

It is proposed that the Assembly be held in Atlanta because of its relativ central location in the State; it is the headquarters of most of the invol ved groups; and it is favorable in keeping staff and expenses at a minimum

Proposed Time and Date

An exact length of time and the specific date will be decided upon by the consensus of the Advisory Committee. It has already been suggested that t Assembly take place towards the end of January, and, in terms of the propo ed program, that it last for a day and a half.

Proposed Program

The program should allot time for a public forum, or "town hall" meeting, which would include keynote speakers and panel members, and which would pr vide information on programs, problem areas, and governmental policies and responsibilities. Keynote speakers and panel members would represent national and state figures who are well-known in the areas of concern.

The second part of the program would consist of workshops moderated by sta and local agencies and organizations with responsibilities in the areas of concern. In these workshops, resolutions would be passed and plans propos for local action.

STATE-WIDE CITIZENS COMMITTEE

This Committee will coordinate the services of the associations and agenci towards reaching throughout the communities in Georgia, and it will function to implement the resolutions passed at the Assembly by developing programs at the State and/or local levels. Such programs may include the following:

1. Planning of local, or regional state health and welfare workshops--perhaps throughout the State.

2. Providing information acquired at the Assembly to members of communitie such as (1) women's groups and civic clubs establishing information centers in low-income communities, or distributing such information; (2) church leaders acting as referral and information sources for thei congregations and communities.

3. Requesting and encouraging public support for needed health and welfar programs in the State, county, and/or local community.

4. Investigating and monitoring health and welfare services.

5. Establishing needed day care centers for low-income families.

6. Encouraging legislative changes that may be necessary in obtaining adequate health and welfare services.

Role of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League.

The Southern Regional Office, as a professionally staffed social service agency, would be one of the sponsoring agencies. Having acquired an additional staff person to work specifically on developing this program in the State of Georgia and the finances to cover direct program promotion a the minimal expenses of the Assembly, the Southern Regional Office is already in a position to coordinate the Action Assembly.

Submitted by: Heman M. Sweatt,
Associate Director
Southern Region
National Urban League

Miss Revelle Pergament,
Field Representative
Health and Welfare

Please fill out this form and return to : Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
78 Marietta Street, N.W. Suite4J
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ATTN: Miss Revelle Pergament
Field Representative
Health and Welfare

Name of organization, association, or agency _____

_____ will have a representative on

the Advisory Committee for the State-wide Action Assembly on Services

for Children (yes) _____ (no) _____.

Name of representative _____

Position _____

Address (home) _____

(office, if preferred for receiving mail) _____

_____

Telephone (home) _____

(office) _____

Representative will be able to attend an Advisory Meeting on January 18th.

(yes) _____

(no) _____

(Signature) _____

(Position) _____

(Address) _____

(Telephone) _____

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rec'd 1/27/66

ACLU

January, 1966

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THE JULIAN BOND CASE

The Facts

Five days before the opening of the Georgia House, John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC issued a statement condemning U. S. "Aggression" in Viet Nam and claiming that America was responsible for the "murder" of Vietnamese peasants. He called upon Americans to refuse to participate in the war by any means.

Reporters, knowing that Julian Bond, as well as being a newly elected legislator, was also Public Relations Director of SNCC, sought him out to question him. Mr. Bond stated that he concurred "fully" with the statement. Asked about whether he advocated draft-card burning, Mr. Bond stated that he did not advocate this, that he had his own draft card which he had no intention of burning, but that he did "admire" the courage" of those who protested the war knowing they must face the legal consequences and community ostracism.

Some Georgia House members responded by signing a petition to deny Mr. Bond his seat because his statements "gave aid and comfort to the enemy." Mr. Bond was informed that this petition would be considered by the Georgia House on its opening day, Monday, January 10th.

On the eve of the opening House session, the Georgia ACLU issued a statement through its president, Hugh W. Gibert, which said in part:

"Disagreement over U. S. policies cannot be made the basis for ousting a duly elected public official from office. If it were, we would have precious few legislators, since many of them shouted defiance of the constitutional decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court only a few years ago.

"Individual members of the ACLU, myself included, consider that to characterize our policy in Viet Nam as "Aggression" and to say that the United States bears part of the responsibility for 'murder' of peasants' is reckless and unfair. These are not relevant considerations, however, since what is at stake is freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

THE JULIAN BOND CASE, CONTINUED

"To dissent from American policy is not to be disloyal. We are too great a country, and our freedom is too real and meaningful for us to think it necessary to pretend to the world that we are unanimous on any issue, either foreign or domestic..."

On Monday morning, at the opening session, Mr. Bond was not permitted by Speaker George T. Smith to take the oath of office given to other House members. At 11:30 a.m., Mr. Smith announced that the petition to oust Mr. Bond would be considered by a special twenty-eight member legislative committee with himself as chairman. The committee was to convene that same afternoon at 2:30 p.m. to consider the case in the House Chamber. The hearing was open to all House members, the press and the gallery.

The Hearing

The hearing began -- unpromptly at 3:30 p.m. -- before a packed house. Mr. Bond was represented by ACLU of Georgia Vice-President Howard Moore, Jr., assisted by ACLU Southern Regional Director Charles Morgan, Jr. The signers of the House petition brought Mr. Denmark Groover of Macon, a former House floor leader during the Griffin Administration, to present their case. Mr. Bond's attorneys called his two election rivals - one Republican and one Democrat - to testify that they felt he should take his seat, and that he would undoubtedly carry the 136th District again. This testimony was followed by statements from Senator LeRoy Johnson and Senator Horace Ward who also urged his seating. The chief witness for the petitioners was a Mr. Ed Spivey, a reporter for the state-owned radio station WGST, who produced a tape of an interview with Mr. Bond. The introduction of this tape by the petitioners was rather curious, since in it, Mr. Bond re-iterated several times that he did not advocate draft-card burning and would not burn his.

On cross examination of Mr. Spivey, Mr. Moore elicited the information that Mr. Spivey had no personal knowledge that Mr. Bond had been told that his telephone interview was being taped, and that there was no beeper on the telephone to apprise him that the telephone conversation was being recorded.

Mr. Morgan made the closing statement for Mr. Bond, stressing both the free speech aspects of the case, and pointing out the dangerous precedent which would be set for other state legislatures by the Georgia House action. Mr. Groover concluded for the petitioners by labelling Mr. Bond's statements as "treason" and by calling upon the House to refuse to seat him in the name of patriotism.

The special committee voted 26-3 against seating Mr. Bond, and an overwhelming 184 members of the House voted to follow their recommendation. Only twelve members dissented.

THE JULIAN BOND CASE, CON'T.

The Case

Following the House action, Mr. Bond's attorneys filed suit to enjoin the House from refusing to seat Mr. Bond. Or, as an alternative, the suit calls for the adjournment of the House until the 136th District can be represented. A three-Judge federal court has been impaneled to hear the case. (A three-Judge court is required by law whenever the constitutionality of statutes are brought into question.) The plaintiffs in the suit are Julian Bond, and two of the residents of the 136th District which he represents, one of them being Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The suit is based chiefly on the following grounds:

1. Mr. Bond was denied the right of free speech as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

2. His constituents have been denied their right of representation as guaranteed by the Fourteen and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

3. The House action amounts to a bill of attainder and ex post facto law -- i.e., a special act seeking purnishment for a particular named person, passed by a legislature against a named person subjecting him to a pain or penalty for something he did while not a member of the legislature.

4. Mr. Bond, was in fact, tried for treason and for violating the Selective Service Act. He was therefore, the suit contends, deprived of his right to be indicted by a Grand Jury under the Fifth Amendment, and to his right to a trial by jury under the Six and Fourteenth Amendment.

5. The statutes and provisions of the rules of the Georgia House of Representatives under which Mr. Bond was tried are vague. The ACLU contends that they are thus void for such vagueness under the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution.

This case is scheduled to be heard on January 28th. In the meantime, Governor Sanders has called a special election in the 136th District for February 23rd, five days after the Legislature adjourns.

The Advertisement

Seven hundred-fifty Georgians signed the advertisement to appear in the Atlanta Constitution on Wednesday, January 26th. With their signed ads they sent in dollar bills to pay for it. To meet the deadline, only Atlanta area ACLU members were contacted of whom almost 60% responded with a signature and a dollar, or more. But in spite of the limited circulation of the ad, signatures came also from Rome, Macon, Columbus, Savannah, Athens and Augusta.

THE JULIAN BOND CASE, CON'T

Over a third of the signers were students and faculty members. Among the rest were ministers, businessmen, lawyers, elementary and high school teachers, doctors, and of course, hundreds of citizens whose occupations could not be identified by their name or addresses.

To ACLU members and others who responded so promptly and generously -- many, many thanks.

ACLU TO SHOW POINT OF ORDER FEBRUARY 25

Circle this date on your calendar: - Friday, February 25th at 8:00 p.m. at Lenox Square Auditorium - an extra-special ACLU meeting, featuring the film Point of Order. This is a commercially made movie about the McCarthy erea, including the dramatic confrontation between Senator McCarthy and Attorney Joseph P. Welch.

We were apprehensive when we thought of scheduling the film that it might seem like ancient history. But in view of the Bond case, and the proposal to create a Georgia Un-American Activities Committee, it is, alas, all too timely. You won't want to miss this gripping movie!

YOUR RENEWAL NOTICES ARE COMING!

We picture all our ACLU members as anxiously questioning the postman each day: "Where is my ACLU renewal notice? I am so impatient to pay my dues that I can hardly wait."

This is to reassure all ACLU members -- except those who joined or renewed in the last two months of 1965 -- that they are on their way. We know you will all be relieved to get this information.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

agency A.C.L.U

March, 1966

ACLU SUBMITS UPDATED CONSTITUTION TO MEMBERSHIP

We always wondered why it took so long for the Constitutional Convention to come up with such a simple little document as the United States Constitution. Now we know. The Georgia ACLU Committee on Revision of the Constitution, under the able chairmanship of Mrs. Neil Moran, has been laboring for many months to streamline our Constitution so that we can operate more effectively. The results of their efforts are enclosed.

You will note that immediately following each Article in which any revision has been recommended there is a footnote outlining the change and explaining the reason for it.

Two major changes are recommended in the Constitution:

1. An enlarged Advisory Board is created, with representatives from the major population centers where we have members. The expansion of the Advisory Board to a maximum of thirty members is recognition of the fact that our organization is growing all over the State, and we need the advice and counsel of community leaders as we attempt to make our program truly state wide.

2. We recognize that such a state-wide Advisory Board, scattered by hundreds of miles, cannot run the day-to-day business of the organization. Therefore, the revised Constitution creates an Executive Committee to make the on-the-spot decisions which will implement the general policies recommended by the Advisory Board when it meets once or twice a year, and when it is polled by mail for its judgments throughout the year.

Most of the other changes in the Constitution are minor, and stem from these two major ones.

We commend this revised Constitution to your careful study. We believe its adoption will permit the Georgia ACLU

REVISED CONSTITUTION, Continued

to grow throughout the State and to operate at top efficiency.

Enclosed with the revised Constitution is a ballot, Please fill it out, and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Do not sign the ballot itself, but make sure to sign the envelope (legibly please) and put your return address on it, too.

Immediately after the ballots on the revised Constitution have been tabulated, you will receive the recommendations of the Nominating Committee for officers and Board members.

If the membership accepts the revised Constitution, the recommendations of the Nominating Committee will be for the new, expanded Advisory Board and for the Executive Committee.

If the membership should reject the revised Constitution, the Nominating Committee recommendations will then be based on the present setup of a smaller Board of Directors without an Executive Committee.

It would be nice if time permitted leisurely contemplation by members of the revised Constitution. But prompt voting on these changes is essential, so that we can go on to the next step of submitting the Nominating Committee's recommendations to you. After that we must conduct the elections and have the results tabulated in time for our Annual Meeting, which will be in May.

YOUR VOTE MUST BE RECEIVED BY TUESDAY, MARCH 22.

So we urgently request that you study the Constitution and send back your ballot as soon as humanly possible.

One more note: Remember that unless you are a paid-up member for 1966, your vote will not count either for the revised Constitution or for the election of officers and Advisory Board members. So if your renewal notice is gathering dust, or buried under a stack of unpaid bills and free coupon offers, please fish it out and send it in right away. Otherwise you will be deprived of participating in the great, traditional American, democratic process of voting, and we will be deprived of your judgment of the recommended changes.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA

PROPOSED REVISED CONSTITUTION

I. - Name

The name of this association shall be the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia. It shall be a non-profit association.

II. - Purpose

The purpose of the association shall be to further the objectives of the national American Civil Liberties Union and to advance the cause of civil liberties in the United States and the State of Georgia, with particular emphasis on the rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage, freedom of religion, due process of law, equal protection of the law, and to take all legitimate action in the furtherance and defense of such purposes. These objectives shall be sought without political partisanship.

III. - Headquarters

The association's headquarters shall be located at such place in Georgia as shall be determined by its Advisory Board from time to time.

IV. - Membership

The membership of the association shall consist of all members of the national American Civil Liberties Union (American Civil Liberties Union,Inc.) residing within the State of Georgia. Each member shall have one vote.

V. - Officers

1. The officers of the association shall consist of a President, first and second Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer. Each shall exercise duties relevant to his office as shall be prescribed by the Advisory Board. The term of office shall be for one year for each elected officer, but each officer may be reelected.

2. The officers of the association shall be elected at the Annual Meeting.

3. The Executive Committee shall fill any office which becomes vacant from among the members of the Advisory Board for the remainder of the unexpired term.

4. All officers and members of the Advisory Board and members of all committees shall conform to the requirements of the 1940 resolution of the American Civil Liberties Union, Inc., relating to governing personnel.

CHANGES: The office of Corresponding Secretary has been eliminated. The change from a volunteer operation to a professionally staffed office ends the need for this position.

The term "Advisory Board" is used instead of "Board of Directors" and the term "Executive Committee" is introduced. Both these changes are discussed fully in Articles VI and VII.

VI. - Advisory Board

1. The organization shall be under the guidance of an Advisory Board, consisting of no less than 25 members nor more than 30 members of the association, elected by the general membership. The term of office shall be two years, but each Advisory Board member may be re-elected. As far as practicable, membership on the Advisory Board shall include representation of each local ACLU chapter or of each major locus of membership in the State.

2. The Advisory Board shall meet as the occasion requires, but not less than once a year, at which times it may review the work of the organization and advise the Executive Committee regarding policy and program. Additional meetings may be called by the Executive Committee which shall also call a meeting within a reasonable period of time upon written request of any ten members of the Advisory Board (excluding those on the Executive Committee) or any twenty members of the association. Members of the Advisory Board shall receive adequate notice of each meeting.

3. A vacancy on the Advisory Board shall be filled by the Executive Committee until the next election of Board members when the vacancy shall be filled by the membership.

4. The election of the Advisory Board shall be held every other year at the Annual Meeting of the membership. At the same time, five members of the Advisory Board shall be elected to serve on the Executive Committee.

CHANGES: The Board of Directors has been replaced with an expanded Advisory Board. This is recognition of the fact that ACLU is a state-wide organization and should have the counsel of leading citizens from all over the State.

At the same time, it would be unrealistic to expect Advisory Board members from as far away as Savannah or Albany to attend monthly Board meetings (nor could ACLU afford the cost of paying travel expenses for 12 such state-wide meetings. Thus, the Advisory Board will set general policy, which will be carried out day to day by a newly created Executive Committee. The role of the Executive Committee is discussed in Article VII.

Since the Advisory Board will meet much less frequently, the terms of its members will be for two years, instead of the one year term for officers, which will help insure continuity. The somewhat unwieldy system of staggering terms will be discarded.

VII. - Executive Committee

1. Administration of the business and program of the organization shall be under the control of an Executive Committee to be composed of the duly elected officers, five members of the Advisory Board, and the chairmen of the Standing Committees. In addition, chairmen of no more than four of the ad hoc committees may be invited to serve as voting members of the Executive Committee by a two-thirds vote of its members. The Executive Committee chairman shall be president of the ACLU.

2. The Executive Committee shall, as it sees the need, employ an Executive Director and any necessary staff to carry out the program of the association, under its supervision.

3. The Executive Committee shall meet as the occasion requires, but not less than six times each year. Additional meetings may be called by the president. The president shall call a meeting within a reasonable period upon the written

VII. - Executive Committee, continued

quest of any ten members of the Advisory Board (excluding those on the Executive Committee) or any twenty members of the association.

4. Members of the Executive Committee shall receive adequate advance notice of each meeting. Members who fail to attend three consecutive meetings without advance explanation to the Secretary (or Executive Director's office) may be dropped from Executive Committee membership by a majority vote of the Committee.

5. A vacancy on the Executive Committee shall be filled by the remaining members of the Executive Committee for the length of the unexpired term.

CHANGES: The Executive Committee, as noted above, is newly created to conduct the day-to-day business of the ACLU under the general guidance of the Advisory Board.

Empowering the Executive Committee to employ personnel is recognition of the fact that the organization has switched to a staffed operation, and as the Georgia affiliate grows, it is likely to continue as a staffed operation.

The inclusion of Committee Chairmen on the Executive Committee is recognition that those who accept Committee chairmanships have ipso facto demonstrated willingness to help conduct the day-to-day business of the organization.

VIII. - Meetings

1. The annual membership meeting shall be held during April of each year or such other time and in such place as shall be determined by the Executive Committee. Two weeks notice of the meeting shall be given to the members.

2. Other meetings of the membership may be called at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

CHANGES: In paragraphs one and two, substitution of "Executive Committee" for Board of Directors.

IX. - Nominations and Election of Officers and Advisory Board

1. The Executive Committee, by majority action, shall appoint a nominating committee at least three months before the annual meeting. The nominating committee shall consist of seven members, of whom not more than three shall be from the Executive Committee. At least two months before the annual meeting, the membership shall be notified by mail of the nominees proposed by the nominating committee. Additional nominations may be made by petition of any five members, provided there is attached to such a petition a signed statement expressing the nominee's willingness to serve if elected; any such petition to be filed with the Secretary not later than one month before the annual meeting.

2. At least two weeks before the annual meeting a ballot showing and distinguishing the candidates nominated by the nominating committee and those nominated by petition shall be mailed to every member.

3. Members may vote in person at the annual meeting or by mailing their ballots to the address designated thereon. No mailed ballots shall be counted unless received at such a place at least one day before the date of the annual meeting.

IX. - Nominations and Elections, continued

Ballots need not be signed, but the signature and address of each member voting must be placed on the envelope containing the ballot. Such ballots shall be opened in such a way as to preserve the secrecy of the ballot.

4. The count of mail ballots in the election to fill vacancies on the Advisory Board shall take place the day before the date of the annual meeting.

5. Officers of the organization shall be chosen by a majority vote of the membership; members of the Advisory Board by a plurality vote.

CHANGES: Appointment of the nominating committee is assigned to the Executive Committee instead of the old Board of Directors.

The nominating committee is enlarged from five to seven, and from three non-Board members to four non-Executive Committee members.

Paragraph 5. has been added to assure that officers, who carry the major responsibility for decisions, shall be elected by a majority. Advisory Board positions which may be contested by more than two candidates, call for a plurality vote to avoid the necessity of a run-off election.

X. - Committees

1. The Executive Committee shall establish such committees and delegate to them such powers and duties as in its judgment will best aid and promote the work of this association and its cooperation with the national ACLU.

2. In addition to ad hoc committees, the Advisory Board may establish standing committees to assist in the implementation of program and the chairmen of these standing committees shall serve on the Executive Committee.

CHANGES: Appointing standing committees is assigned to the Advisory Board instead of the old Board of Directors.

A distinction is made between ad hoc committees, which might deal with a specific program item as the need arose, and which are created by the Executive Committee; and standing committees to deal with the permanent, on-going concerns of the ACLU, such as litigation, legislation, educational activities and ACLU development, etc. These are created by the Advisory Board.

XI. - Local Chapters

1. The Advisory Board at its discretion may authorize the establishment of local ACLU chapters throughout the State.

2. The local chapters shall function in agreement with the State ACLU by-laws governing affiliation, withdrawal and degree of autonomy, as well as with the Constitution of the association.

CHANGES: Article XI is new, recognizing the fact that as the ACLU grows, a concentration of members in any population center will lead to the formation of

XI. - Local Chapters, Continued

local chapters, concentrating on local civil liberties problems. This would be a most desirable development, and the Constitution needs to set guidelines for local chapter affiliation.

XII. - Amendment of the Constitution

Proposed amendments shall be submitted by the Executive Committee to the entire membership of the association at least thirty days before it is to be voted upon. The vote may be by mail ballot to all members or by vote at the annual membership meeting. All amendments must be approved by two-thirds of the votes cast.

CHANGES: Substitution of "Executive Committee" for old Board of Directors.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA

ACLU

APRIL, 1966

ACLU FILES AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF IN BOND CASE

The American Civil Liberties Union, in a friend of the court brief filed with the United States Supreme Court, urged review of the three-judge federal court's decision upholding the barring of Julian Bond from his seat in the Georgia Legislature.

The ACLU brief contends that the issue which the Supreme Court must decide is "whether an individual elected by the people to represent them in a state legislature may be cast out by the legislature because it finds his views too unorthodox for its taste."

The brief argues that if left standing, the three-man court's decision "will seriously erode at least two fundamental constitutional principles which are directly served by the First Amendment: freedom of elected representatives to express themselves without hindrance on questions of public importance, and the right of voters freely to elect their legislative representatives.

The brief attacks the provision in the Georgia oath of office which requires legislators to state: "...on all questions and measures which may come before me, I will so conduct myself as will, in my judgment, be most conducive to the interest and prosperity of this state." Charging that the oath is "void for vagueness," the brief maintains that "the effect of the Georgia oath's uncertain requirements...is seriously to inhibit free and frank discussion of public issues by candidates and elected representatives. The brief argues that under the terms of the oath "a conscientious person who aspires to be a legislator must play a type of Russian routlette," adding: "He must speculate about the controversiality of his every statement and the intentions of his fellow legislators. If he guesses wrong, he loses his political life."

The ACLU had previously represented Mr. Bond, both at the special legislative hearing and before the three-judge Federal court. Since Mr. Bond chose to be represented by other counsel, the ACLU is raising these constitutional issues in its amicus brief. The ACLU brief was prepared by ACLU National Legal Director, Melvin L. Wulf; Charles Morgan, Jr., its Southern Regional Director; and Morris Brown, Chairman of the Georgia ACLU Lawyers Committee.

While not declining to review the case, the Supreme Court did refuse to hear it on an expedited basis at this Term, which runs until May. If heard, it will be argued at the next Term, beginning in October, 1966.

SUPREME COURT "EROS" DECISION CONFUSES CENSORSHIP PICTURE

The United States Supreme Court, by a 5-4 decision, has affirmed the lower court conviction of publisher Ralph Guinzberg for sending obscene literature through the mails, including such publications as Eros, Liaison, and The Housewives' Guide to Selected Promiscuity. Mr. Guinzberg faces a prison term.

In reaching its decision, the Court, for the first time, took into account factors other than the quality of the material itself. It took the position that where the material itself is questionable, the advertising and the setting in which the publication is merchandised may be used as criteria to determine whether or not a book or magazine is obscene. It also took into account whether the motivation or intent of the publication was to be pornographic.

Justice Brennan, speaking for the majority, noted that in the Fanny Hill case, the Massachussetts' ban on that book could not be upheld because the state had admitted that the book had a modicum of literary merit, and once literary merit is conceded, the book cannot by itself be considered obscene.

But this new decision now means that there is nothing to prevent Massachussetts from coming back into court and attacking the book for obscenity in the context of the way it is advertised or merchandised. Thus, a book like Fanny Hill, discreetly advertised and merchandised to a private men's club would not be judged obscene. The exact same book, however, flamboyantly advertised with a sexy cover, and displayed on a local newsstand, could be judged obscene.

By abandoning absolute standards of what is or is not obscene, and by adopting criteria unrelated to the content of the material, such as motivation and merchandising, the Supreme Court has opened the door for increased prosecution by state and local censorship groups. The State Literature Commission in Georgia, for example, could now ban books because of variable, extrinsic standards as well as for content.

We must point out that the Georgia State Literature Commission hardly needs this added incentive to its already overactive censorship activities; and that while the decision may prove an interesting challenge to the ingenuity of jacket designers and advertising men, it is a serious blow at the guarantees of free speech and free press contained in the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

ALABAMA JURY VICTORY SPURS GEORGIA ACTIVITY

Civil rights forces won a major victory last month in the decision of a three-judge federal court in Montgomery, Alabama, outlawing racial discrimination in the selection of jurors in Lowndes County. The case, White v. Crook, was brought by the ACLU as part of its "Operation Southern Justice" campaign.

This focus on systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries has spurred organizational activity in Georgia. The Fellowship of the Concerned will make jury exclusion a major project in the coming months. The Georgia Council on Human Relations is suggesting letters to both State and Federal jury clerks (the lists are kept separately) requesting inclusion on jury rolls.

We are hopeful that the letter writing idea will spread over the state. If you have been excluded from jury service because of race, or you know of someone who has, you might find the following useful as a guide:

For Federal Jury Service:

Hon. John P. Cowart, Clerk
U. S. District Court
Middle District of Georgia
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cowart:

I respectfully ask that my name be added to the jury lists for service in this District. I want to exercize my right and duty as a citizen to serve on juries in federal court./ Very truly yours, Name and Address.

For local jury service:

Clerk of the Jury Commission
(Your county name) County Court House
_____, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I respectfully request that you advise the Jury Commission at its next revision meeting that I would like my name considered for jury service. I am listed on the tax digests of _____ County and have all the qualifications for jury service. I want to exercize my right and duty as a citizen to serve on juries in this county./ Very truly yours, Name and Address.

Serving on a jury can be inconvenient -- a nuisance in fact -- and going out of your way to get on one may seem like carrying good citizenship to extremes. But unless we inconvenience both ourselves and the status quo jury selectors, the goal of Equal Justice Under Law will remain a slogan carved in stone instead of a reality written in the minds and hearts of our citizens.

NEW CONSTITUTION ADOPTED

The results read like a plebiscite in the Saar. Two hundred and one members voted for adoption of the new ACLU Constitution and one member voted against. And we have received an anonymous tip that the one "nay" vote was cast by a person with no criticism of the Constitution, just a pathological horror of unanimity.

This particular near-unanimity, however, is a healthy sign. It means that members feel we are ready to expand state-wide, and this is beginning to be reflected in our activities:

o The new Advisory Board -- you will receive your ballots around April 15th -- nominates eight Board members from Albany, Athens, Augusta, Gainesville, Macon, Rome, Savannah and Thomasville.

o A successful party in Athens, addressed by Hugh Gibert and Charles Morgan, netted 25 new members and new interest in the ACLU.

o We hope to have a similar affair in Augusta soon. Members in other communities who would like to hold a public meeting or a private party to get new ACLU members should write to our office -- 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta. Our Executive Director, Mrs. Robin, will be glad to plan such an event with you in detail.

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS...ACLU scored the Johnson Administration for ordering the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs to register as a communist-front organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act. The action is "especially offensive", ACLU said, because the government knows that Supreme Court decisions "clearly indicate that if communist-front provisions of the law ever reach the Court, they would undoubtedly be found unconstitutional..."

The banning of two speakers at the University of North Carolina has re-opened a long-standing controversy about free speech on the campus. Although the University President and several faculty spokesmen favored appearances by Herbert Aptheker and Frank Wilkinson, the Trustees' Executive Committee, chaired by North Carolina Governor Moore, overruled them. As a result, however, future speaking invitations will be reviewed by chancellors of state campuses, not trustees. This is a partial victory, but falls short of the position of student leaders and the AAUP, which sought no restriction on the selection of campus speakers.

The ACLU has launched a legal attack to rid the new Medicare law of a non-Communist oath required to qualify for hospital insurance benefits. One of the plaintiffs in the ACLU suit is Mrs. Sigmund K. Pollitzer, 95, a widely known educator and a founder of the Encampment for Citizenship. Another is Mrs. Alice C. Evans, 85, for 35 years an outstanding government bacteriologist. The ACLU complaint charges that the oath is a violation of the Fifth Amendment, is a bill of attainder becauses it imposes penalties without benefit of a judicial trial, is an ex post facto law, and is an invasion of the right of privacy.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

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High Court Asked to Rule on Confessions

The ACLU has urged the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that confessions obtained in police stations are illegal if, during interrogation, the defendant is denied the right to a lawyer. In February the Union filed an *amicus* brief asking the Court to throw out a series of police station confessions where counsel was denied. Five cases — from Arizona, California, New Jersey, and New York — all raising the same point were joined for argument before the high court on March 1.

The Union's brief urges the Supreme Court to extend its 1965 decision in *Escobedo v. Illinois* which held that incriminating statements elicited from a 22-year-old murder suspect during a police interrogation designed to "get him" to confess his guilt, were inadmissable at trial. Escobedo's several requests to see his attorney were ignored by the police. The Court ruled that Escobedo had been denied "the Assistance of Counsel" in violation of the Sixth Amendment.

Fifth Amendment Privilege

In its current brief the ACLU says that in weighing the right of the suspect to a lawyer during police interrogation against the alleged police "need" to get confessions, the Court in its *Escobedo* decision struck the balance "in favor of the accused." It urged the Court to do so again, explaining that to give real meaning to the privilege against self-incrimination a suspect's lawyer must be available to him in the police station.

The Union's position is in sharp contrast with that of the Justice Department, which urged the high court not to extend the right of counsel into the police station, lest it curb interrogation of suspects.

The ACLU brief was prepared by Professors Anthony G. Amsterdam and Paul J. Mishkin of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; Cooperating Attorneys Raymond J. Bradley, H. Robert Fiebach, and Peter Hearn; and Legal Director Melvin L. Wulf.

HUMAN FAMILY

Every human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own country; and, when there are just reasons for it, the right to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there. The fact that one is a citizen of a particular state does not detract in any way from his membership in the human family as a whole, nor from his citizenship in the world community.

— JOHN XXIII

ACLU Representing Lynd, Hayden In Action vs. Department of State

The American Civil Liberties Union announced on March 10 that it would represent Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden, prominent critics of U.S. policy in Vietnam, in a new legal challenge of the State Department's authority to cancel citizens' passports as a penalty for traveling to prohibited areas.

Lynd, an assistant professor of history at Yale, and Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, with Herbert Aptheker, director of the Institute for Marxist Studies, flew last December to Hanoi and Peking on a private peace-seeking mission. Their passports were revoked in February following their return.

ACLU General Counsel Edward J. Ennis and Cooperating Attorney David Carliner, both members of the Union's Board, will represent Lynd and Hayden. Aptheker be represented by his attorney, John Abt.

The Union will challenge the State Department's right to withdraw the war critics' passports and to forbid them from traveling anywhere outside the U.S. because they have gone where the Secretary of State said they may not.

Union to Reargue Zemel Case

The ACLU will also reargue the position it asserted in the U.S. Supreme Court last May, that the State Department's refusal to validate a Connecticut businessman's passport for tourist travel to Cuba in 1962 was a deprivation of the "liberty of personal movement protected by both the First and Fifth Amendments." The high court ruled against the Union, 6-3.

President's Role Limited

"According to the U.S. Constitution," Executive Director John de J. Pemberton Jr. noted in announcing the Union's defense of Lynd and Hayden, "laws restricting the liberty of the people can be enacted only by the Congress. The President's role in representing the nation in the conduct of foreign affairs cannot be transmuted into a constitutional power to abridge the exercise of the individual's freedom of movement, a personal liberty which itself is granted by the Constitution."

The case was scheduled for trial March 30 in federal court in Washington, D.C.

Immediate Use of Passport Sought

In a separate action, the ACLU on March 16 asked the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., to compel the State Department to return Staughton Lynd's passport so that he could meet overseas speaking commitments in April. Lynd has accepted invitations from the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament to speak at an April 9 meeting in London, and from the Norwegian Students' Association to participate in a Vietnam "teach-in" in Oslo.

Union Challenges Medicare Loyalty Oath On Behalf of Three Women—70, 85, 95

The ACLU in late February launched a legal attack to rid the Medicare law of a provision that requires some two million elderly persons to take a non-Communist oath in order to qualify for benefits. Suit was filed in New York and Washington, D.C., federal court.

The New York action is on behalf of Mrs. Louis B. Weiss, 70, and her mother, Mrs. Sigmund K. Pollitzer, 95. Mrs. Weiss, a social worker, is vice-president of the Wiltwyck School for Boys. Mrs. Pollitzer, long a civic leader, is a founder of the Encampment for Citizenship.

The Washington suit was filed on behalf of Miss Alice C. Evans, 85, a retired senior bacteriologist in the U.S. Public Health Service and a former president of the Society of American Bacteriologists.

Mrs. Weiss, Mrs. Pollitzer, and Miss Evans have refused on principle to sign the Medicare application which includes this question: "Are you now, or have you been during the past 12 months, a member of any organization which is required to register under the Internal Security Act of 1950 as a communist-action organization, a communist-front organization, or a communist-infiltrated organization?"

The ACLU charges that both the disclaimer oath and the related Section 103 (b) of the Medicare law abridge the two women's freedom of speech and association, deprive them of due process, and contravene the Ninth Amendment, which protects the individual from governmental infringement of rights not specifically mentioned in the first eight amendments of the Bill or Rights. Adding that the oath curtails their Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, the Union contends that Section 103 (b) is a bill of attainder, imposing a penalty on the two women without a judicial trial, and is an *ex post facto* law. The ACLU further charges that the Section imposes cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Eighth Amendment and is an invasion of privacy.

The Union's suits were prepared by ACLU Cooperating Attorney William D. Zabel, Legal Director Melvin L. Wulf, and Washington Director Lawrence Speiser.

Fischetti, New York Herald Tribune

"I DO have an oath in mind, but it's not that one!"

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Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Editor*

Connecticut CLU Holding Conference on Narcotics

"Narcotics—Treatment and the Law" is the subject of an afternoon and evening conference to be held on April 21 in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the State Capitol Building in Hartford.

The Connecticut Civil Liberties Union is sponsoring the affair, with the cooperation of the Connecticut Council of Churches, the Connecticut Jewish Community Relations Council, and the state branch of the Catholic Interracial Council.

On the agenda are medical and psychiatric aspects of narcotics dependency, federal laws and their enforcement, techniques of therapy and rehabilitation, constitutional questions presented by current criminal laws, new treatment programs, and proposals for new federal and state legislation.

Speakers will include Dr. David Meyerson, Harvard Medical School; Sherman Patrick, director, HARYOU Youth Program in Harlem; Samuel Levine, Federal Bureau of Narcotics; Dr. John Donnelly, a Hartford psychiatrist; Henry M. di Suvero, Staff Counsel to the ACLU's New York affiliate; and Harold Patton, of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Co-moderators of the program will be State Senators Frederick Pope Jr. and Gloria Schaffer. It will be taped for showing on educational TV stations.

For additional information, contact Mrs. Eleanor Michel, Connecticut Civil Liberties Union, 721 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut. Telephone 203/525-1345.

Two Louisiana ACLU Members Named to Official Rights Body

Two members of the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union Board of Directors have been appointed members of the Louisiana State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

Steven H. Rubin, former LCLU Chairman; and Mrs. Betty Wisdom, who also serves as Secretary to the State Committee.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION TO PARTICULAR WARS

BY ROBERT BIERSTEDT

Robert Bierstedt

A member of the ACLU's Board of Directors since 1962, Dr. Bierstedt is chairman of the Department of Sociology and anthropology at New York University. He got his A.B. at the University of Iowa in 1934, and did his graduate work at Columbia and Harvard. Before joining the N.Y.U. faculty he taught and lectured at Columbia, Bennington, Bard, the University of Washington, Wellesley, the University of Illinois, C.C. N.Y., Stanford, the University of Edinburgh, and Oxford. During World War II he served in the Navy. This article appeared originally in the New York University Heights Daily News.

Conscientious objection to participation in any and all wars, based upon religious conviction, has during most of the lifetime of this nation been accepted as a ground for exemption from military service. It is accepted now.

The man who registers for the draft and who wants to claim exemption on the grounds of conscience is asked two questions, the first of which is whether he believes in a Supreme Being and the second whether he is so convinced a pacifist that he would oppose all wars. If he can answer both of these questions in the affirmative and if, in addition, he can claim *bona fide* membership in a pacifist religious organization (The Society of Friends, Mennonites, Jehovah's Witnesses, for example) then, although his sincerity will properly be tested, he has a chance of winning his plea. He has an additional chance if he is willing to accept noncombatant service.

Principle Counts as God

The first of these questions, however (although it still appears on the form), is unconstitutional as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the Seeger case. The attorneys for Seeger, formerly a dedicated Catholic, managed to convince the Court that his objection to war was built on the highest moral principle and that this belief, though now non-theistic, was a central part of his being. In addition, although the Government has no constitutional obligation to grant exemption of any kind, once it does so it may not discriminate between classes of objectors on religious grounds, because such discrimination would violate the principle of separation of church and state as guaranteed in the First Amendment.

Non-Pacifist Objector

The second question, which requires conscientious refusal to serve in all wars as a condition of exemption, has recently risen to public attention because of the United States engagement in Vietnam. Is is possible to object to Vietnam on conscientious grounds and still retain the right conscientiously to participate in some other war? Does selective scruple make sense? The answer so far has been in the negative.

The argument for the negative view rests on the conviction that no citizen, in a nation where all are subject to a rule of law and not of men, can be permitted to pick and choose the wars in which he will participate. To permit this privilege would be to make an administrative chaos out of the draft and would introduce intolerable inequities (themselves immoral) into the treatment of citizens. It would furthermore permit those subject to the draft to make their decisions on political rather than on moral grounds. An earnest Communist, for example, might use this exemption, in a hypothetical case, to fight against Spain but not against the Soviet Union, to fight against Nazi oppression before the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and to decline to do so afterward, and thus make his objection a matter of political expediency rather than of morality. Such a man would represent a threat to the security of the country that the objector to all wars does not.

These arguments have an indubitable cogency. No one, I take it, would contend that the prerogative of decisions on whether or not to serve can rest on political grounds. To do so would be to assert the will of a minority over a majority, and this is unthinkable in a democracy except in the exercise of constitutionally protected rights. It is still possible to contend, however, that there are moral reasons for refusal to participate in some wars and that these reasons do not apply to all wars.

Moral Context of War

One can adopt the view, for example, that it is possible conscientiously to participate in just wars but not in unjust wars, and this is a distinction that finds support in most American religious groups. On this view it was morally right and proper to join the military effort against Hitler in World War II because Hitler was an international criminal who could be controlled and stopped in no other way.

One can similarly argue the possibility of conscientious participation in defensive war but not in offensive war. Thus, it would be proper to spring to the defense of one's country when it is in imminent danger of invasion or attack by a foreign army near its borders but not to join an army which is engaged 10,000 miles away from the borders of its own country—because the latter conforms to an almost classic definition of aggression no matter what political or ideological issues may be involved.

One can say that, on grounds of conscience, he would participate in some wars but not in atomic wars, not in wars in which bacteriological weapons are employed, not in wars in which poison gas is used against the enemy, not in wars in which peasant villages are levelled by napalm bombs, not in wars in which toxic chemicals are sprayed on the rice fields of civilians, and not in wars in which there is indiscriminate aerial bombing of civilian population.

Finally, one might agree to serve in a United Nations police force even, let us say, in a place where killing might be required, because this would be legitimate use of force as a peace-keeping device, but not in the armed services of his own country in the same place because the latter lack the sanction of legitimacy. In this case, in short, one can assert the moral right not to participate in an illegal enterprise.

For these reasons, all of them defensible on moral grounds, it would appear that conscientious objection to particular wars can be as valid, and as truly entertained, as conscientious objection to all wars.

To these contentions two criticisms can be offered. The first of these is that claims for conscientious objection to particular wars would be difficult if not impossible to administer. The answer to this is that so are claims to conscientious objection to all wars. Attorneys active in these cases find no justification for the view that the former would be more difficult than the latter.

Nobility of Conscience

The second concerns the ubiquitous question of slackers, some of whom appear in every situation of this kind and who are willing to use false claims of conscience in order to escape military service. The answer to this is that such people constitute an insignificant minority of those whose claims for conscientious exemption are granted. The reason is simple: to claim exemption on the grounds of conscience, in opposition to the public opinion of a large and powerful nation, is to accept a stigma which only the most courageous can sustain. In order to do so one must endure the derision of the community and suffer the ultimate sanction of ostracism. This too requires a kind of bravery—a bravery the more noble because it is rare.

As John F. Kennedy once wrote, "War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today."

ACLU Backs Self-Rule for People of Guam and V.I.

The ACLU went on record last month as wholeheartedly supporting the following bills being considered by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

¶ H.R. 8250, H.R. 8322, and H.R. 11775, to provide for the popular election of the Governor of Guam.

¶ H.R. 13294 and H.R. 13298, to amend the Guam Organic Act to provide for the election of members of the Legislature of Guam by districts.

¶ H.R. 11777, to provide for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands.

¶ H.R. 13277, to amend the Virgin Islands Organic Act to provide for the reapportionment of the V.I. Legislature.

Brennan Addressing Liberties Assembly

Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr. will speak on "The Supreme Court and the Bill of Rights over Fifty Years" at the dinner meeting of the 18th annual National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference, to be held at the Hilton in Washington, D.C., on April 21 and 22.

Lawrence Speiser, Director of the Union's Washington Office, is chairman of the Clearing House and will preside at the Conference.

Questions to be taken up include segregated justice in the South; whether our free society can cope with the rising crime rate without sacrificing our concepts of justice and due process; and how our expanding cities can avert the threat of violence implicit in their spreading slums, increasing racial isolation, and growing tensions.

Speakers scheduled include John Doar, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division; Roger Wilkins, new director of the government's Community Relations Service; James Farmer, director-designate of the new National Center for Community Action Education; Joseph L. Rauh Jr., counsel to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; and James Vorenberg, director of the President's National Crime Commission and of the Justice Department's Office of Criminal Justice.

SICK POSSUM

Pointing to the rising tide of Klan violence in Bogalusa and elsewhere in the state, Louisiana ACLU Board member Steven H. Rubin told the Baton Rouge Council on Human Relations in January that "on the clearest night of the year the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities couldn't spot the difference between an un-American activity and a sick possum."

Arizona ACLU Hits 'Pro-Negro' Bill as Endangering Textbooks

The Arizona Civil Liberties Union is opposing a bill before the State Legislature that would prohibit the use of textbooks in public schools thought to portray inaccurately the contribution of Negroes and other ethnic groups to the development of the U.S. and Arizona. The Union's affiliate holds that it would lead to the censorship of school books and that there are more appropriate methods of developing racial and ethnic understanding in the public schools.

Additional information about the conference may be obtained from the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue; N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone 202/DU 7-6300.

Union Scores Government for Ordering DuBois Clubs to Register as Subversive

The ACLU denounced the Johnson Administration last month for ordering the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs to register as a "communist-front" organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act. In a March 7 telegram to Attorney General Katzenbach, Executive Director John de J. Pemberton Jr. said the government's action is an attack on political dissent and "seems to be an effort to intimidate the organization from carrying on its unpopular program."

The Union said that the historical roots of the subversive activities law are "planted deep in McCarthyism, a period of national disgrace in which constitutional guarantees were so flatly abrogated.

"One would have hoped that the passage of 16 years would have instructed this Administration that the evil of McCarthyism can be prevented only when the government takes affirmative steps to protect the right of all political opinions to be heard. But this hope is dimmed when the government takes affirmative steps, through the device of a registration order, to suppress a minority point of view."

The Administration's action, the ACLU continued, "is a signal to the emotionally unstable elements of the population to give vent to their belief in McCarthyism by physical attacks against the DuBois Clubs. The bombing of the group's headquarters in San Francisco and the physical abuse to which the Clubs' supporters in Brooklyn were subjected, without any assistance from the police, illustrates the great harms which the government's action can provoke."

Pemberton directed special fire against the registration order because the DuBois Clubs have been identified as one of the leading groups opposed to U.S. policy in Vietnam. "The inevitable inference of the measures you have taken is that the government is now beginning to impose sanctions on critics of its Vietnam policy. We know of no more dangerous step that could be taken in the course of the national debate now going on. It is precisely at such a time that we need to hear the comments of all citizens, to assure that the national policies pursued will reflect the will of the people those policies will so drastically affect."

The Union added that it found the order "especially offensive" because the government knows that Supreme Court decisions "clearly indicate that if the communist-front provisions of the law ever reach the Court on the merits, they would undoubtedly be held unconstitutional or made effectively unenforceable."

Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley replied to the ACLU that "all Americans have the freedom to organize and express their dissent against government policies. However, young people who might consider joining the DuBois Clubs are entitled to know the nature and sponsorship of the organization."

Denial of Counsel in Draft Work Decried

A Selective Service regulation which explicitly deprives a draft registrant of the right to counsel when he appears before a local draft board was scored in February by the ACLU as a violation of due process of law. In an action bulletin to its 36 affiliates, the Union attacked the constitutionality of the regulation and urged that legal attacks be mounted against it.

The bulletin was prepared as a guide for ACLU attorneys aiding students involved in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations who may face reclassification to 1-A. It emphasizes that Section 1624.1(b) of the regulations is the only known regulation of a major federal agency which specifically denies the right to counsel. The regulation, which states that "no registrant may be represented before the local draft board by anyone acting as attorney or legal counsel," presumably was adopted to insure that the hearings, often conducted by draft board members who are laymen, be informal and non-technical.

Arguing for the right of the draft registrant to be accompanied by counsel, the Union says that "there would be no other way of getting into the record important and relevant facts or of keeping out irrelevant and prejudicial material that would forever be a part of the registrant's record, even on review in the courts."

The ACLU adds that "the local board hearing is the only opportunity the registrant has for building a factual record. It is at the local hearing, therefore, that the right to counsel—to be effective—must be observed."

"Draft boards," the Union points out, "are almost always composed of laymen unlearned in the law. Yet, a local board must decide such clearly legal questions as the basis for reclassification of a registrant for delinquency or when a registrant qualifies as a minister or a conscientious objector under the revised case law."

The result, notes the ACLU, "is that a virtually final decision which may subject a registrant to imprisonment if disobeyed is made by a local board which does not enjoy the advice of counsel committed solely to the protection of the rights of the registrant."

Copies of the Union's 3000-word memorandum, prepared by Assistant Legal Director Eleanor Holmes Norton for ACLU attorneys, are available on request.

Oregon ACLU Backs Suit to Stop Sale to Church School

Action to block the sale of 24 acres of federally-owned land at ten percent of its fair market value at Concordia College, a Lutheran institution in Portland, was instituted last month in a suit backed by Oregon affiliate of the ACLU.

The suit, brought by the local public school district and four taxpayers, contends that such a sale would violate the First Amendment in that the effect would be to contribute approximately $108,000 of tax-raised funds to support a college whose purpose is to advance religion.

RULE OF REASON

"The function of the ACLU is simply to make sure that submission is made only to the rule of reason, not to some *reductio ad absurdum* miscalled reason. Being controlled by fallible men it has undoubtedly made errors, and presumably will make more. But the factual record of forty-five years . . . shows that it has done such service as to justify and far more than justify its existence, warranting its support by lovers of American liberty."

— GERALD W. JOHNSON

NYCLU-Backed Bill to Amend Adoptions Passes Assembly

By a vote of 91 to 58 New York State's Assembly last month approved a bill, strongly approved by the Union's New York affiliate, which would end the mandatory matching of religions in the adoption of children.

Under New York's present law, all adoption placements must be made, if practicable, with persons of the same religion as the child's natural parent.

The bill passed by the Assembly would change this by giving the natural parent the absolute right to determine the religion in which the child shall be raised, but also permitting placement to be made without regard to religion in the absence of such parental mandate.

aclu BOOK SERVICE

The ACLU Book Service offers books, records, and other items for sale on the basis of their general civil liberties interest. An offer of such an item does not imply endorsement of its contents by the American Civil Liberties Union.

BILL OF RIGHTS READER (Leading constitutional cases), Milton R. Konvitz, editor. 3rd edition 1965. 941 pp. ($12.50)* $11.50

A TIME TO SPEAK, Charles Morgan's moving comment on southern justice. 177 pp. ($3.95)* $3.25

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MR. JUSTICE MURPHY AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS, by Harold Norris, 568 pp. ($7.50)* $6.50

WE SHALL OVERCOME. President Johnson's historic voting-rights speech to a joint session of Congress. Hi-fi LP record. ($5.95)* $2.95

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ACLU BOOK SERVICE
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

CIVIL LIBERTIES *around the nation*

New York: Richard M. Nixon, chairman of the Boys Clubs of America, last month charged the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs with "an almost classic example of Communist deception and duplicity" because their name has misled people into attacking his Clubs.

Wisconsin: President Johnson announced in March that he would nominate Robert L. Bennett, an Oneida Indian from Wisconsin, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Alabama: Alabama Negroes, many of them barred from even voting in 1965, are seeking elective office this year in every county in which Negroes are in the majority.

Minnesota: The Pillsbury Company, in Minneapolis, has stopped distributing two products whose packages bore caricatures of a Chinese and of an Indian which Chinese grocers and the Association on American Indian Affairs had protested as insulting.

Delaware: The N.A.A.C.P. asked in February that Delaware State College, primarily a Negro institution, be abolished and merged with the University of Delaware.

Texas: Dr. Timothy J. Leary announced in March that he would appeal, on grounds of religious freedom, his Texas conviction of having illegally transported marijuana.

Arkansas: "Little Rock is moving toward de facto segregation, Northern style," reports John Walker, a Little Rock Negro lawyer suing for public school desegration.

Illinois: Trustee Irving Dilliard (formerly of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) has protested — on church-state separation grounds — a proposal to establish a department of religious studies at the state-supported University of Illinois in Urbana.

Louisiana: Despite some protests, Harold R. Perry, a Negro priest, was consecrated in January as Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans.

New Jersey: Peter Triolo, president of the Barbers Association for the Protection of Their Civil Rights, has submitted to the N.J. Supreme Court's February 21 ruling, announcing that his members would serve any Negro who wishes a haircut.

Pennsylvania: "The Handbook for Conscientious Objectors," published by the C.C.C.O., 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., is a best seller these days at 50¢.

Vietnam Crisis Revives Mass. Constitutional Rights Council

With the cooperation of the Union's Bay State affiliate, the Massachusetts Council for Constitutional Rights was revived last month to help counter threats to free speech and assembly brought on by protests against U.S. policies in Vietnam.

The Council, which played an active part in the resistance to McCarthyism a dozen years ago, is made up of leaders of twenty or more community organizations in Boston.

Correction: Wisconsin ACLU Did Not Back KKK Organizer

Last November CIVIL LIBERTIES reported that the Wisconsin ACLU had protested the refusal of the Wisconsin Secretary of State to grant a charter of incorporation to a chapter of the Klan.

The story was based on an erroneous editorial in the Madison *Capital Times*.

What happened was that WCLU Chairman William G. Rice received by phone a complaint from a would-be KKK-incorporator; Rice said the WCLU would investigate; the Ku Kluxer gave a press interview and was reported to have said (which he later denied) that the Wisconsin ACLU would support him if he sued the Secretary of State.

"Meanwhile," reports Rice, "the complainant resigned in wrath from the KKK. And our Board tabled the issue."

MESSAGE TO 47%

Fifty-three percent of the Union's members have responded so far to the 1966 Key Year Drive. Many members have doubled their 1965 contributions.

ACLU Development Director Gordon K. Haskell says that the remaining 47% will have to respond with renewals averaging no less than last year's average contribution—$17.28—if the Union is to achieve its goal for 1966.

With the tensions of war, the continuing civil rights revolution, and mounting pressures to curb due process rights in connection with the "war on crime," the ACLU's responsibilities for the defense of freedom have never been greater—nor its need of financial commitment from its members.

If you are one of the 47%, will you renew now? And be as generous as you can!

Statement Released On Iowa Child Case

The February 8 decision of the Iowa Supreme Court awarding custody of seven-year-old Mark Painter to his maternal grand-parents rather than to his father attracted national attention. Press reports gave the impression that the decision was based primarily on the Court's assessment of the grand-parents, Mr. and Mrs. Dwight Bannister, as possessing a "stable, dependable, conventional, middle-class, Middle West background," while holding the father, Harold W. Painter, unfit as an "arty Bohemian . . . an agnostic or atheist . . . a political liberal who got into difficulty in a job at the University of Washington for his support of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union."

What the press did not report was that the Court said it placed "a great deal of reliance" upon the testimony of Dr. Glenn R. Hawkes, a child psychologist, head of the Department of Child Development at Iowa State University. Dr. Hawkes, after extensive interviews and tests with Mark and the Bannisters, concluded that it was not in Mark's best interests to be removed from his grandparent's home where he has lived for the past few years.

The Union last month issued a statement on the case, which concludes:

"The ACLU does not function, nor does it possess the expertise, to evaluate the psychological and emotional foundations of the Iowa Supreme Court's ruling. Together with our affiliate, the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, we have carefully studied the civil liberties aspects of the Court's opinion—its observations concerning Mr. Painter's political and religious affiliations, beliefs, and activities which, as grounds for decision, would raise serious constitutional questions. Though profoundly disturbed by the language in which these observations are cast, we are unable to conclude that the decision was premised on them, rather than upon the Court's finding—independently of them—as to the welfare and best interests of the child.

"The Court might properly look at the whole life and circumstances of the child's father and of his grandparents in judging the effect of a change in his home upon his welfare. It may not, in our view, prefer the political or religious orientation of one over the other, and we do not find from the opinion that it has done so.

"Mr. Painter is filing a petition for rehearing in the Iowa Supreme Court, and the Union will give careful attention to subsequent developments in the case. It will not participate at this stage."

Copies of the ACLU's full five-page statement are available on request.

BETTER THAT

It is better that ten guilty persons escape than that one innocent suffer.

—SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE

Caribbean Institute Offers Roger Baldwin Scholarship

The Caribbean Institute and Study Center for Latin America, at the Inter American University of Puerto Rico, has established a series of Roger N. Baldwin Scholarships for Students-in-Exile. Named for the founder of the ACLU, these competitive awards for undergraduate study in the arts and sciences vary from full tuition to room, board, and tuition. Only students denied an education for political reasons are eligible.

Courses are taught in Spanish and English. Applications will be received up to May 1 for entrance August 15, 1966. For further information write CISCLA, P.O. Box 422, Inter American University, San German, P.R.

Clifford Durr of Alabama Wins NYCLU Lasker Award

Clifford J. Durr, of Montgomery, Alabama, former Federal Communications Commissioner, received the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award for 1966 and the $1000 that goes with it, at the NYCLU's annual luncheon on February 22.

Durr was honored not only for his defense of civil liberties while with the FCC but also because for the past twenty years he has been one of the handful of Southern attorneys who have consistently defended civil liberties and civil rights. "He has stayed in the South," the Union's New York affiliate said, "despite tremendous social and economic pressures and has been a guiding light to young attorneys who are fighting for Southern justice today."

David L. Bazelon, Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, was the luncheon speaker. He attacked current proposals to strengthen law and order by depriving accused persons of basic due process rights.

BOOK NOTES

PLEASE ORDER THESE WORKS FROM BOOK STORES OR PUBLISHERS, *not* FROM ACLU.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO REFERENCE BOOK, edited by John P. Davis. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 991 pp. $19.95

Twenty-six leading authorities have contributed to this important volume sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. A detailed index helps make this a valuable tool for every student of Negro affairs.

CIVIL LIBERTIES
Published monthly, except in August, by the
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

APRIL 1966 — NUMBER 236

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

file

May, 1966

CHIEF JENKINS, COMMUNITY LEADERS, SET FOR ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 2ND

The Annual Meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia will take place on Thursday, June 2nd at 8 p.m. at the Jewish Community Center, 1745 Peachtree Street, N. W., Atlanta.

The theme of the meeting will be: Police Powers - Constructively Used or Unconstitutionally Abused? A panel of experts will participate in a free-wheeling discussion of this subject: Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins; Q. V. Williamson, member of the Police Aldermanic Committee; Howard Moore, Jr., and Glenn Zell, attorneys. The Panel moderator will be Don McEvoy, Director of the Georgia Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, which sponsors the nation-wide Police Institute each year.

Police procedures should prove an especially timely topic, since the Georgia ACLU will release a 57-page study, Police Procedures in Atlanta, on May 14th. (see page 2) This should provide background material for a lively -- perhaps heated -- discussion, with time for participation from the floor.

Our Annual Meeting will also be the occasion for presenting the First Annual Georgia Civil Liberties Award, voted by the Board of Directors. The recipient's identity will be a closely-guarded secret until the moment of presentation. Even he -- or she -- will not know until the announcement is made.

We need your help: Although the seats are not reserved, and there is no admission charge, we need to know in advance how many members will attend, so we can estimate how much space will be available when we invite the press, television and representatives from other organizations. Please fill out the coupon on the last page and tell us whether or not you plan to come, and how many non-members you will bring as guests. Please return it to us promptly.

REMEMBER THE DATE: THURSDAY, JUNE 2ND, 8 P.M.

GEORGIA ACLU RELEASES POLICE PROCEDURES STUDY

On May 14th, the Georgia ACLU released a 57-page study, Police Procedures in Atlanta, dealing with police practices in arrests, searches, seizures and interrogations as they are directed against the poor and against minority group members. One section discusses the treatment of alcoholics, prostitutes and homosexuals. Another chapter examines how citizens' complaints of police misconduct are handled, and the concluding chapter presents the case for and against a Civilian Review Board.

The purpose of the study is spelled out in the Introduction as follows:

"...Police attitudes and procedures toward all who are poor, Negro, unprotected by competent legal counsel, and who have no public channel of redress against injustice need to be examined and understood in terms of their effect not only on the individual in his encounter with the police, but on the social health of the entire community.

"Let it be clearly understood that our goal is not a sensational expose of the Atlanta Police Department, nor is it to make invidious comparisons between it and other police departments. The Atlanta Department is trying to maintain order and apprehend lawbreakers. It numbers among its leaders some outstanding, dedicated men. It is faced with the same problems as many other city police departments: accelerating urbanization which inevitably means accelerating urban crime; inadequate staff, inadequate salaries and inadequate budget, for now and in the foreseeable future.

"Most of all, we must point out that the Atlanta Police Department does not operate in a vacuum. Its attitudes and activities stem from the customs, the traditions and the goals of the general community and its leadership....If (for example) a large section of the public is indifferent to discrimination against Negroes in jobs, housing and the administration of courtroom justice, then it follows that illegal police practices against Negroes will be sanctioned as well.

"The activities of the police are selected for special study ...not because the police stand alone in their attitudes, but simply because police activities are in the area of the special competence of the ACLU, whereas some other social phenomena are not; and because it is around the police that community resentments seem to crystallize. This makes understanding of police methods a matter of immediate and urgent concern."

A limited number of copies of Police Procedures in Atlanta are available to members on request.

OFFICERS, ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS ELECTED

In March, 1966, ACLU members received the report of the Nominating Committee, listing candidates for officers and for the new Advisory Board which was expanded from the old Board of Directors under the revised constitution.

Members were asked to submit additional nominations, to be filed with the Secretary not later than one month before the Annual Meeting. Since none has been received, the following slate is elected without contest:

Officers:
Hugh W. Gibert, President
David B. Comer, III, 1st Vice-President
William Alexander, 2nd Vice-President
Mrs. Leon Goldberg, Secretary
John Glustrom, Treasurer

Advisory Board:
Dr. C. A. Bacote, Atlanta
Francizka Boas, Rome
Dr. David Broiles, Athens
Helen Bullard, Atlanta
Bruce Galphin, Atlanta
Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Augusta
Elijah Hill, Jr., Thomasville
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Jeannette Hume, Atlanta
Jon Johnston, Atlanta
P. Walter Jones, Albany
Vernon Jordan, Jr., Atlanta
E. T. Kehrer, Atlanta
Dr. Edward T. Ladd, Atlanta
Kieve Landesberg, Atlanta
Sam Massell, Jr., Atlanta
Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville
Dr. J. L. Miller, Atlanta
Mrs. Neil Moran, Atlanta
Martin J. Morand, Atlanta
Howard Moore, Jr., Atlanta
Mrs. John Morris, Atlanta
William P. Randall, Macon
Louis Regenstein, Atlanta
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta
Mrs. Frank Spencer, Savannah

Elected from the Advisory Board to serve on the Executive Committee are: Bruce Galphin, Jon Johnston, E. T. Kehrer, Dr. Edward T. Ladd and Kieve Landesberg. Chairmen of Standing Committees will be elected by the Advisory Board at the time of the Annual Meeting, June 2nd.

GEORGIA CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS:

Racial Classifications Queried: ACLU wrote Mayor Allen: "It has come to our attention that the Application for Examination Form distributed to prospective employees by the Atlanta Personnel Department asks for the race of the applicant." Although not illegal, the letter pointed out, since local government is exempt from the classification prohibition of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, "it is surely against public policy and is harmful to good community relations..."

A member of the Mayor's staff replied by telephone that classification was used for statistical purposes and was not used in a discriminatory way. We responded by pointing out that whatever the intent, it was bound to be interpreted by applicants as discrimination; that the more important statistic was how many Negroes the city had actually employed and this could be determined without classification questions. The exchange was shared with human relations groups in the employment field for further investigation.

ACLU Counsel Provided: A) In the case of a white lady arrested by Macon Police after neighbors stated they had seen two Negro teen-agers enter her home; B) In the case of a white lady arrested by DeKalb County Police when seen driving in a car with a Negro couple.

ACLU Testifies before School Board on Prayer: A minority School Board move in DeKalb County to introduce a resolution which would permit prayer in school was challenged by an ACLU statement presented to the Board by Dr. Alexander McPhedran. Although the resolution was dropped for the present, there have been many reports that individual schools in the metropolitan area have resumed classroom prayers. An ACLU questionnaire on this practice is now being prepared.

Georgia Membership Renewals Lag: Most ACLU affiliates, according to National figures recently released, have virtually completed membership renewals. The Georgia affiliate has fallen dangerously behind, with more than eighty members still not renewed. When your renewal reminder arrives, within the next few days, please pay promptly, and help us catch up.

- -

To: ACLU of Georgia, 52 Fairlie St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga., 30303

I will _____ will not _____ attend the Annual Meeting on Thursday, June 2nd, at the Jewish Community Center, 1745 Peachtree Rd., at 8 p.m.

I plan to bring _____ guests with me.

Name_____

Address_____

CIVIL LIBERTIES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDED 1920

NUMBER 237

MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION MAY 1966

Re-Hearing Is Urged In Ginzburg Decision

The ACLU asked the U.S. Supreme Court on April 17 to reconsider its newly announced standard for judging obscenity — which is based on the advertising matter regarding the allegedly obscene publication.

Five Years in Prison

The Union filed an *amicus* brief with the high court supporting the petition for rehearing sought by Ralph Ginzburg. Publisher of *Eros* magazine, *Liaison* — a biweekly newsletter, and "The Housewife's Handbook on Selective Promiscuity," Ginzburg was convicted and sentenced to spend five years in prison and pay a $28,000 fine for violating the federal obscenity law. The conviction was upheld, 5-4, by the Supreme Court on March 21.

In their brief, the ACLU and its Pennsylvania affiliate warned that the decision as it stands "is replete with dangerous implications for freedom of expression." And the Court's unprecedented inclusion of advertising as a ground for obscenity, the brief contends, "further obscures the already muddied waters of the law of obscenity."

The Union's brief terms the new guideline an "ill-conceived amendment" to the still existent obscenity test established eight years ago in *Roth v. U.S.* The three part *Roth* standard defined obscenity in these terms: (1) "the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest in sex;" (2) "the material is patently offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards; (3) "the material is utterly without redeeming social value."

Roth Decision Nullified

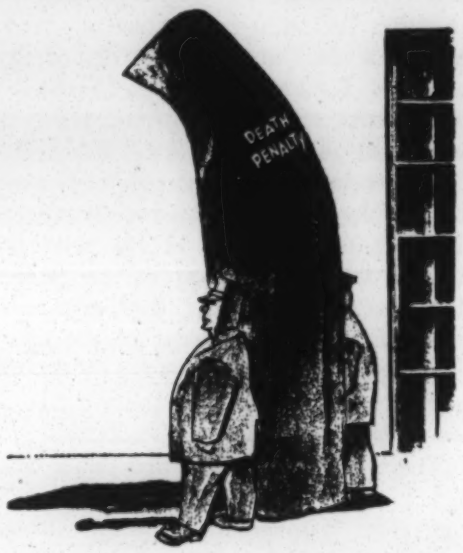
The Union goes on to charge that the new formula of "pandering" as proof of obscenity "makes it possible to find obscenity without any of the three *Roth* elements." Where prurient interest is not "clearly demonstrable from the publications themselves," the brief points out, the Court now holds that "erotically arousing advertising" can stimulate the reader "to accept them as prurient." Where the "patent offensiveness of the material is dubious," the Court now says the "brazenness" of the advertising "heightens the offensiveness of the publications to those who are offended by such material." And the third *Roth* standard, of "redeeming social value," is nullified by the Court's ruling that "the circumstances of presentation and dissemination of material are equally relevant to determining whether social importance claimed for the material was pretence or reality."

The brief argues that the "sole justification in *Roth* for removing obscene expression from the protections of the First Amendment was that it was worthless to society." The *Ginzburg* obscenity rule, the Union contends, "for the first time operates to suppress publications with conceded social importance. And it does so on the basis of advertising which was itself not obscene and which described materials which were by definition not obscene either."

New Obscenity Standard Asked

In addition to asking for a new review of the *Ginzburg* case, the ACLU brief once again calls on the Court to adopt an obscenity standard protecting all published material under the First Amendment unless it creates a "clear and present danger" of anti-social conduct.

The ACLU's friend-of-the-court brief was prepared by Cooperating Attorneys Bernard A. Berkman and Murray Powlen, and Legal Director Melvin L. Wulf.



Burck, Chicago Sun-Times

THE LAST MILE

Seven Americans were put to death by legal authorities in 1965. It was the first year on record that the number of executions fell below 10. In 1954 the total was 81; in 1962, 47; in 1963, 21; in 1964, 15.

Four states—New York, Vermont, Iowa, and West Virginia — last year abolished the death penalty except for special crimes. Capital punishment has been all but ended in thirteen states.

War on Poverty's Birth Control Rules Unlawful, Charges ACLU

The American Civil Liberties Union on March 29 charged that the government's restrictions on the use of federal funds in anti-poverty birth control programs violate certain basic indvidual rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Union said three Office of Economic Opportunity guidelines run counter to equal protection of the law. The main target of the attack is the OEO's prohibition on the distribution of funds for contraceptive aid to unmarried women or women living apart from their husbands.

In a letter to OEO Director Sargent Shriver, the Union's Executive Director John deJ. Pemberton Jr. asserted that when the government decides to pursue such a social objective as anti-poverty, "we believe its program should adhere to civil liberties standards. Adherence to these standards, particularly the guarantee of equality, is of vital significance in the family planning aspect of the program because family planning has such a central effect on the lives of the poor."

"Just as a criterion of race or religion would be regarded as unrelated to the purposes of the Anti-Poverty Act," Pemberton continued, "so a distinction drawn between married women living with their husbands and other women is discriminatory and a denial of equal protection of the law."

"It is evident from available studies," the ACLU spokesman continued, "that persons in higher income groups, married and unmarried alike, have access to medical contraceptive guidance. . . . It is equally evident that the poor, who are the concern of the program, do not have such access. In view of this fact and of the apparently high rate of illegitimacy in the low-income group, it seems clear that unmarried women or women living apart from their husbands have need for birth control guidance that is at least equal to that of similarly-situated women in higher income groups. Thus, we believe the OEO's limitation is an unwarranted discrimination against a class of persons which requires and should be eligible for the benefits of the Act."

Sterilization

The Union charged further discrimination against the poor in the OEO's guideline denying fund grants for "surgical procedures intended to result in sterilization." Pemberton declared that "the arbitrary denial of federal funds for surgical birth control (voluntary sterilization) when such treatment is indicated for health reasons and when the patient is made fully aware of the implications of sterilization, cannot be justified in view of the ease with which a wealthy person can obtain this treatment privately."

Censorship Charged

Finally, the Union challenged the OEO's prohibition on the use of its funds to publicize through the mass media the availability of the birth control program, as constituting "action on the part of a government agency that intentionally restricts dissemination of information to the public" and as amounting to "censorship."

Union Gets Howe Out of Fort Leavenworth on Bail

In late March the Union won a round in its legal battle on behalf of Lt. Henry Howe Jr. Following the ACLU's request to Supreme Court Justice Hugo F. Black, the Army Lieutenant was released on bail from Fort Leavenworth military prison pending the Union's appeal of his court-martial conviction.

His release was decided after high level consultation in Washington. Observers have indicated that the extreme concern of Army officials over the ACLU's double appeal on the lieutenant's behalf provided the impetus for his release.

Lt. Howe was convicted of disrespect for the President and conduct unbecoming an officer because of his participation—in off-duty hours and in civilian clothes —in an El Paso demonstration protesting the government's Vietnam policies. The Union is appealing his case to the Army Board of Review and, if necessary, to the final Court of Military Appeals.

INDEX DYING

Pope Paul VI in February abolised an agency that for four centuries placed books considered objectionable on the Roman Catholic Index. The Index itself was not abolished, but the section of the Holy Office for the censure of books was done away with.

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Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Editor*

Florida Governor Changed His Mind About Being a Sponsor

Florida's Governor Haydon Burns has informed the state ACLU that his agreement to serve as a sponsor of the affiliate's tenth anniversary dinner (as reported in the February CIVIL LIBERTIES) was a mistake.

"Had my staff carefully reviewed the background of this organization," he explained, "my name would not have been associated with it."

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The ACLU Book Service offers books, records, and other items for sale on the basis of their general civil liberties interest. An offer of such an item does not imply endorsement of its contents by the American Civil Liberties Union.

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THE SECRET

The secret of Happiness is Freedom, and the secret of Freedom, Courage. —THUCYDIDES

ACLU Files Suit on Thompson's Burial

The ACLU has asked the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. to order the Defense Department to permit burial in Arlington National Cemetery of the ashes of Robert G. Thompson, a World War II soldier who was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, honorably discharged, and later convicted as a Communist Party leader under the Smith Act. The Union charged that the Pentagon had acted "beyond all statutory and constitutional authority" in barring the interment.

Sergeant Thompson received the nation's second highest military honor for valor in the 1943 New Guinea campaign. He was also recommended for promotion to the rank of captain—but was honorably discharged when he became ill the same year. He died in October 1965.

After cremation, his widow, Sylvia H. Thompson, on whose behalf the ACLU has filed suit, requested burial at Arlington. Cemetery officials approved the request and scheduled the interment for January 31. However, Mrs. Thompson's announcement of the planned burial set off protests from veterans' groups and led to an attack on the floor of Congress by Rep. Charles E. Bennett of Florida.

The protests prompted the Defense Department to ask the Attorney General for a legal opinion on whether the burial could be refused. On January 27 Katzenbach said that refusal would be justified under an Army regulation barring interment in a national cemetery of any veteran who has received a federal sentence of five or more years in prison.

Thompson was sentenced to a three-year term in 1949 for conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government. He jumped bail in 1951 when the conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court. Two years later he was apprehended, convicted of contempt of court for jumping bail and sentenced to an additional four-year term. According to Attorney General Katzenbach's seven-page legal memorandum, the two sentences resulted from a "single proceeding" and, therefore, they meet the five-year provision of the Army regulation.

After receiving the Katzenbach opinion, the Defense Department further tightened national cemetery restrictions by barring burial of all persons convicted under various federal anti-subversive laws, including those sentenced to less than five years.

The Union asked the court to rule on the constitutionality of both the basic regulation and the 1966 amendment. It charges that their effect is to penalize the exercise of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, and that the Defense Department has no authority to condition the right to burial upon conduct of the deceased after his honorable discharge from active duty.

THE LAWYER IN THE POLICE STATION

The Supreme Court is now weighing its decision in five important cases from Arizona, California, New Jersey, and New York. All raising the same issue—the right of a suspect to have counsel present while undergoing police interrogation—they were joined together and argued before the Court in March. What follows is the Summary of the ACLU's Argument as it appears in the Union's 67-page brief. Authors of the brief are Professors Anthony G. Amsterdam and Paul J. Mishkin of the University of Pennsylvania; Cooperating Attorneys Raymond J. Bradley, H. Robert Fiebach, and Peter Hearn of Philadelphia; and American Civil Liberties Union Legal Director Melvin L. Wulf of New York.

In *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1965), this Court held that the privilege against self-incrimination was violated when an accused's confession was obtained through police in-custody interrogation designed to elicit incriminating statements from him at a time when he was denied the presence of counsel, since the presence of counsel was necessary to protect the constitutional privilege. In so holding, the Court reached the natural culmination of its "involuntary" confession decisions, in light of its application of the privilege against self-incrimination to the States. The determination that *Escobedo* rests upon effective enforcement of the privilege against self-incrimination is not of mere academic interest, but vitally affects the proper application of the decision.

There can be no doubt that police custodial interrogation designed to elicit a confession is inherently violative of the privilege against self-incrimination. Therefore confessions obtained under such circumstances cannot be constitutionally admitted in State or federal criminal proceedings unless it has been shown that adequate safeguards were present to protect the privilege.

For reasons spelled out at length in this brief, under the present circumstances of police custodial interrogation designed to elicit a confession, the required safeguard is the presence of counsel.

A police warning of the subject's right to remain silent is not adequate. Neither is the granting of prior access to counsel, as distinguished from the presence of counsel. For these reasons it is immaterial that a subject of police custodial interrogation asked for or was able to obtain retained counsel. Effectuation of the privilege against self-incrimination, in these circumstances, requires the providing of counsel to all.

This does not mean that the effectuation of the privilege requires the presence of counsel in other than police custodial interrogation designed to elicit a confession. Nor does it mean that if other protective devices are devised and put into effect which effectively secure the privilege even in the police custodial situation, the presence of counsel would still be required.

A holding that, under the conditions of police interrogation as they normally exist today, the presence of counsel is necessary to protect the privilege against self-incrimination, should not foreclose a determination that other protective devices are acceptable when and if such devices are put into effective use.

Finally, the Court must reject the argument that the privilege against self-incrimination should not be enforced in the face of a police "need" for its nonenforcement. Even if such "need" conflicting with the privilege were shown to exist, the Constitution requires that the conflict be resolved in favor of effective enforcement of the constitutional privilege.

However, this issue need not be reached as the asserted police "need" has not been shown to exist, and the burden of production of evidence clearly rests on the prosecution. Not only have prosecutors not produced any convincing evidence, the assertions which they make are not even supported by considered legislative determination of police need.

Thus in a scale which opposes unsupported assertions of necessity by police and prosecutors on the one side, and effectuation of the individual's constitutional right not to be compelled to incriminate himself on the other, the balance must be struck on the side of the constitutional right.

Herblock, Washington Post

"HOW ARE WE GOING TO STOP LAWLESSNESS IF YOU FELLOWS INSIST ON OBSERVING THE LAWS?"

ACLU Succeeds in Obtaining A 90-Day Passport for Lynd

Through Cooperating Attorney David Carliner, who is also a member of the Union's Board of Directors, the ACLU was successful last month in persuading the State Department to issue Staughton Lynd a temporary passport. This allowed the Yale history professor to fill his anti-Vietnam war speaking engagements in London and Oslo.

No decision has yet been rendered in the Union's basic challenge — on behalf of Lynd and Thomas Hayden — of the State Department's power to revoke a passport because its owner travels to certain proscribed countries. The two men flew to Hanoi and Peking last December.

SOUTHERN JOB

The ACLU seeks to add to its Southern Regional Office staff a Field Development Officer, charged with organizing local chapters and with assisting existing affiliates throughout the South in fund-raising and membership promotion.

For details write Charles Morgan Jr., Director Southern Regional Office, American Civil Liberties Union, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Pasadena Chapter Honors A Founder: Upton Sinclair

The Southern California affiliate of the ACLU was founded in 1923, shortly after Upton Sinclair was arrested for attempting to read the Constitution of the United States at a mass meeting during a strike.

On March 20 the Pasadena Chapter gathered to honor the 86-year-old battler for social justice at a garden party. Sinclair reminisced about how the affiliate had quickly acquired "respectability" by naming a Congregational minister, the Rev. Clinton J. Taft, as its Executive Director. Taft, who resigned his pulpit, remained on the ACLU's staff for twenty years.

Sinclair was reminded how, after the organization had been in existence a couple of weeks, the editor of the *Los Angeles Examiner* had phoned him and asked, "Sinclair, how long is this thing going on?" The already world-famous author answered, "Until we have civil liberties in Los Angeles."

NYCLU Defends SDS Anti-WarSubwayAd

The NYCLU filed a complaint in Federal District Court on March 23 challenging the New York City Transit Authority's refusal to carry paid political advertising in subway trains protesting the U.S. actions in Vietnam.

The complaint asserts the Authority denied Students for a Democratic Society its free speech and equal-protection-of-the-law rights when it refused to accept posters which pictured a Vietnamese child with napalm burns. The poster's text reads:

> "WHY ARE WE BURNING, TORTURING, KILLING THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM? . . . TO PREVENT FREE ELECTIONS. PROTEST this anti-democratic war. WRITE President Lyndon B. Johnson, The White House, Washington, D.C. GET THE FACTS STRAIGHT, WRITE Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003."

The ACLU's New York affiliate noted that "the same poster was prominently displayed on the cover of the *New York Times Magazine* of November 7, 1965. Surely what the Times deems fit to print, the Transit Authority cannot suppress."

The NYCLU also charged that the Transit Authority has frequently accepted advertising which expresses strong political views. It cited a recent ad for *Readers Digest* attacking opponents of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

LIBERTIES CENTER

Columbia University and Teachers College have announced the formation of the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties.

Director of the Center is Alan F. Westin, a member of the Union's Board of Directors and associate professor of law and government at Columbia.

The Center will lead a national program for improving the teaching of civil liberties.

ACLU Files Brief in Bond's Appeal to Supreme Court

In a brief filed March 28 with the U.S. Supreme Court, the ACLU denounced as an unconstitutional violation of free speech and association the ouster of civil rights leader Julian Bond from his seat in the Georgia Legislature because of his expressed pacifist opposition to U.S. participation in the Vietnam war. The Union urged the Court to strike down the 2-1 decision of a lower court upholding the Georgia Representatives' action.

Bond, elected last fall to the Georgia House, is an officer of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Because he had supported a SNCC statement critical of U.S. policies in Vietnam, he was expelled from his seat by a 184-12 vote—and was charged with treason by one of his fellow legislators.

The ACLU represented him before the special three-man federal court in Atlanta, but after its 2-1 verdict Bond chose different counsel for his appeal. The Union presented its civil liberties arguments to the Supreme Court in an *amicus curiae* brief prepared by Southern Regional Office Director Charles Morgan Jr., Legal Director Melvin L. Wulf, and Morris Brown, Chairman of the Georgia ACLU Lawyers Committee.

8 Labor Unions Join ACLU In Appeal v. Taft-Hartley

In a friend-of-the-court brief filed on March 24, the ACLU, joined by eight national labor unions, asked the U.S. Supreme Court to hold unconstitutional the non-Communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The brief supported six officers and employees of the International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union who were convicted of conspiring to defraud the government by falsely denying that they were members of or affiliated with the Communist Party.

Associated with the ACLU on the brief are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, American Federation of Teachers, International Typographical Union, National Farmers Union, Transport Workers, United Automobile Workers, and the United Packinghouse Workers Union.

The brief attacks the non-Communist oath provision as a bill of attainder—legislative punishment without judicial trial.

Union Hails Bail Reform Bill as Big Advance Step

ACLU Washington Director Lawrence Speiser testified in mid-March before a Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee in favor of a Bail Reform Bill now before Congress.

One version has passed the Senate and another is being considered by the House. Both embody sweeping reforms, endorsed by the Union, regarding the imprisonment of accused persons prior to trial in federal courts.

Speiser suggested a number of amendments but told the Subcommittee that even without his recommended changes "both bills would represent a giant step forward in alleviating the injustices which have occurred under our present bail practices."

SPENCER

A man's liberties are none the less aggressed upon because those who coerce him do so in the belief that he will be benefitted.

— HERBERT SPENCER

Union Battles HUAC In High Court Appeal

In mid-March the ACLU renewed its decades-long attack on the House Un-American Activities Committee by filing an *amicus* brief with the U.S. Supreme Court in the 11-year-old case of John T. Gojack.

Gojack, then an officer of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, was convicted of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer some of the Committee's questions during an investigation of alleged Communist influence in labor unions. He was originally indicted in 1955, but after extended proceedings the Supreme Court threw out the indictment. A few months later he was reindicted for refusing to answer at the original hearing questions about his own and others' membership in the Communist Party, his association with alleged Party members, and his activities with the American Peace Crusade. Convicted, his conviction was upheld last year by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

The Union's brief challenges the constitutionality of the HUAC's proceedings and stresses the vagueness of the resolution creating the Committee—empowering it to investigate the "Un-American propaganda"—which, the brief says, abridges First Amendment rights. Contending that the HUAC was not investigating for the purpose of preparing legislation, the Union points to the Committee's deliberate exposure of suspected Communists. This procedure the brief likens to an "attainder," prohibited by the Constitution.

The brief was prepared by ACLU General Counsel Osmond K. Fraenkel and Edward J. Ennis, Legal Director Melvin L. Wulf, and Cooperating Attorneys Frank J. Donner and David Rein.

Massachusetts ACLU Executive Observes South Boston Beating; Meets with Mayor

Luther Macnair, Executive Director of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, was present as an observer at the March 31 beating of eleven young pacifists on the steps of the South Boston Courthouse. Here are excerpts from his eye-witness report:

"The young demonstrators appeared at the Courthouse just before 8:30 A.M. Four men burned their draft cards. About 100-150 people had gathered—mostly of high-school age—though there were some adults. *There were no police.* I telephoned to Station 6 and told the officer on duty that there was an extremely dangerous situation developing and that no police were present.

"Several young men attacked the demonstrators and knocked them down on the Courthouse steps. One was so beaten that he bled profusely from the head and face. There was blood on the Courthouse steps.

"The demonstrators (including two girls) made their way into the Courthouse, though with difficulty. Thirty to fifty toughs followed them. A deputy arrived *ten* or *fifteen minutes* after I had called—but without any patrolmen. He went into an office in the Courthouse to telephone for men. While he was phoning, the crowd inside the Courthouse and right around the demonstrators got uglier and uglier. Two of them attacked one boy, knocked him to the floor and beat him.

"I called the deputy away from the phone. He ordered the crowd back and got the two boys off the one they had attacked.

"Only then did the patrolmen arrive. A few moments more, and I'm sure there would have been a general attack on the demonstrators and somebody would have been badly injured or killed—probably more than one."

Macnair then arranged for a meeting of leaders of the Massachusetts Council for Constitutional Rights with Boston's Mayor John F. Collins on April 6. After hearing Macnair's account of what had happened, the Mayor held a press conference before TV cameras. He reminded all Boston—including the police—of existing police orders to protect the rights of all persons to assemble. Collins concluded his statement by saying:

"Precisely because any protest against United States foreign policy in Vietnam is unpopular among some citizens of Boston, it is even more urgent to protect this right. A law-abiding city cannot tolerate violence on its streets against those who embrace unpopular causes without undermining our very society."

CIVIL LIBERTIES *around the nation*

Missouri: Congressman Richard Ichord of Missouri on March 17 attacked "destructive criticism" and "negativism" which he said "so many" U.S. newsmen in Vietnam display; he coupled this with a not very veiled threat of censorship.

Ohio: Ross Eckler, director of the Census, said in Cleveland last month that the Bureau is considering questioning people about their religious beliefs in the 1970 Census.

Arkansas: Mrs. Susan Epperson, a 24-year-old biology teacher at Central High School in Little Rock, brought suit in April challenging the constitutionality of the state's law prohibiting the teaching the theory of evolution in the public schools.

New Jersey: The leader of the New Jersey Ku Klux Klan disclosed last month that the organization was planning a cross-burning rally outside Bridgeton on May 23.

Illinois: The American Bar Association announced at its Chicago headquarters in March the creation of a new Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities.

Connecticut: David H. Mitchell III, who refused to report for induction into the Army because he felt the U.S. was committing war crimes in Vietnam, was sentenced in April to five years in prison by the federal district court in Hartford.

Florida: The U.S. Supreme Court on March 28 declined to consider an appeal from William B. Craig, a Florida Negro sentenced to die for raping a white woman.

Louisiana: Louisiana's Attorney General Jack Gremillion, in denouncing the Supreme Court's March decision upholding the 1965 Voting Rights Act, said it meant "total destruction" of states rights and "will undoubtedly lead to universal sufferage."

Pennsylvania: In the April *Readers Digest,* former President Eisenhower, of Gettysburg, recommended sending draft card burners to jail "for the war's duration."

Michigan: In connection with the recent "flying saucer" scare in southern Michigan, an Armed Forces Committee spokesman wryly suggested that the HUAC investigate, because "it is un-American to have unidentified objects flying over this country."

LCDC Sues Insurance Firm To Reform Southern Police

The application of financial pressure against national insurance companies that bond Southern police officers—in an effort to step up civil rights progress—was announced last month by the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee of the ACLU.

Lawsuits to obtain money damages for deprivation of rights and for personal injuries sustained at the hands of Mississippi sheriffs were filed on behalf of several Southern Negroes and a New Hampshire civil rights worker. The suits, against a number of law enforcement officers and the U.S. Fidelity and Guaranty Company, a Baltimore-based firm, seek damages totalling almost $10,000,000.

The suits are the first in which a national insurance company is sought to be held liable for the acts of its principals who have deprived citizens of their rights.

In announcing the damage actions. LCDC Executive Secretary Henry Schwarzchild said in New York: "Perhaps police repression and brutality in Mississippi will be reduced when it costs money. We suspect that the bonding companies may exercise a restraining influence over Mississippi policemen when they find money verdicts rendered against them. Mere appeals to a sense of fairness and to principles of equality don't seem to have been very effective."

SIXTY PAMPHLETS

The current edition of the Union's publication list includes over sixty pamphlets and reprints (including seven new ones) on a variety of civil liberties issues. Single copies of most of them are free, on request, to paid-up regular members of the ACLU (dues of $6 or more). A postcard will bring you the list.

H.E.W. Softens Administration Of Oath; ACLU Continues Suits

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare announced in Washington on April 13 that failure to fill out the loyalty oath on the Medicare application would not by itself disqualify elderly persons from benefits under the new program.

The ACLU is continuing to press its New York suit on behalf of Mrs. Louis B. Weiss and Mrs. Sigmund K. Pollitzer. Its Washington action has been thrown out for technical reasons. The Pennsylvania and Southern California affiliates have filed cases of their own.

East Tennessee CLU Is Union's 37th Branch

The national ACLU announced last month the chartering of the East Tennessee Civil Liberties Union as the organization's 37th affiliate.

The 160 ACLU members in the 35 counties in the eastern end of the state have elected a Board of fifteen (all residents of Knoxville, unless otherwise noted):

Harry Wiersema, *President,* a consulting engineer formerly with the TVA; Dr. Murray Evans, *Vice-President,* assistant professor of botany at the University of Tennessee; Dr. Ronald Petersen, *Secretary,* associate professor of botany at the University of Tennessee; Mrs. Walter Bishop, *Treasurer,* member of the Mayor of Knoxville's Human Relations Council; Walter Howard Bishop, project engineer with the Rohm and Haas Company; John Wilson Cleland, physicist, Oak Ridge National Laboratory; Dr. J. Vivian Gibbs, physician; William Guy Harrell Jr., attorney, Tazewell; Dr. Robert Henry Harvey, assistant professor of mathematics at Knoxville College; Nicholas Howard Kurko, AFL-CIO organizer; Dr. Forrest W. Lacey, professor of law at the University of Tennessee; Jack O. LeFlore, businessman; the Rev. Kenneth Torquil MacLean, a Unitarian minister; Mrs. Phyllis Stine Schultz, child welfare worker, Maryville; and Martin Holmes Southern, attorney.

Harry Wiersema, head of the new ACLU branch, noted that formation of the affiliate had been stimulated by two current problems: (1) the elimination and prevention of infringements on civil rights in Knoxville; and (2) the protection of civil liberties in the functioning of the poverty program in the Appalachian area of Tennessee.

Iowa ACLU Backs Painter's Court Action in Child Case

At its meetings on March 16, the Iowa Civil Liberties Union's Board decided to back Harold W. Painter's petition to the Supreme Court of Iowa for a rehearing of its February 8 decision awarding Mr. Painter's 8-year-old son, Mark, to his maternal grandparents. His mother died in an automobile accident four years ago.

The petition supported by the Iowa ACLU contends that:

¶ The Court overlooked the applicable Iowa statute, which requires that a fit parent "shall be preferred over all others," and cited instead one that the applicable law had repealed and replaced in 1964.

¶ The ruling deprived father and son of their family relationship without constitutionally-guaranteed due process of law and equal protection of the laws.

¶ The decision "rests on irrational, arbitrary grounds" and infringes the father's right to freedom of belief and association.

a key year for civil liberties '66

'66 KEY YEAR DRIVE PASSES HALF-WAY MARK

The ACLU's Key Year for Civil Liberties drive passed the half-way mark in the last week of April when contributions reached a total of $700,000.

Membership & Development Director Gordon K. Haskell expressed gratification at the response of the Union's members across the country to the appeal for funds with which to expand ACLU work. However, he pointed out that programs which have been initiated could be endangered if there is any dropoff in the rate of giving by members who have not yet renewed for 1966.

"Tensions engendered by opposition to U.S. participation in the Vietnam war have added to our financial problem," Haskell pointed out. "We are sure our members would not wish the Union to let down its guard for a moment in this period, or to curtail the very important civil liberties defense work we started in the South last year.

"Reports from our 37 affiliates indicate that ACLU members are going all-out to achieve the program and financial goals the Union has set for itself this year."

California High Court Endorses ACLU Stand on Pay Television

The California Supreme Court in March declared, in a 6-1 decision, that the state's ban on pay television, adopted in a popular referendum in 1964, was unconstitutional.

The decision represented a victory for the ACLU and its Northern California affiliate which had filed an *amicus* brief charging that the ban abridged free speech.

BOOK NOTES

PLEASE ORDER THESE WORKS FROM BOOK STORES OR PUBLISHERS, *not* FROM ACLU.

FREEDOMS, COURTS, POLITICS: STUDIES IN CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Lucius J. Barker and Twiley W. Barker Jr. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 320 pp. $9.00

Messrs. Barker, both professors of political science, review six landmark Supreme Court cases in which the Union took part. An interesting combination of narration, analysis, and text of court decisions.

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ACLU

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ACLU

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June, 1966

CIVIL LIBERTIES AWARD GOES TO WALTER JONES OF ALBANY

"For his service and devotion to the cause of justice;
For his pursuit of fair play in the courtroom;
For his personal sacrifice in behalf of the ideals
we share in common

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia gratefully acknowledges its debt."

This is the text of the scroll presented to attorney P. Walter Jones of Albany as the Georgia Civil Liberties Award at the ACLU Annual Meeting in Atlanta, June 2nd.

The award was voted by the outgoing Georgia Board of Directors in recognition of Mr. Jones' lonely, six-year battle to save the life of his client, Phil Whitus. Mr. Whitus was condemned to death, although the prosecution acknowledged that he had been forced at gun point to race the motor of a car to muffle the sound of the shot which killed the victim. The ACLU entered the case because Negroes had been systematically excluded from the Whitus grand and trial juries.

The story of Mr. Jones' defense of Phil Whitus started when he was appointed by the court as his lawyer. It was expected that he would make the perfunctory defense customary for court-appointed lawyers of indigent Negro defendants. Instead, he fought vigorously for his client's rights. The white community of Albany has retaliated by threats of physical violence, a boycott of his legal service, and social ostracism.

When ACLU President Hugh Gibert presented the award to Mr. Jones, he responded to the audience's prolonged applause by saying wistfully: "I sure wish you folks were on my jury."

ANNUAL MEETING AIRS POLICE PROCEDURES

The theme of the Georgia ACLU Annual Meeting - Police Powers: Constructively Used or Unconstitutionally Abused? was conscientiously explored by a panel consisting of Richard Freeman, Chairman of the Aldermanic Police Committee; Howard Moore, Jr., attorney; Superintendent Fred Bierman and Captain M. G. Redding of the Atlanta Police Department; and Glenn Zell, attorney. The moderator was Don McEvoy, Director of the Georgia National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Summarizing a panel discussion is a chancy business -- the interplay of personalities and nuances of expression are inevitably lost. So what follows is a capsule report of the main points made by each participant:

Alderman Freeman began with a very human and disarming acknowledgment that he had "blown up" when questioned by reporters about the ACLU's Police Procedures report which he had not yet seen. He stated that he felt ACLU was making a valuable social contribution by acting as a watchdog on police matters. He stated that some police malpractice did exist -- the Department -- like every other institution attracting both good and bad officers, and conceded that the present system of handling complaints against police officers was not entirely satisfactory. He felt, however, that the Aldermanic Committee did in fact act as a Civilian Review Board, with the advantage that its members were elected officials responsible to the public, whereas an appointed Civilian Review Board would not be.

Mr. Zell felt that by and large police officers did a good job and that there was a lack of understanding by the public of the problems of police work.

Mr. Moore stated that Negroes and poor whites do not receive the same treatment at the hands of the police that middle and upper-class whites do. He charged that the police are discourteous, even abusive, that they do not advise arrested individuals of their rights that they use unnecessary force, and that their methods of interrogation and securing confessions are devious or threatening or both. He looked for the day when police officers would be unarmed, as they are in England. He noted also that violence by police officers was a reflection of the approval of violence in the general community which sanctions war.

Superintendent Bierman and Captain Redding defending police practices, stated that every complaint was carefully investigated, and attacked the idea of a Civilian Review Board because civilians would lack specialized knowledge of police problems, would be bad for police morale, and would place power in the hands of people who did not have the accompanying responsibilities.

While questioning from the audience was hostile to police practices and the present system for handling complaints, the greatest applause was given to a suggestion that police officers deserved much higher pay and prestige than they are now getting.

Nothing, of course, was resolved by the panel, but the audience seemed to feel that they presented a revealing exploration of one of society's knottiest problems.

TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR DON HOLLOWELL, JUNE 23RD.

Former ACLU Vice-President Donald Hollowell (and now an Advisory Board member) will be given a testimonial dinner on Thursday, June 23rd, to mark his appointment as District Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

This dinner is sponsored by Operation Breadbasket, a state-wide organization which seeks more and better jobs for Negroes. The dinner will also honor the Atlanta Braves for their employment policies. We are delighted to see the Braves honored for something, because certainly a dinner in honor of their won-lost record at this point would be slightly premature, to put it as tactfully as possible.

In any case, we hope as many members as possible will turn out to salute Don, for the dinner recognizes not only his new appointment, but his contribution over the years to making Georgia a better place for all its citizens.

Tickets are $5.00 each and reservations can be made by calling the chairman of the dinner, Dr. Gerald Reed, at 873-2771.

ACLU BIENNIAL CONFERENCE, JUNE 18-22ND

Delegates from all thirty-eight ACLU affiliates will meet in Stony Brook, Long Island for the Union's Biennial Conference. It is at these conferences that major policy decisions are made, and program guidelines for the coming two years are determined.

Working papers already distributed to delegates make it clear that two major themes of the conference will be the civil liberties implications in social welfare legislation and the increasing use of mechanical devices to invade personal privacy.

In Social Welfare, some of the questions raised are: How can we prevent welfare officials from making arbitrary "moral" judgments about welfare recipients, e.g. the denial of access to public housing for the parent of an illegitimate child; the midnight raid upon the

recipient of Aid to Dependent Children to make sure there is no sign of male occupancy which would disqualify her from receiving a relief check? Is there a civil liberties issue in compulsory medical procedures which might be prescribed under federally sponsored health legislation?

In Personal Privacy: What can be done to counter the growing use of privacy-invading devices by local police, government agencies and business? What are the courter-measures which individual citizens and voluntary agencies can apply? What are the legislative remedies?

In addition to the substantive issues, the conference will be concerned with strengthening the organizational structure of ACLU. The National Development Council will meet to consider grant applications for developing affiliates, Georgia among them. At this time what Georgia has accomplished, what it has failed to accomplish and what its future potential is will be weighed by the Council.

The Executive Director will serve as Georgia's delegate to this conference and her assignments will be to act as secretary for the workshop on Civil Liberties and Mass Communications, and chairman of the workshop on Education. We are looking forward eagerly to attending, and to benefitting from the program and development ideas of older, more established affiliates. Our one mild complaint is that the Stony Brook setting -- bucolic, even idyllic -- is two and a hours from New York City, far enough to prevent getting into town to enjoy the bright lights.

The Georgia ACLU office will be closed from the 18th to the 23rd. We'll let you know in next month's newsletter how it all came out.

ATLANTA MAGAZINE TO PROFILE GEORGIA ACLU

The July issue of Atlanta Magazine, published by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, will have a story on the Georgia ACLU.

We recommend the story to you a little tentatively. Or perhaps "nervously" would be a better adverb. We haven't seen any advance on the piece, and all we can re ort is that when the photographer came to take pictures of the office, he remarked: "Gee, lady, you don't look as much like an ogre as I thought you would." Hmm.

The issue will be on the stands around the first week in July.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION ACLU ES

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

BULLETIN #2272 July 25, 1966

ACLU SCORES ARMY'S PRESSURE ON LIEUTENANT'S FREE SPEECH RIGHTS

Threats of renewed prosecution against a paroled Army lieutenant unless he ceases making statements critical of government policy in Vietnam were sharply scored on July 15 by the American Civil Liberties Union. The lieutenant is appealing a court-martial conviction arising out of his participation in an anti-Vietnam war demonstration last winter.

The civil liberties group, which is providing counsel to Lt. Henry H. Howe, Jr., of Boulder, Col., attacked the Army's pressure which "would so brazenly undertake to suppress Mr. Howe's right of free speech solely because he is critical of the Army and of government policy in Vietnam," and warned against "the growing dangers to freedom which are being spawned by the war in Vietnam."

The ACLU's statement was prompted by a letter sent by Army General Counsel Alfred B. Fitt on July 7 to Melvin L. Wulf, the Union's legal director, warning that public statements made by Lt. Howe in May about "President Johnson, the policies of the United States toward Vietnam,the quality of military and civilian justice in this country...raised the possibility of violation" of provisions of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Fitt also suggested possible prosecution under a section of the U.S. Code providing up to 10 years imprisonment for whoever "with intent to interfere with...the loyalty, morale, or discipline" of the military "advises, counsels, urges... insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces...."

Lt. Howe is currently on parole pending the appeal of his court-martial conviction last December for demonstrating against U.S. policy in Vietnam. He was convicted of using contemptuous words against President Johnson and of conduct unbecoming an officer, and was sentenced to two years at hard labor (later reduced to one year), dismissal from the service, and forfeiture of all pay and allowances. During off-duty hours and in civilian clothes, Lt. Howe had participated in an El Paso, Texas, demonstration, carrying a placard denouncing President Johnson's leadership and war policies.

Responding to Fitt, Wulf, who is serving as Lt. Howe's counsel, argued that "it seems perfectly clear...that it is not public statements as such to which the Army objects, but only those statements which presume to criticize official policy." The ACLU letter added that the national press had carried "more than one letter...from officers and enlisted men which support the government's Vietnam policy but the Department of the Army has never suggested that such public statements are improper, no less illegal."

The threat to prosecute Lt. Howe for violation of the federal law barring interference with the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the armed forces or advising their disaffection was called "fatuous" and "futile" in the ACLU letter. Emphasizing the law's dubious constitutionality which is widely acknowledged by lawyers, the Union asserted that "the mere suggestion that it might be invoked against Lt. Howe is a reflection of an incipient tendency towards the suppression of freedom" reminiscent of "the period of McCarthyism." The civil liberties group noted that the "inevitable effect" of the threats against Lt. Howe "is to impair the debate over government policy," adding that "debate is precisely what the First Amendment is intended not only to protect, but to foster as well."

The ACLU noted Army Counsel Fitt's warning that "so long as he is subject to military jurisdiction, Howe should refrain from pamphleteering or participation in meetings, rallies, conferences and the like where it might reasonably be expected that his personal views concerning the President, our presence in Vietnam, the obligations of soldiers and related topics would come to

public attention." Fitt added that "revocation of his parole and other appropriate disciplinary action" would be the consequences if Lt. Howe does not heed the warning. Pointing to the "fallacy of that position," the ACLU argued in its letter that the "assumption that all serving officers, including junior officers, are forbidden to express political views...inconsistent with government policy" is "not supported by law, nor supportable on any policy grounds."

Asserting the "responsibility" of the Army "to society to adopt policies that are consonant with the First Amendment," the Union called the need "particularly compelling" where "a large part of the military establishment, including Lt. Howe, is in service not out of choice but by compulsion." The ACLU urged the Army to "recognize the fact that suppression of free political speech of its basically civilian members is hardly calculated to encourage that freedom after the completion of required service."

SOUTHERN ARIZONA CLU OPPOSES POLICE-IN-SCHOOL PROGRAM

The civil liberties threats in a government-financed program which places police officers in Tucson, Arizona public schools as quasi-faculty members, were sharply underscored in June by the protests of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union, Southern Chapter. The School Resource Officer program, operated by the Tucson Police Department, has applied for a federal grant under the 1965 Law Enforcement Assistance Act, and approval is under active consideration.

Created three years ago by the combined action of the Police Department and the Tucson schools, one of the features of the SRO program is the stationing of an officer in every high school and junior high in the Tucson area for the alleged purpose of early detection and prevention of juvenile delinquency. The plain clothes police officers operate out of private offices within the schools and are permitted to interview students at will, subject only to the varying limitations imposed by individual principals. Depending on the principal or superintendent of the particular school district, the School Resource Officer may be free to interrogate anyone he wishes, at any time, in private, with neither previous consent or notice, nor subsequent notification of the parent. In one reported case, a school official was threatened with arrest when he tried to prevent the questioning of a student, and the school's lawyer asserted the right of the policeman to conduct the interrogation.

Supporters of the SRO program maintain that it will reduce delinquency, improve school-police liaisons, widen education on the nature of law enforcement, and prevent certain adult crimes from developing. The Southern Arizona CLU chapter, however, urges that the program be revised or "replaced by some other program which will achieve the same projected benefits without the accompanying abridgments of constitutional rights and in accord with the democratic process."

The dangers of the school officer program to the rights of juveniles, parents and teachers were flagged down by the Southern Arizona ACLU, which has called for closed hearings where school personnel could speak freely. Pointing to due process infringements, the civil liberties group notes that the "officer can take advantage of the school's jurisdiction over the child to institute questioning and coercion which would not otherwise be attempted." The presence of a policeman in the school, the Southern Arizona chapter points out, "creates a situation where evidence can be gathered in a manner patently in violation of our concepts of fair play and due process. The officer may become a hero or friend to many children but may, at a later date, use their adulation and confidence to obtain evidence against the child, his friends, or family." The civil liberties group asserts that "it is not necessary to take a stand on the extent of a child's right to counsel or his rights against self-incrimination or illegal searches and seizure. It is sufficient to condemn the program on the grounds that the child's rights may be abused because of the greater access and familiarity gained by the policeman stationed in schools."

Observing that Arizona law requires that juvenile delinquency be handled by trained probation officers, not by the police, the civil liberties group argues that "even assuming a child to have no constitutional rights, he is being deprived of his rights" under law. "The utilization of special juvenile officers was a deliberate choice made in this country around the turn of the century as a result of the acknowledged failure of the police in juvenile matters," states the Southern Arizona chapter. "The SRO program attempts indirectly to turn back the clock and reinstate a discredited system." The ACLU chapter adds that the Arizona legislature "has at no time authorized the use of police officers as part of a school faculty."

Finally, the Southern Arizona chapter argues that "possible indiscriminate interrogation of minors regarding home, family and neighbors, and conceivably including questions on political opinions or economic practices, constitutes...an invasion" of privacy. "Certainly," the chapter concludes, "it must be recognized that the program gives the police an easier access than is now available to information concerning family activities and other matters ordinarily confined to the privacy of the home. In this, the rights of parents as well as of children are invaded."

At a meeting with officials of the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice, Lawrence Speiser, director of the ACLU's Washington office, expressed the ACLU concern in the granting of federal funds to the School Resource Officer program. Speiser suggested that if the grants are to be given, a condition should be attached that "under no circumstances would the policeman [in the school] be able to interrogate any juvenile without the presence of his parent." In addition to the impending Tucson grant, a grant to the Minneapolis Police Department for a similar program is pending. The Minneapolis Police Department has a policy regulation which states that if police officers find it necessary to question students on school property, a member of the faculty must be present.

ACLU FIGHTS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO ATHLETES IN THE SOUTH

Deserving Negro athletes seeking athletic scholarships, who have been largely disregarded by Southern universities up to the present time, may get a better break in the near future. According to Sports Illustrated, a change in attitude toward recruiting Negro athletes is taking place in Southern universities, due to three factors: pressure against racial discrimination; the threat of loss of federal funds because of discriminatory educational practices; and the desire for winning teams, whether or not all-white.

For effective pressure against discrimination against Negro athletes, Sports Illustrated credits, among a few others, Bruce Galphin, a columnist of The Atlanta Constitution, and Charles Morgan, Jr., director of the Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union. Morgan recently sent a letter to United States Commissioner of Education Harold Howe charging racial discrimination in universities belonging to the Southeastern Conference. He asked for a full investigation of practices in athletic departments of SEC universities which, he pointed out, have agreed to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He requested also that federal funds be withheld from institutions found to be discriminating against Negro athletes.

"The influence of desegregated intercollegiate athletics in the South on the attitudes of young boys and girls, white and Negro, cannot be overstated," Morgan wrote in the ACLU letter.... "There are few Negro athletes at SEC schools, and only the University of Kentucky and Vanderbilt University have attempted to crash the color line in grant-in-aid programs."

Naming Louisiana State University and the University of Georgia as typical of SEC schools, the letter said that LSU's 113 football players and its 11 coaches are all white. Moreover, LSU, it said, seems to scout only white schools for prospective recipients of athletic scholarships.

At the University of Georgia, where an athletic scholarship has a value of about $1,615 a year, the letter claimed, one Negro student is trying out for the football team, but has not yet received a scholarship. And Negro high school athletes in the area, though scouted by many other universities, have never been recruited by a SEC school. Morgan also referred critically to the Georgia Institute of Technology which, he said, declared that it was expanding its geographical boundaries in its search for football players, but "did not travel ten miles to Decatur" to recruit Jack Pitts, a Negro high school senior who has been rated by more than one football coach as the "finest quarterback prospect."

POLICE NOT EXCEPTED FROM WIRETAPPING BAN ENACTED IN ALASKA

Despite the absolute position of law-enforcement spokesmen that surreptitious listening-in on ordinary telephone connections is necessary to their work, the Alaska state Legislature hearkened to those holding that such police practice would be an unconstitutional invasion of privacy and enacted in early May a law banning wiretapping without exception. "In my opinion," said John E. Havelock, ACLU cooperating attorney, "without the intervention of ACLU members here in Alaska, the act would have contained an exception allowing wiretapping by law officers and, in that form, would have been signed into law by the Governor."

A high point in the controversy surrounding the legislation was a debate between Havelock, a lawyer in Anchorage, and the District Attorney of that city, before the Anchorage Bar Association. Following the debate, the Association voted against allowing any amendment to the pending Act to allow police wiretapping or other eavesdropping and the position of the Association was forwarded to the state legislature.

Passage of the no-exception anti-wiretapping bill was a significant victory in light of the heavy pressures exerted on the other side. A committee appointed by the City Council of Anchorage, where it had come to light that the police department was already engaged in wiretapping for various purposes in connection with its law-enforcement endeavors, reported after lengthy hearings and investigations, an 11-point program. Its recommendations, basically favored wiretapping privileges for police, although only under certain circumstances ("any case involving national security or on Federal reservations ... and in certain types of criminal cases.") Most of its recommendations had to do with improving administrative organization, procedures, and cooperation within the police department and other municipal units and the telephone utility. And a spokesman for the chiefs of police of Sitka, Ketchikan, and Juneau testified before a committee of the state legislature to the effect that police officers should be permitted to wiretap or eavesdrop if the chief legal officer of the (state) political subdivision obtains a court order that this action is necessary to prevent a crime, prevent an act of violence, save a life, or detect a serious crime that has already been committed.

In a letter to the legislative group, Anchorage law-enforcement officials and the Captain of the Alaska State Police argued that the privilege of wiretapping and eavesdropping should be granted enforcement agencies, provided the privilege is accompanied by safeguards to insure interception is justified and "not misused" in pursuit of information. Governor William A. Egan, furthermore, had indicated his sympathy with the notion of electronic snooping by police, expressing his hope for "something ... That will pretty well guarantee that use of this type of criminal detection will be confined to extreme necessity."

In the end, however, the bill's prime sponsor, Representative Gene Guess of Anchorage, successfully fought down attempts to incorporate a police-wiretapping amendment. His bill is based on the federal law outlawing wiretapping, he pointed out, but with additional provisions against eavesdropping devices such as the hidden tape-recorder and the pocket microphone.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

THE AKRON, OHIO CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION called on the presiding judge of the Summit County Court of Common Pleas to give Grand Jury members specific instructions on their powers and duties under Ohio law. The civil liberties group expressed concern about "the growing tendency of the Grand Jury, both in Summit County and elsewhere, to add comment or findings to their report other than that required to perform their extremely important and delicate duties." (1.5.66) ***

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July, 1966

ACLU TO LAUNCH LEGAL CLINICS IN POVERTY AREAS

One of the surprising facts emerging from our study, Police Procedures in Atlanta is that four out of five people interviewed had little or no idea that they had any rights when they encountered the police.

To remedy this lack of information, the ACLU of Georgia Executive Committee has authorized launching an educational program to inform citizens what their rights and responsibilities are when they encounter the police, and what the rights and responsibilities are of police officers. The program will be started in neighborhoods with a high arrest record.

The first step in the program has already been taken -- a meeting of forty interested lawyers and law students who discussed in general terms what form the clinic should take. They decided we should produce a film strip with a recorded commentary, running about fifteen minutes. This would show some of the basic situations in which civil liberties questions arose. The material would be kept simple -- we are not trying to turn out do-it-yourself lawyers, but to acquaint people with what would be helpful in a given situation until the lawyer gets there.

In addition, each person would be given a mimeographed cartoon book reviewing the information in the strip to take home with him. A committee of six attorneys has volunteered to work out material for the strip and the booklet.

After showing of the film strip with its recorded commentary, a moderator would answer general audience questions growing out of this material. For the first several clinics, the moderators would be lawyers. Based on their experience, a decision will be made as to whether the moderator could be a well-briefed layman.

Your Help Is Needed

Volunteers -- not necessarily lawyers -- will be needed to go into selected neighborhoods in advance of the clinics to find out what residents regard as the key problems, to find suitable places to hold the clinics, and to help insure good attendance.

If you are interested in participating in this way -- probably around the beginning of September, please call our office at 523-5398 and let us know -- now.

The first few clinics will be held in Atlanta. After the techniques have been perfected, they will be held in other metropolitan areas in Georgia. So we would like to hear from members in Macon, Savannah, Augusta, Athens and Columbus whether this program would be useful there and what organizations and individuals could be enlisted to provide places to hold the clinics and volunteers to serve them.

BI-ENNIAL CONFERENCE REPORT

The ACLU Bi-Ennial Conference at Stony Brook, Long Island, considerably expanded the area of civil liberties concerns, most notably in the field of Civil Liberties and Poverty. This broadened horizon is reflected in the following resolutions approved by the Plenary Board:

Resolved: That a special committee be appointed to study the question of entitlement to government benefits, to state substantively what the rights of entitlement are, and to recommend what steps are to be taken to enforce such rights. The special committee would report to the first Plenary Board meeting in 1967.

Resolved: That ACLU goes on record in opposition to deprivation of rights of beneficiaries of government benefits and applicants for such benefits including but not limited to: arbitrary residence requirements, midnight raids, arbitrary deprivations on grounds of race, size of family, illegitimacy, etc., and arbitrary work requirements.

ACLU also deplores the lack of procedural safeguards accorded to beneficiaries of government benefits and applicants for such benefits, including but not limited to: inaccessible regulations, no statement of reasons for agency action; lack of fair hearing; and denial of appellate review.

In the field of Privacy, the Plenary Board moved that the ACLU should establish a standing Committee on Privacy which could study the question with particular attention to: establishing criteria to justify incursions on privacy by government and private persons and organizations; psychological testing by private organizations and government of schoolchildren and for employment purposes; use of undercover agents to investigate private organizations.

The Plenary Board also moved that the Conference refer to

the Privacy Committee the suggestion that Congress should outlaw the sale of surreptitious electronic listening devices in interstate commerce, with the amendment that the Union does not thereby sanction the use of such devices by government agencies. The Board also reaffirmed its historical absolutist policy opposing the public or private use of electronic surveillance devices.

In other program areas, the Plenary Board:

1. Referred the entire subject of conscription to the affiliates for further discussion, then to be referred to the first Plenary Board meeting in 1967.

2. Moved that the FCC, in regulating broadcasting, should seek diversity of ownership and diversity of program sources, but should not regulate program content either to require desirable programs or kinds of programs, except as specified by the Fairness Doctrine and the statutory provisions concerning political candidates.

3. Moved that the ACLU commit itself during the next two years to seeking detailed policy positions on the wide range of issues posed conceptually in the following question: Given the complexity of modern society, does the government have an obligation to encourage and support affirmatively means of securing freedom of expression?

On Organizational Matters, the Board voted to:

1. Give more representation on standing committees to affiliate members and attempt to hold some of these meetings out of New York.

2. Appoint a three-man committee to investigate integrating the Northern California ACLU with the rest of the Union.

3. Retain the third-arm voting status of the National Committee.

4. Charge the committee working on recommendations to "maintain the integrity, effectiveness and viability of the ACLU" to work in conjunction with the Constitution Committee, and that pending the report of this joint committee, the National Board is requested to hold its meetings at times more convenient to all its members, including members from the affiliates.

5. Have the Roger Baldwin Foundation mark the 50th Anniversary of the ACLU in 1970 by raising a major fund to undertake basic research and educational programs.

Georgia ACLI Grant Approved

The Steering Committee of the National Development Council met at Stony Brook and approved our request for a grant based on our considerable activity in the past nine months and our more than 100% increase in membership. The grant is to maintain our present level of operation, plus an additional $2,500 to launch new programs such as the legal clinics outlined above.

While we are pleased at this recognition, the grant does not mean that we can depend upon the National organization to provide our funds. On the contrary, it carries with it the obligation to secure increased funds locally and to up our membership goals to the point where we can be self-supporting.

Some Unofficial Conference Notes: The President of the State University at Stony Brook greeted the Conference and recounted his own active role in the ACLU. He reeled off an impressive list of faculty members who belong to the ACLU, and jokingly remarked: "Of course, it's not a pre-condition of employment here, but..." Most of the delegates took this charming little introduction calmly, but I kept trying to envision the Chancellor of the University of Georgia doing this.

The Stony Brook campus is a flat, treeless affair, with the buildings cunningly laid out each identical to the other, giving you the eerie feeling of never quite knowing which one you're in. It's the kind of architecture known as Advanced Urban Renewal Reform School.

Two of the ACLU's honored founders, Roger Baldwin and Norman Thomas, now in their eighties, were introduced at the Sunday lunch. Their pungent remarks, delivered in ringing, vigorous voices, belied their years and reminded us anew how much we are in their debt.

Finally, there were too many meetings, too much smoke, too much staying up late, too many new people to meet and new ideas to absorb. Which makes it kind of hard to explain why I found the Conference to stimulating and can hardly wait until the next one.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

~~Newsletter~~ ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

August, 1966

LEGAL CLINIC BOOKLET READY SEPTEMBER 15

A five-man committee of ACLU cooperating attorneys has just completed the text of a 32-page booklet explaining the individual's rights and responsibilities when he encounters the law. As noted in the July bulletin, these booklets are to be used in connection with legal clinics in poverty areas.

Written in simple, non-legal language, each page contains one caption accompanied by an illustration. The booklet, Know Your Rights, covers, among other things: being stopped by a policeman; how to know whether you are under arrest, and if so, what your rights are; your rights and police rights during a search; your right to counsel; your right to make, or decline to make a statement or to sign one.

The drawings, a contribution from artist Marge Manderson, illuminate the text and are, by themselves, strikingly attractive.

We believe that this booklet will be useful not only to residents of slum areas, but to every citizen. We are hopeful that it will receive the widest distribution to civic clubs, church groups, voluntary agencies and classrooms.

Now It's a Joint Project: In order to make this project state-wide, we have joined forces with the Georgia Council on Human Relations as co-sponsors. With fifteen local Councils in major cities all over the state, it will be well-equipped to sponsor clinics in those areas where our membership is thinly scattered. And we will benefit, too, from the Council's greater experience in community organization.

Financing the Clinics: Between the ACLU and the Georgia Council, we have sufficient funds for an initial, small run of the booklet, and to begin production of the film strip. You may want to help finance the project by buying a copy of the Know Your Rights booklet for $1. For each booklet purchased at $1, we will be able to give away four booklets free in slum neighborhoods.

After the initial $1 cost, you may purchase as many as you like for your club or study group at .25¢ each. On the last page you will find a coupon with which to order your copies.

Volunteers: More than twenty members, both lawyers and laymen, responded to the notice in the July bulletin and volunteered to help with the clinics. We have not called upon them yet, since we have been waiting for the production of the booklet. And that was delayed for a variety of reasons, all of them frustrating.

But the booklet is now under way, and we will be calling a meeting of volunteers as soon as it is off the press. So we will welcome calls from others who would like to participate in these clinics.

12 YEAR-OLD TRANSFERRED FROM PRISON TO JUVENILE HOME

The efforts of ACLU cooperating attorney T. Emory Daniel have resulted in the transfer of 12-year-old Kirby McCoy from the Georgia Industrial Institute at Alto, a prison under the control of the State Board of Corrections, to a juvenile institution.

The case came to ACLU attention in a newspaper story which reported that a 12 year-old child had been sentenced to prison as an adult offender and given a four-year term for burglary. The judge had refused to assign him to the juvenile authorities because he said he was a "hardened criminal."

The ACLU Director talked with Kirby at the prison. Here is an excerpt from that interview:

"I get in bed every night and cry and cry because I'm so alone and I'm so homesick and afraid. But I don't never let the others hear me. I just bury my head because they would give me a hard time.

"When we says our prayers at night, I pray so hard to the good Lord that He will come and He will rescue me from here, but I guess He don't hear me yet...I know I could get along good if I was with boys my own age...Maybe I could have a friend.

Based on this interview with the child, which included an account of his arrest and trial, and an interview with the Superintendent of the prison, which revealed Kirby's intelligence test scores, Attorney Daniel prepared a writ of habeas corpus on Kirby's behalf on the following grounds:

1. That he was inadequately represented by counsel at his trial.

2. That assigning a 12 year-old child to the adult prison authority is cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the 8th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

3. That the child, who scored a mental age of between seven and eight on the prison's tests, was denied a test of mental com-

petency at the time of trial, which might have proved him ineligible for sentence.

Evidently the authorities responsible for Kirby McCoy's being sent to an adult institution did not care to meet this legal challenge. Immediately upon being informed of our impending action, the child was transferred to a juvenile home, an unprecedented move, since he will remain under the jurisdiction of the adult Corrections Board.

In a newspaper statement, ACLU of Georgia President Hugh Gibert declared:

"There are hundreds of Kirby McCoys in jails all over Georgia, and every night they offer the same prayer. The answer to their cries lies not in individual legal action, although the ACLU of Georgia serves notice that it stands ready to test each and every such case. The answer lies in an aroused citizenry which will demand that the General Assembly pass a law that no child under the age of 16 can be incarcerated in an adult prison."

WHAT HAPPENED AT HUAC

Because of the widespread publicity given to the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in which ACLU attorney Arthur Kinoy was dragged from the hearing room and charged with "disorderly conduct", the National ACLU office has prepared a memorandum outlining the facts. What follows is a summary of their four-page memorandum:

1. ACLU's Legal Challenge of HUAC. On August 15th, ACLU sought a court order enjoining the HUAC hearings on the grounds that HUAC's mandate is unconstitutional on its face. ACLU charges that the mandate, which authorizes HUAC to investigate un-American "propaganda" activivies, sets forth a charter authorizing investigations into areas protected by the First Amendment, i.e. freedom of speech, belief and association.

The second ACLU ground is that the practices of the Committee have irreparably damaged the lives of those who have been subpoenaed to appear before it because of exposure without the protection of due process.

When the ACLU complaint was filed on August 15, there were angry cries from Congressmen and others that the principle of the separation of powers was being abridged. We believe, however, that ever since 1803, when the Supreme Court first declared an act of Congress unconstitutional, the authority of the courts to act as a check on the legislative branch has been generally recognized.

Although a Congressional legislative hearing is not the same

as an act of Congress, the ACLU feels that a judicial remedy is appropriate whenever an individual's civil liberties are jeopardized or the procedural protections of due process are not available to him. The recent Supreme Court decisions commanding reapportionment of state legislatures on the basis of "one man-one vote" make clear that the doctrine of separation of powers is tempered by the assertion of individual rights.

A temporary restraining order was granted by the Federal District Court, but the next day, the three-judge court dissolved this order, but it did retain jurisdiction over the constitutional issue raised by the ACLU. A hearing on this issue is scheduled for August 29th.

2. The Events at the HUAC Hearing: The temporary restraining order dissolved, the HUAC hearings began. It was on the second morning of hearings that Mr. Kinoy, a member of the Supreme Court Bar and Professor of Constitutional Law at Rutgers, was forcibly removed.

Contrary to the impression created by press accounts and broadcasts, his arrest grew out of upholding procedures which have been long established ACLU policy. He was protesting that his client was being maligned and that testimony concerning him should be given in executive session -- in short, the most elemental due process. His conduct, according to a Congressman observer, was nothing more than the normal colloquy expected in a House hearing.

The procedural safeguards upon which Mr. Kinoy and the ACLU are insisting are:

1. Counsel for witnesses should have the right to make objections to committee questions or procedures which violate his client's rights. Counsel should be permitted to subject his client to direct examination to explain answers given to the committee.

2. Before airing defamatory information, the committee should screen such material in executive session to determine its reliability. The individual named should be given an opportunity to appear before the committee in executive session with witnesses or other evidence to rebut the information.

3. If adverse testimony is given in public session after the committee has decided in executive session that it is appropriate, any person about whom such testimony is offered should be given an opportunity to:

a) testify or offer sworn statements in his behalf
b) subject the witness offering prejudicial testimony to cross examination
c) obtain the assistance of the investigation committee in compelling the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents necessary to rebut the charges against him.

It should be unnecessary to state -- but we will anyway -- that in its representation of clients subpoenaed to appear before HUAC, the ACLU, as in every such case, disassociates itself from the political or other views of its clients, and concerns itself only with the constitutional and civil liberties issues involved. And needless to say, in this particular case, the ACLU does not support the intemperate and sometimes bizarre exhibitions of some of the spectators.

Here in Georgia it was suggested editorially that the ACLU should have filed its motion for an injunction in behalf of a Klan witness at the earlier Klan hearings, instead of the current hearings. This notion was based on the somewhat naive idea that the Klan would have agreed to be represented by the ACLU, which is one of its chief whipping boys. Or perhaps the editorial writer was not aware of the legal requirement that you must have a client before you can bring an action in his behalf.

Please send me a copy of the booklet KNOW YOUR RIGHTS. Enclosed is $1.00 to help distribute free copies. _____

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MEMO: No.95
Oct.11, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CONGRESS CONTINUES ITS RETREAT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

In the statement he issued late last week, Roy Wilkins called upon members of Congress to defend the civil rights laws they have enacted and the President to stand behind the men he has named to office. If that statement, included with this MEMO, sounds a note of terrible urgency, it is meant to do so. The events in Congress these past two weeks amount to an incredible retreat from the kind of whole-hearted support for full equality that led to the enactment of the major civil rights laws of the past nine years.

Fountain's Blow

Nothing better illustrated the mood of Congress in its final weeks than the acceptance last Thursday of an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act offered by Rep. L.H. Fountain (D., N.C.). As Roy Wilkins observed in his statement, this may be one of the most devastating of the recent blows against civil rights. In brief, it prevents the Commissioner of Education from deferring any funds to a school district he has reason to believe discriminates against Negro students until he has first held a full hearing on the matter and found a violation. The amendment is part of the on-going attack by segregationists on the Office of Education and Commissioner Harold Howe, 2d. It is part of the attempt to destroy the effectiveness of Title VI, the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that authorizes the withholding of funds from any federally-supported program that discriminates.

OE's Present Procedure

The procedure now followed by the Office of Education goes something like this. If a school district fails or refuses to file the standard assurance of compliance with Title VI, or if the Commissioner has reason to believe the assurance is not being carried out, he may then defer funds to that district until a hearing is held. Even then he defers funds

only for new programs. If an old program is involved the district still keeps getting money. At present, the Office has deferred funds for only 240 out of some 2,000 districts (it hasn't staff enough to go after more districts just yet). It has cut off funds from only 37, after full hearing.

Federal Funds For Cattle Prods?

Under Mr. Fountain's amendment, the Commissioner couldn't hold up funds for old or new programs until he first held a hearing and that could take at a minimum anywhere from 9 to 12 months; with court review, delays running into years are possible. An HEW attorney was not exaggerating much when he said that under the amendment,"Governor Wallace could come to us and say he was going to use his funds to build new schools for whites and buy cattle prods to keep Negro students out of them and we would have to give him the money until we finished the hearing a year from now."

The Fountain amendment passed the House by a vote of 221 to 116. That vote is as painful to read as the vote by which the Senate two weeks ago approved another axe blow at Title VI, the Stennis amendment that permits hospitals and other medical facilities to segregate patients by race for reasons of physical or mental well-being (see MEMO No.94 for full details). Once again liberal Congressmen, House members who fully supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964, bowed to the threats of white backlash in an election year and cast their votes for weakened enforcement.

The "Racial Imbalance" Fight

Another symptom of Congressional retreat was the adoption of two other amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Bill. Offered by the floor manager for the bill, Rep. James O'Hara (D., Mich.), one, an "anti-busing" provision, would prohibit the Office of Education from requiring the assignment or transportation of teachers or students to overcome racial imbalance. The other would remove from the bill any authorization by which the Office could provide funds for the correction of racial imbalance. Both amendments are unnecessary. The Office does not and cannot require any busing to correct school segregation. It leaves the methods used to desegregate schools entirely up to the local officials.

Mr. O'Hara, who is for strong enforcement, offered his amendments to head off worse ones. They were a sop to the vociferous defenders, from the North and South, of the sanctity of the neighborhood school--and de facto segregation.

In the Senate, which considered the Elementary and Secondary Education Act the same day the House did, a similar capitulation was made. An amendment by Senator Paul J. Fannin (R., Ariz.) was accepted deleting the words "racial imbalance" from the bill. Although the Fannin amendment does not change present law it is one more instance of the tendency to give in to backlash sentiment.

Even President Johnson has caught the prevailing mood and has shown an inclination to temporize on enforcement. At his last press conference on October 7, he observed that he has tried to see that the civil rights laws are "fully adhered to and fully enforced at all times." But then he went on to make excuses for Office of Education staff, saying he realized that in some instances there has been "some harassment" and "some mistakes" and that "some people have been enthusiastic."

Attacks On Howe Continue

These victories for the segregationists occurred concurrent with the vituperative and shameful attacks on Harold Howe. He may not have done enough for integration but he is unquestionably an able and conscientious official. If he is the target, it is not because of "mistakes" or misplaced enthusiasm but because he has tried to obtain compliance with the law and has attempted, in a series of speeches, to prod the nation's educators into recognizing the need to be bolder in pressing for integrated schools.

Both he and the Office's school desegregation guidelines will be the subject, after election, of hearings by a special subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. These hearings too, are a defensive action. The House Rules Committee wanted to name another subcommittee to investigate guidelines, and that one would have been controlled by vengeful Southerners. The Judiciary Subcommittee, under Rep. Peter Rodino (D., N.J.) is better balanced. Its other members are: Robert T. Ashmore, (D., S.C.), Robert W. Kastenmeier (D., Wis.), James C. Corman (D., Calif.), William Cramer (R., Fla.), Charles McC. Mathias (R., Md.) and Clark MacGregor (R., Minn.)

A Chance To Tell The Truth About Desegregation

This subcommittee could perform a valuable service to the country if it undertook to hear not only government officials but to listen to the heart-breaking stories of Negro parents, teachers and students who have tried to improve their educational opportunities and find that the guidelines give them very little help. Their stories of economic reprisals, harassment, threats and physical beatings might convince the nation that the guidelines are too mild, not too harsh and that desegreation is going too slow, not too fast.

Last Chance To Strike Crippling Amendments

Both the Stennis and Fountain amendments are subject to further scrutiny in House-Senate conferences. The chances of doing something about them are slim, but we must try. Conferees for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have not, as this is written, been formally named. However, they will be drawn, on the Senate side, from a group consisting of Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.), chairman of Labor and Public Welfare, and Senators Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), Ralph Yarborough (D., Tex.), Joseph Clark (D., Pa.), Jennings Randolph (D., W.Va.),

Robert F. Kennedy (D., N.Y.), Winston Prouty (R., Vt.), Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) and Peter Dominick (R., Colo.); and on the House side, conferees will include Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.),(chairman of House, Education and Labor), the ranking Republican, William H. Ayres (R., O.), Carl D. Perkins (D., Ky.), John Brademas (D., Ind.), Ralph J. Scott (D., N.C.), Hugh Carey (D., N.Y.), Frank Thompson (D., N.J.), William D. Ford (D., Mich.), Charles E. Goodell (R., N.Y.), John M. Ashbrook (R., O.) and Alphonzo Bell (R., Cal.).

Your organizations and members in their home districts should send wires to these men at once, urging them to strike the Fountain amendment from the Elementary and Secondary Education bill so that the work of desegregating the nation's schools can go forward without obstacles.

The conference on the Stennis amendment will most likely be underway by the time you read this. We will be working in Washington to try to get it taken out.

DEMONSTRATION CITIES BILL ALSO THREATENED

After seeing what the House did to prevent the non-existent threat of busing in the education bill, one can only face with anxiety what may be attempted when the Demonstration Cities bill comes up later this week, probably Thursday or Friday. The bill the Senate passed (S.3708) and which the House will consider is meant to give a group of cities in this country an opportunity to demonstrate how to rebuild entire neighborhoods--generally the blighted "core sections" which have become Negro slums. The backlash bugaboo is working against any rational approach here, too. Rep. Paul Fino (R., N.Y.) in spite of repeated assurances that nothing in the bill countenances the correction of racial imbalance, has proposed two amendments, one to prevent any busing of white pupils into schools in demonstration neighborhoods and another that would take schools out of any demonstration planning. Both are crippling proposals. What we need here are your wires to all members of Congress urging them to vote for the Demonstration Cities bill as it comes from committee and to reject all amendments.

October 7, 1966

STATEMENT BY ROY WILKINS, CHAIRMAN OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS ON CURRENT ATTACKS ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The House adoption yesterday of the Fountain amendment, a provision that would make it impossible for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to withhold funds from school districts that discriminate without protracted hearings, is the latest and perhaps most devastating blow in the current campaign to destroy the civil rights advances of the last few years.

It is an extension of the on-going attack on the school desegregation guidelines and on Commissioner of Education Harold Howe 2d. It will encourage further the enemies of civil rights who have already been emboldened by the election victories of the segregationists and indications of a so-called white backlash. It reflects the absolutely baseless charges now circulating that HEW is "too harsh" in its administration of the guidelines and is moving "too fast." When after 12 years only 8 percent of Southern schools are desegregated no one can say we are going too fast. And no one can say HEW has pushed desegregation too vigorously when despite widely documented violations it has withheld funds from only 89 of 7,000 hospitals and 37 of 1,800 Southern school districts.

As for Harold Howe, he is under attack because he has been outspoken in calling for compliance with the laws he adminsters. The charges of the segregationists are a pretext for trying to get rid of him. If they succeed in their campaign against him, no conscientious official will be safe. They will have won a victory against enforcement that can only create bitterness and despair.

It is a terrible irony that a Congress which has done so much for law and order now does so much to make it difficult to obtain obedience to the law. This Congress slashed funds badly needed for enforcement. It is now pressing new restrictions upon government agencies. Its own abuse of legislative process can only feed unrest and disillusion among Negroes and spur on the bigots of the North and South to new excesses.

We call upon all members of Congress who worked for enactment of recent civil rights legislation to defend their own laws--and reject the crippling amendments of the last two weeks. We call upon the President to stand behind the men he has named to office. And we call upon the public to recognize that nothing can create more disrespect for law than the vilification of public officials trying to uphold it.

ATTACHMENT NO.2

TEXT OF THE FOUNTAIN AMENDMENT AND THE ROLL-CALL VOTE ON IT

1. Here's the Amendment:

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

October 6, 1966

"PART G. COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 602 OF TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

"SEC. 171. The Commissioner of Education shall not defer action or order action deferred on any application by local educational agencies for funds authorized to be appropriated by this Act or by any Act amended by this Act on the basis of alleged noncompliance with the provisions of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 unless and until, as provided by section 602 of title VI, there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for a hearing, that such local educational agency has failed to comply with the provisions of title VI."

And on line 10, strike out "G" and insert "H", and on line 11, strike out "171" and insert "181".

2. Here's the Vote:

YEAS—221

Abbitt
Adair
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Beckworth
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Betts
Boggs
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Callan
Callaway
Cameron
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Chelf
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Curtin
Curtis
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Dent
Derwinski
Dickinson
Dole
Downing
Duncan, Oreg.
Duncan, Tenn.
Dwyer
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fascell
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Goodell
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Halleck
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Iowa
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Hays
Hechler
Henderson
Herlong
Horton
Hosmer
Hull
Hungate
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Jennings
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Karth
Kee
Keith
King, Utah
Kornegay
Kunkel
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Long, Md.
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
MacGregor
Machen
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Matthews
May
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Natcher
Nelsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Patman
Pelly
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Race
Randall
Redlin
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Rhodes, Ariz.
Roberts
Robison
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rostenkowski
Roush
Rumsfeld
Satterfield
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Selden
Senner
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Va.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Stratton
Stubblefield
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thomson, Wis.
Trimble
Tunney
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Watson
Watts
Weltner
Whalley
White, Tex.
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Williams
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—116

Adams
Addabbo
Annunzio
Ashley
Bandstra
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Celler
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conyers
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Delaney
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dulski
Edwards, Calif.
Fallon
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Feighan
Flood
Fogarty
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Green, Pa.
Halpern
Hathaway
Hawkins
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Huot
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Karsten
Kastenmeier
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kreba
Kupferman
Love
McCarthy
McFall
McGrath
Mackie
Madden
Mathias
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller
Minish
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Powell
Price
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schmidhauser
Sickles
Stalbaum
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Todd
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vivian,
Wilson, Charles H.
Yates

NOT VOTING—95

Abernethy
Albert
Arends
Ashbrook
Aspinall
Battin
Berry
Bray
Brown, Calif.
Broyhill, Va.
Celler
Clawson, Del
Cooley
Corman
Craley
Dague
Davis, Ga.
Denton
Devine
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill, Mass.
Purcell
Reinecke
Rivers, Alaska
Rivers, S.C.
Rogers, Tex.
Roncalio
Roudebush
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Evans, Colo.
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gilligan
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Gross
Haley
Hall
Hardy
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hébert
Jones, N.C.
Saylor
Schisler
Scott
Shriver
Smith, Calif.
Stephens
Sweeney
Teague, Tex.
Thomas
Thompson, Tex.
Keogh
King, N.Y.
McDowell
McEwen
McMillan
McVicker
Macdonald
Mackay
Martin, Ala.
Martin, Mass.
Martin, Nebr.
Michel
Moeller
Moore
Morris
Morrison
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Murray
Nix
O'Brien
O'Konski
Toll
Tuck
Tupper
Walker, Miss.
Walker, N. Mex.
Watkins
White, Idaho
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Younger

file (agency file)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No. 96
October 26, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

SOME CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORIES BRIGHTEN THE END OF CONGRESS

For the civil rights movement, the last week of the 89th Congress was a cliffhanger. After those gloomy days in which it looked as if it was going to undercut any meaningful attempt to desegregate the nation's schools and hospitals, Congress reversed itself and left enough of its own laws intact to provide a firm basis for enforcement.

These last minute reconsiderations followed strong protests from organizations in the Leadership Conference and we can count them as victories, but only in the sense that what was avoided was much worse.

Schools And Hospitals Threatened

Two amendments to pending bills threatened to cripple Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the section that prohibits discrimination in all federally-assisted programs. As we have said before (see MEMOS No.94 and No.95) the amendment that Rep. L.H. Fountain (D., N.C.) was able to add to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act might well have had the effect of indefinitely preventing the Commissioner of Education from deferring funds to a school district even when he had reason to believe it was discriminating; and the amendment that Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) succeeded in attaching to the Appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, would have given hospitals and other medical facilities a means of resegregating patients under the guise of separating them to protect their physical or mental well-being.

Both amendments were adopted by a Congress angered by summer riots and cries of black power and made jittery by fears of what the white backlash might do to them in an election year. Fortunately, both bills had to go to conference and in that calmer atmosphere good sense prevailed. The Commissioner's right to defer funds for

a limited period was written into law and the Stennis amendment was deleted from the Labor-HEW bill.

School Funds Still Deferrable

Under the original Fountain amendment, the Commissioner of Education would have lost one of the principle means he has for compelling school districts to desegregate. He has, on a highly selective and limited basis, deferred funds for new programs in school districts that he believes have been discriminating on the basis of race in their old ones. The Stennis amendment would have kept him from deferring funds until there had been a full hearing, a procedure that would have prevented him from being able to keep any funds back for at least a year. The House-Senate conference committee accepted a compromise offered by Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) that permits deferral for a limited period.

Authority Without Money

HEW spokesmen profess to be pleased with the compromise. They say it leaves them in a stronger position than before, since their power to defer funds is now recognized in the law. Before, they deferred according to their interpretation of their powers under Title VI. They also say that setting limits on deferrals will speed up their work of desegregation.

The catch, though, is that HEW is short of personnel and Congress did nothing to alleviate that shortage when it cut $927,000 out of the department's enforcement budget. Senator Wayne Morse (D., Oregon), one of the conferees, reminded the Senate of that cut when the compromise on the Fountain amendment was brought before the body and said he hoped next year "the appropriations committees in both Houses would look favorably on any supplemental appropriations which the Department might request, to meet the requirements we are now imposing upon them."

HEW States Its Hospital Policy

The price for getting the Stennis amendment out of the Labor-HEW Appropriations bill was the inclusion in the conference report of letters from HEW Secretary John W. Gardner, stating the department's present policy in regard to segregating patients for health reasons. On the surface HEW's policy would appear to have the same effect as the amendment. Both are meant to permit hospitals and other medical facilities to consider race in making room and ward assignments, without fear of losing federal funds, wherever an attending physician and the chief medical officer decide it is necessary to do so to protect the physical or mental well-being of a particular patient. There is a crucial difference, however, between the Stennis proposal and present policy.

The Stennis amendment would have prevented HEW from inquiring into possible abuses of the policy and would have given hospitals a free hand. The Secretary's letters note that the Department retains the right of review wherever it suspects that a pattern or practice of segregation is being established.

A word of thanks should go to Rep. John E. Fogarty (D., R.I.), leader of the House conferees, whose opposition to the Stennis amendment finally led to its deletion.

Fino Amendments Beaten

There was another victory in these last weeks. Rep. Paul Fino (R., N.Y.) had planned to offer amendments to the Demonstrations Cities bill that would have gravely hampered the program (see MEMO No. 95). One would have prevented students outside a demonstration area from being brought in by bus to help integrate schools and another, more serious one, would have explicitly prohibited any consideration of school locations and racial balance in school districts in making grants. Mr. Fino's efforts to go beyond even these drastic amendments and take out a whole section out of the bill were finally defeated, but not before the House adopted language, offered by floor managers for the bill, that specifically said nothing in the Act would require "forced busing" of children or any change in the neighborhood concept of schools.

Negative Victories

Measured against the damage Congress seemed ready to do to the present laws, we can derive some satisfaction from the successful efforts to thwart the attempts to undermine Title VI. But these were negative victories. The civil rights movement was in the position of accepting reasonable compromises when anything less than full and forthright enforcement of existing law is unreasonable and wrong.

HOME RULE FOR D. C. IS KILLED

Another casualty of the anti-civil rights sentiment in Congress was the attempt by Senator Morse to add home rule for the District of Columbia as a rider to a higher education bill. Defeat of the Morse rider furnished another example of the power of the filibuster and the inadequacy of present Senate rules to deal with it. Although a majority of the Senate seemed ready to vote for home rule, its leaders could not muster the two-thirds of those present and voting they needed to cut off unlimited debate.

This only underscores again, the need to change Rule 22, the one that prescribes the conditions for cloture, in order to permit the Senate to express its will.

file ACLU

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October, 1966

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS CLINIC TO BE HELD OCTOBER 27

The first KNOW YOUR RIGHTS clinic, including a series of slides showing the individual's rights when he encounters the law, will be held on October 27th in a church or school in the Summerhill neighborhood in Atlanta. We are still negotiating for the best possible auditorium in the area, and it is possible that in order to secure it, the date might have to be shifted forward or back a day or two. But ACLU members who volunteered to participate in the clinics will receive a separate notice by mail, well in advance, telling them the exact time, date and place of the clinic.

Originally, we had talked about holding training sessions for volunteers in advance of the first clinic so that lawyers could tell how to run them. But since the lawyers themselves have never conducted them before, it now strikes us that the best possible training would be to have the volunteers attend this first clinic to observe first-hand how the lawyers conduct it; what mistakes they may make; what pitfalls they avoid; what questions the audience is likely to ask; what answers constitute legitimiate education and what answers might be construed as giving legal advice.

After this initial experience at an actual clinic, the volunteers will be much better equipped for a second training session with lawyers for a point-by-point review of how a clinic should be run.

If you live outside of the metropolitan Atlanta area, and would like to attend this first clinic with a view to conducting one in your home community, please write or call the ACLU office (523-5398). Perhaps we can help by defraying all or part of your travel expenses.

Response to Booklets Gratifying: The fame of our KNOW YOUR RIGHTS booklet has spread as far away as Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Hawaii. We have had requests from community groups in these places to distribute them, as well as many requests from voluntary agencies and labor unions here in the Southeast who plan to distribute them free in slum neighborhoods. Most of the first run of 15,000 is already spoken for, and if we can finance it, we plan a second 15,000 printing.

To those members who ordered a copy at $1.00, our warmest thanks. It is these individual contributions which are helping to make such widespread free distribution possible. Those members who would like to get their contribution copy for $1.00 may still do so

by writing to the ACLU office. We need all the help we can get to pay for the printing and for the clinics.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO PREPARE HANDBOOK

Legislative Chairman Charlotte Moran has called the first meeting of her Committee for October 5th to draft a Legislative Handbook. The Handbook will include not just a listing of goals, but background material and proposals to the General Assembly for specific legislation. The Committee will focus particular effort this year on laws to achieve:

1. Abolition of the Death Penalty
2. Creation of a Public Defender System
3. Protection of the right of privacy
4. Reform of juvenile offender procedures
5. Protection of the rights of welfare recipients
6. Reform of sex laws

ACLU members were asked to serve on the Legislative Committee because of their expressed interest in one or more of these topics. But of course, we do not know the background of every single one of our members. If you are concerned with any of the above pieces of legislation -- and you do not need to know anything about how to draft a bill -- we urge you to attend this October 5th meeting which will be at Bradshaw's Cafeteria (formerly Jay's) on the top floor of the First Federal Building, Marietta and Forsyth Streets. The private room in which the Committee is meeting will be posted on the cafeteria bulletin board.

If you cannot attend the meeting, we would welcome your suggestions by mail.

A LETTER FROM "ONE OF THE KIRBY MCCOYS"

Last month's Newsletter recounted how the threat of ACLU intervention on behalf of 12-year-old Kirby McCoy, sentenced to five years as an adult offender, resulted in his transfer to a juvenile institution. Since then, we have learned that the State, evidently taking no chances of further legal action, has on its own initiative also trqnsferred two thirteen year old prisoners from the same prison to a juvenile home.

A few days after the story about Kirby McCoy appeared in the press, we received a letter from a man who has spent the major part of his life as an inmate in penal institutions. Here are some excerpts:

"After committing a crime...a boy is taken to the local jail. Some advanced jails bathe, delouse and change clothes along with taking finger prints and picture. Most merely do the latter. He winds up either in the drunk tank or a cell block. If the latter,

it will be a toss-up as to whether his cell mate is a murderer, bum, sexual degenerate, alcoholic or petty thief. If he has some luck, depending on the season and traffic, he will be alone. If so, he may then enjoy the luxury of crying.

"After weeks or months in our dingy local jails, reeking with body odors, unwashed clothes, bad food, poor ventilation and lack of sunlight, the prison he is finally sentenced to seems slightly less horrible to our recuit youngster...

"But unless he manages to escape soon after arriving, the lessons prison has to teach are quickly forthcoming and repeated daily during his stay: Authority means a group of people to be feared and despised, especially the lowest man on the ladder -- the guard. He will also learn that the spirit has no place here. He must daily practice resignation to the moronic routine of work without meaning, play without fun, eating without taste. The nightsoiled reality of prison fosters a negative personality, and when finally released, he is as well-equipped to deal with the challenge of being an ex-con in a free society as can be expected after existing in a vacuum of punishment.

"And so the Kirby McCoys continue to be drafted into the rank and file of convict sub-society by the indifference of the rest of us. The brotherhood of the troubled swells in population as growing numbers of our young are processed through a state apparatus which leaves them...only the sour taste of despair...

"Antagonized, troubled, without much human feeling, they drift aimlessly from a painful yesterday and a hostile today toward a hopeless tomorrow."

The writer of this letter joined the ACLU last month.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY ACTIVITIES PLANNED

December 15th will mark the 175th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights. The ACLU of Georgia will mark this occasion in two ways:

1. We will hold a big dinner with a well-known guest speaker on the eve of Bill of Rights Day, December 14th. This affair will serve as our major fund-raising effort of the year. The funds will be raised solely through the sale of tickets to the dinner at ten dollars each. There will be no solicitation at the dinner itself.

Our guest speaker is a man who has had a major hand in creating and directing the legal strategy in the historic 1954 school integration case before the Supreme Court, as well as in other landmark decisions.

He is the author of what the New York Times called the

"indispensable" work on law and race relations.

What he has to say about the Negro revolution and the law will be as meaningful to laymen as to lawyers.

His name and further details will be announced in the next Newsletter. But the first five people (excluding ACLU Executive Committee members) who send in a reservation between now and then, and who correctly guess our guest speaker's identity, will be given a ticket to the dinner free.

2. Last year, we distributed a widely-noted questionnaire on the Bill of Rights to 1,000 college students. We would like to repeat this project on a much enlarged scale this year.

If you are in a position to ask at least 25 colleagues, friends business associates or students to take this quiz, please let us know and we will be glad to send you the number of copies you need.

Your responsibility will be to distribute the questionnaires and then collect them when completed, letting us know when you send them back to us the kinds of people who answered them --student, housewife, office worker, etc. You need not grade the answers.

RUN-OFF POSTSCRIPT

The American Civil Liberties Union is a non-partisan organization. We do not endorse political candidates. (And never have we been more grateful for that policy than in the present situation.)

It must be obvious to all that no matter who wins the Governor's chair in November, there may be changes in the climate for civil liberties in Georgia.

It is the responsibility of each of us to try to preserve an atmosphere in which freedom to dissent will flourish. This may mean closer contact with legislators sponsoring bill which affect civil liberties (see p. 2). It may mean work through voluntary agencies to create new forums where broad spectrums of opinion are represented. It may mean increased watchfulness of state and local officials to see that the right of every Georgian to equal treatment under the law is respected.

And most important of all, it means building the Georgia ACLU. Now, as never before, we need your help in getting your friends and colleagues as new members. Our rapid growth could make all the difference in whether we will be a well-meaning but ineffective force, or a vigorous, fearless voice for freedom in Georgia.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

ACLU

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

December, 1966

THE ACLU SUIT IN THE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

By this time, most Georgians have probably had enough of the Gubernatorial election. But although its entertainment value has long since been exhausted, its outcome in the courts will have the most far-reaching consequences for us all.

Within a few days, the Supreme Court will decide whether the Georgia Constitutional provision permitting the General Assembly to select the Governor is constitutional or unconstitutional. That part of their decision is fairly simple. The ACLU is also asking the Court, in the event that this procedure is found unconstitutional, to provide guidance as to an appropriate remedy. That is not quite so simple.

Here is a summary of the issues in this case:

1. The ACLU's argument before the three-judge Federal Court in Atlanta was that the General Assembly was malapportioned and therefore the voter would not be fairly represented by his legislator when the latter cast his vote for Governor. We pointed out that the same court had already ruled that a malapportioned legislature could not pass a new state Constitution, and that surely selection of the Governor was a responsibility of equal magnitude.

The three-judge court, however, went one step further. It stated that even if the General Assembly were perfectly apportioned down to the last man, it would still deprive the people of their votes. The Court noted that the General Assembly had the power to select the candidate who received not merely less than a majority of the votes cast, but indeed, the man who received less than a plurality of the popular vote -- in other words, the number two man. The legislators were under no compulsion to cast their votes for the candidate who had received the plurality in the district they represented.

Thus, the court ruled, election by legislature is a violation of the one-man, one-vote concept established in previous Supreme Court decisions.

2. Now, the Supreme Court must decide whether to support the lower court and rule the election of the Governor by the General Assembly unconstitutional, or to overrule the lower court and declare the procedure constitutional.

In the event that they find the procedure unconstitutional, a remedy -- something to substitute for the present procedure -- must be found. Another set of plaintiffs, in addition to the ACLU, is also participating in this suit. They represent the Callaway interests, and their political stake is as follows:

o They want to prevent the General Assembly from selecting the Governor. They feel that if the decision were left to the General Assembly, it would probably select Maddox, since the majority of legislators are Democrats.

o The remedy which the Callaway people are suggesting is a run-off election, limited to the two top vote-getters, Callaway and Maddox. They feel that in such a run-off, in which write-in and other candidates would be barred, Callaway would pick up sufficient former Write-In votes to win the run-off.

3. Of course, the Callaway group represents a partisan, political interest. The ACLU, which is entirely non-partisan, and which is concerned only with the right of the voter to cast his ballot and have it counted, takes an entirely different position. Our suggested remedy is a special election. Here is the reasoning behind it:

Georgia voters were decived -- not purposely, of course -- but deceived nevertheless, when they were told that the General Assembly could select the Governor in the event of any candidate's failing to receive a majority. This universally-held, but erroneous, belief, quite obviously played a part in influencing the voter on how to cast his ballot. Voters who might have made another choice, or "gone fishing" voted for Callaway. Others abstained or wrote-in because the Georgia Constitution left the decision to the General Assembly.

Obviously, the most intelligent of voters cannot cast a meaningful vote if the rules are to be changed on him in midstream. Had the voters known that the election of the Governor by the General Assembly would be voided, the result might have been substantially different.

The ACLU brief also noted that hundreds of voting complaints have been received: segregated voting, deprivation of privacy, failure to count write-in ballots, mechanical failure of Voto-matic machines, sabotage of Voto-matics by inserting obstacles in the holes, etc. The Georgia Secretary of State has called a public hearing about election complaints. In addition, the U. S. House

of Representatives is conducting a separate inquiry into the Fourth District Congressional election.

In asking for a special election, the ACLU brief stated:

"There has been a complete failure of election in Georgia. Georgia citizens relied upon the constitutionality of -- and cast their ballots under -- the Constitution of Georgia. The declaration of the unconstitutionality of Article V, Section I, Paragraph IV (Sec. 2-3004, Ga. Code Annotated) voids the General Election. The Georgia electorate will have been misled, not by the deliberate acts of the candidates, not by the communications media, not by the Attorney General of Georgia, but by the State's Constitution itself...

"An election that arises from some exigency or special need outside the normal routine...is the statutory definition of the words 'special election'. That the failure of election November 8, 1966, fits this definition seems hardly questionable."

The ACLU plaintiffs in the Supreme Court are John Morris, Director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; and Florence Robin, Director of the ACLU of Georgia. They are represented by Charles Morgan, Jr., Director of the ACLU Southern Regional Office; and of counsel: Morris Brown, Chairman of the ACLU of Georgia Lawyers Committee; M. Laughlin McDonald, counsel for the ACLU's Divil Liberties Defense and Education Fund; and Melvin L. Wulf, National ACLU Legal Director.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY DINNER FEATURES MAYOR ALLEN AND JACK GREENBERG

ACLU participation in the election suits has catapulted our Georgia affiliate into the headlines. Many people are becoming aware of the ACLU for the first time, and our membership has surged as Georgians recognize that we are trying to protect their right to vote.

There has, expectedly, been a corresponding reaction. After Lester Maddox labelled the ACLU a "left-wing organization supported by rich people" (we wish we could locate a few of those "rich" people) there was an upsurge, too, of crank calls and crackpot letters.

Against this background of action and reaction, the ACLU's Bill of Rights Dinner on December 14th takes on special significance. No matter what the eventual outcome of the gubernatorial race, we believe there have been let loose in Georgia the winds of demagoguery.

So the Bill of Rights Day Dinner means more than a pleasant evening with distinguished guests -- and incidentally, a way for the ACLU to raise money so that it can win a victory for the voters in the election suits. It means, in addition, a show of unity among people who resist the pressures to accept outmoded, unconstitutional rules. And you can be dead certain that a poor attendance will be interpreted as a lack of unity and a sign of weakness.

Most ACLU members have already received their printed invitations to the Dinner. For those members who have just joined, it is to be held on Wednesday, December 14th at 7:30 p.m. at the Riviera Motel in Atlanta.

The participants in the program are:

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., who will be presented with the Bill of Rights Day Award by ACLU President Hugh Gibert;

Greetings from Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College and W. H. Montague, President of the Georgia AFL-CIO;

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director of the Voter Education Project, who will introduce our Guest Speaker,

Jack Greenberg, Director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.

We urge every member to attend what is certain to be a memorable occasion. It is very important that we receive your reservations as quickly as possible, so that we may know in advance how many guests to expect. If you have misplaced your invitation, or didn't get one, please use the coupon below as a reservation form. We look forward to greeting you all personally on December 14th.

Please reserve _____ place(s) for the Bill of Rights Day Dinner, Wednesday, December 14th, 1966 at 7:30 p.m. at the Riviera Motel. $10.00 per person. Check enclosed $_____.

Name_____

(Please make checks payable to the ACLU of Georgia. Mail to 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303)

Address_____

City_____Zip_____

September 15, 1967

Ad Hoc Committee
on
Governor's Educational Conference

Dear Friend of Public Schools:

We need your help! You are no doubt aware that the Georgia Public School System has come under sharp attack from the Maddox administration, ranging from intemperate "ram it" suggestions on Federal aid, to talk of widespread creation of private schools, to concentration of control over the Georgia Board of Education in the hands of the Governor, to congratulations to a local school board for their defiance of law. On September 27-28 the Georgia School Boards Association is sponsoring the annual Governor's Conference on Education. The theme will be "Next Steps in Education". Governor Maddox will keynote the Conference. As one interested in increased support for our public school system would you do the following:

1. Secure your organization's endorsement of the attached statement.

2. Add your own personal endorsement.

3. Send the signed endorsement to the Ad Hoc Committee on the Governor's Conference, Room 102, 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

4. See that representatives of your organization and/or yourself attend the conference, as plans are being formulated to have spokesmen for our point of view at each of the 80 workshop sessions. (A kit of position papers will be supplied each of our delegates.)

5. Send the name or names of delegates to Ad Hoc Committee on the Governor's Conference, Room 102, 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

If you have any questions, call me at 525-6468.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Frances Pauley

We the undersigned believe that it is in the system of free public schools that the society of the future begins to take shape; it is here that the strength and the character of American democracy are generated.

The problems and needs of contemporary Georgia demand a program of public education of far greater quality than the one we now have.

All children, regardless of race, economic, social or intellectual position, should be provided with the opportunity for education of good quality from the age of five until that time beyond the age of eighteen when they are either employable or engaged in education beyond the high school.

Investment in the public schools is an investment in people, and in the long run, is the wisest investment any state can make.

We believe, to achieve these goals -

> That the control of Georgia schools must remain with the constitutionally established State School Board and the Board of Regents and remain free from political domination.
>
> That Georgia must embark on an increased program of school consolidation.
>
> That efforts must be accelerated to end the dual school system.
>
> That every available financial source be utilized, Federal State and Local, to improve quality education in our state.
>
> That any attempt to intitate an alternative system of private schools should be opposed vigorously by all Georgia citizens.

Signatures:

file — ACLU

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Newsletter for September

Save for Dates

YOU ARE THE NEWS THIS ISSUE
ACTION IS REQUIRED...URGENT.. .CRISIS...EMERGENCY!

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS: TESTIFY. WRITE.

Sept. 26	Atlanta	State Capitol Rm. 341	10:00 A.M.
Oct. 12	Brunswick	Place to be announced	10:00 A.M.
Oct. 26	Americus	County Court House	10:00 A.M.
Nov. 9	Gainesville	Place to be announced	10:00 A.M.

Write to: Hon. Willis J. Richardson,Jr.
Chairman Special Capital Punishment Study Committee
c/o Harvey Findley Office of Legislative Council
316 State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

These hearings are really a nose count; your nose will help. If you can speak for a group, fine, but it is not necessary. You do not have to say anything profound or be an expert. A brief statement of your views is very effective. After all, they are set up to find out what the people of Georgia think...so tell them. A memorandum on Capital Punishment is enclosed and you can order more in-depth material if you are interested.

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION - SEPT. 27-28

Theme: THE NEXT STEPS IN EDUCATION . . .That should give you pause.
A Statement of Beliefs with a covering letter is enclosed. Please read it carefully and if you find it agreeable, follow the instructions to endorse the statement and send it to the address listed or to this office. If there is a chance of your attending, make every effort. This is another real chance to make your voice heard.

COCKTAIL RECEPTION-WIT'S END-OCT. 9, 4:30 to 7:30 P.M. CASH BAR-DONATION $2.50

Aryeh Neier, Director of the New York ACLU, has accepted our invitation to speak to the Georgia membership on the CRISIS IN THE URBAN GHETTO. This

topic was the theme for the ACLU National Development Conference Sept. 8 in Chicago. It promises to be the new thrust of ACLU involvement and relevancy in American life in the future. There is no one more expert in this field than the New York Dir. and you will find Mr. Neier charming, his topic exciting, and he will be delighted to answer questions.

We think Wit's End will be a fun place to meet. This will be your only announcement. If you will indicate the possibility of your attendance, we will know whether to order one bartender or two.

ACLU FAMOUS MEN SERIES

While we were in Chicago we invited to Georgia along with Mr. Neier other ACLU luminaries to meet with the membership and keep us abreast of the action and thinking of ACLU nationally and in other areas. The director of the Washington, D. C. office, Lawrence Speiser, who testifies before the Congress on ACLU matters has accepted, as has Bernard Cohen, vital young lawyer from Virginia who is now handling the Rockwell Burial Case and who won the Loving miscegenation case before the Supreme Court.

Wits End's Phil Erikson has indicated he can also have luncheon meetings and we would like your comments.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

The Southern Regional Office of ACLU, 5 Forsyth St., needs volunteers for filing and general clerical work a few hours a week. This package includes a chance to make coffee for Chuck Morgan.

We also are going to be needing many volunteers as we have promised to double our membership in three years. To do this we are being helped by the National Office, with an additional grant to pay for larger quarters so that we may make use of volunteer help. By the time our next newsletter comes out we may have a new address. . .and we will be calling on you for help in a membership drive. Hopefully the Oct. 9 affair will be the start of more frequent meetings on the subjects which interest all of us-Police procedures, Ombudsman, Capital punishment, Juveniles in Jail, The Right to dissent, Conscientious Objection, The right to wear your hair long or as you please - all these are possible subjects for membership meetings. We would appreciate your thinking and comments.

I plan to attend the Oct. 9 Cocktail Reception. Enclosed is my $2.50 donation_____. I will pay at the door_____.

Please send me additional material on Capital Punishment._____

Comments on membership meetings to be held.

Background Material on Capital Punishment

Attn. Gen. Ramsey Clark

"Modern penology with its correctional and rehabilitation skill affords far greater benefit to society than the death penalty which is inconsistent with its goals. This nation is too good in its purposes to engage in the deliberate taking of a human life as either a punishment or a deterrent to domestic crime".

Capital Punishment as a deterrent to crime has never been proven, rather statistically, the evidence accumulated points to the opposite view. There is no relationship between the crime rate and abolition or retention of Capital Punishment.

A graphic example of the failure of the death penalty as a deterrent is the case of Detective Sergeant William J. Mullrine of Wilmington, Delaware. An advocate of the restoration of the death penalty in that state, he shot and killed his wife ten days after the penalty was reinstated.

If we accept the fact that deterrence is unproven and that revenge is unacceptable we may conclude that the death penalty serves no useful purpose. Legally it can be considered cruel and unusual punishment.

It is fraught with unequal applications. "A man proven guilty is saved from execution by the striking ingenuity of his counsel in an appel to the Supreme Court (Green v. U.S. 1957). But another man goes to his death purely because his attorney neglected to raise a point of procedure at the trial, thereby barring the court from touching the issue (Williams v. Ga. 1955). One man is literally taken from the electric chair after his counsel had the good luck to find a Supreme Court Justice who would issue a temporary stay of execution; upon rehearing the conviction was reversed (Vernon v. Ala. 1941). But another man is executed because the notice of execution arrived seconds too late to halt the flow of lethal gas into the execution chamber (People v. Abbott 1956).

The death penalty is discriminatorily applied. Of those convicted of intentional homicide, only about one percent are executed. Who composes that one percent? According to former Sing Sing Warden Louis E. Lawes, "They come from all kinds of homes and environments. In one respect they were all alike. ALL WERE POOR and most of them friendless." According to Michael Di Salle, former Governor of Ohio, "During my four years as governor, I was never asked to pass on the clemency request of a gangster, syndicated racketeer or hired killer. None of them got the death penalty.. one person sat in death row for two years without a visitor. One maintained the tradition of inviting a guest to share his last meal by inviting his father, who had been serving a life sentence since the condemned man was nine years old. All who had asked for commutation had not possesed the funds of his own to employ counsel...generally insignificant people, whose living or dying made little impact on the need for improving society's approach to law and justice."

A jury in a Capital case must be death qualified. A juror may be disqualified from sitting for mere hesitance to vote for death. Studies indicate

that not only is the jury slanted in favor of those who support the death penalty but also that the jury would tend to be more punitive and condemnatory than a group representative of the whole community. Thus the death penalty which should require perfect justice is beset with infringements of the rights of fair trial and due process of law.

Innocent men have been convicted of murder. Imposition of the death penalty denies a man any possible benefit of new evidence, prevents him from benefitting from any new rules of law and furthermore prevents possible rehabilitation. That is truly denial of due process.

The death penalty forces a change in the strategy of the defense. The inequality of resources that usually exists between the state and the defense council, and the fact of the ultimate penalty forces the defense attorney to weigh his chances of winning against the possibility of his client's loss of life, and this is true whether or not the client is actually innocent. The defense becomes a pragmatic, tactical one, a decision based on an attempt to prevent his death rather than to show his client innocent! The death penalty is disproportionately imposed on men, the poor, the less educated and Negroes. Not only are Negroes executed out of proportion to their percentage of the population, but they are executed out of proportion to a comparable group of white criminals.

There is more background that you may order from this office. Use the enclosed envelope.

(agency) A.C.L.U.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF ALABAMA
POST OFFICE BOX 3393
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35205

AN INVITATION

YOU HAVE A STAKE IN PRESERVING THE LIBERTIES GUARANTEED IN THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS

Come to a meeting to help establish the Huntsville Chapter of the

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

TIME: 7:30 p.m. Tuesday, October 3, 1967.

PLACE: The Recorder's Court Room of the new Huntsville Municipal Building.

PURPOSE: To hear about recent civil liberties victories in Alabama, and about the aims and purposes of the ACLU as well as to form a Steering Committee to organize a Huntsville Chapter.

SPEAKER: C. H. Erskine Smith, Birmingham attorney and Chairman of the ACLU State Affiliate, The Civil Liberties Union of Alabama. Among the several important civil liberties cases which Mr. Smith has successfully handled is that of Reynolds vs. Sims, the original reapportionment case which was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court and thus became the controlling one for the entire country.

****

We are asking you to give us your support in this important venture so that we might better defend your liberties in Alabama. Huntsville has the usual civil liberties problems of the South involving local and state government violations of Due Process and Equality Before the Law, but it also has unique civil liberties problems caused by the pervasive influence of massive federal installations and their civilian contractors in the areas of Freedom of Belief, Expression, and Association.

NOW IS THE TIME TO LEARN THE FACTS ABOUT THIS IMPORTANT ORGANIZATION AND ITS VITAL PROGRAM OF THE DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN ALABAMA.

We invite you to come to this meeting and bring your friends. Come on out and discover fellow civil libertarians.

Sincerely,

James Anthony C.B.

The Rev. James Anthony of Huntsville
Acting Chairman, Steering Committee
for the formation of the Huntsville
Chapter, ACLU of Alabama

Charles Blackburn

Charles Blackburn
Field Development Director
American Civil Liberties Union
Southern Regional Office, Atlanta

File — A.C.L.U. (agency)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The membership of the Georgia ACLU has voted overwhelmingly to accept the revised Constitution submitted to it on March 10th. Accordingly, the Nominating Committee has prepared a slate based on these revisions, which call for an Adivosry Committee of not less than 25 members nor more than 30, and an Executive Committee, drawn from that Advisory Board, of five members plus the officers and members of standing committees (elected by the Advisory Board).

The list of nominees below is submitted to you as prescribed by Article IX of the Constitution: "At least two months before the annual meeting, the membership shall be notified by mail of the nominees proposed by the nominating committee. Additional nominations may be made by petition of any five members, provided there is attached to such a petition a signed statement expressing the nominee's willingness to serve if elected; any such petition to be filed with the Secretary not later than one month before the annual meeting."

As noted, the Constitution permits up to 30 members on the Advisory Committee, and the nominating committee has designated 27. If the membership nominates more candidates than for the three vacancies, the 30 members with the largest pluralities will serve.

The Nominating Committee's recommendations for the Executive Committee are designated by an asterisk before the nominee's name. You may also submit nominations for these positions, drawn from names on the Advisory Committee (making certain that here, too, you enclose a statement by the nominee that he is willing to serve on the Executive Committee.)

This is NOT a ballot. You will receive a ballot after April 15th which will include nominations from the membership in addition to the names below.

OFFICERS

President: Hugh W. Gibert, Attorney

1st Vice-Pres.: David Comer, English Dept., Georgia Tech

2nd Vice-Pres.: William Alexander, Attorney

Secretary: Mrs. Leon Goldberg, Psychologist, Morehouse College

Treasurer: John Glustrom, Pres., Security Mortgage Corp.

(more)

MR. HUGH GIBERT, PRESIDENT
MRS. FREDERICK ROBIN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MR. DONALD HOLLOWELL, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. HOWARD MOORE, JR., SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. LEON GOLDBERG, RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. FRANK SPENCER, CORRESP. SECRETARY
MR. JOHN GLUSTROM, TREASURER

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dr. C. A. Bacote, Chairman, History Dept., Atlanta Univ., Atlanta

Francizka Boas, Educator, Rome

Dr. David Broiles, Philosophy Dept., Univ. of Ga., Athens

Helen Bullard, Consultant, Toombs, Amisano and Wells, Atlanta

*Bruce Galphin, Columnist, Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta

Rev. C. S. Hamilton, City Council Member, Augusta

Elijah Hill, Jr., Contractor, Chairman NAACP, Thomasville

Dr. Richard Hocking, Philosophy Dept. Emory, Atlanta

Donald Hollowell, Director, Equal Employment Opportunity Comm.,Atlan.

Jeannette Hume, Faculty member, Atlanta University, Atlanta

*Jon Johnston, Faculty member, Georgia State College, Atlanta

P. Walter Jones, Attorney, Albany

Vernon Jordan, Director, Voter Education Project, Atlanta

*E. T. Kehrer, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept., Atlanta

*Dr. Edward T. Ladd, Director, Teacher Education, Emory, Atlanta

*Kieve Landesberg, Manufacturer, Atlanta

Sam Massell, Jr., Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Sylvan Meyer, Editor, Daily Times, Gainesville

Dr. J. L. Miller, Assoc. Director for Research, South.Reg. Education Board, Atlanta

Mrs. Neil Moran, State Board, League of Women Voters, Atlanta

Martin J. Morand, Director, S.E. Region, Intl.Ladies Garment Workers Union, Atlanta

Howard Moore, Jr., Attorney, Atlanta

Mrs. John Morris, Active in Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

William P. Randall, Businessman, ~~Atlanta~~ MACON

Louis Regenstein, Attorney, Atlanta

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, The Temple, Atlanta

Mrs. Frank Spencer, State Board, League of Women Voters, Savannah

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

(agency) ADL

November, 1966

Dear Educator:

For more than fifty years the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has been a leader in the cause of human freedom and social justice, fighting on many fronts to end discrimination, segregation and other ills which deny equal opportunity to all citizens.

Through its publications program the ADL can provide you with up-to-the-minute reports and studies on various aspects of civil rights, prejudice, extremism, quality education for all children and intergroup relations.

Today no educator, social scientist, or other truly responsible citizen can afford to ignore such information. Can you?

Some of the Anti-Defamation League's materials are indicated on the enclosed flyers. May we call your attention to the following:

- Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism. Report of a pioneer and major study, conducted by the University of California Survey Research Center, which analyzes the linkage between the religious beliefs held by many Christians and their anti-Semitic feelings and attitudes.

- Feiffer on Civil Rights. Feiffer needs no introduction. This brilliant collection of his cartoons on one of the most crucial issues of our day is being published, at Feiffer's request, exclusively by the Anti-Defamation League. The Foreword by Bayard Rustin is an illuminating companion piece.

- The Apathetic Majority: A Study Based on Public Responses to the Eichmann Trial. Social and political scientists - and all concerned with understanding the factors that mold or influence mass opinion -- will want to read this frank and painstaking report.

- Research Annual on Intergroup Relations - 1965. Provides digests of over 450 current research projects on ethnic, racial, religious and national group relations conducted in the United States and 18 foreign countries.

If you wish to order materials for yourself, your department or your students, simply fill out the order forms and return them to me. Please note the new discount schedules now in effect.

We look forward to serving you.

Cordially,

Helen L. Adelman

Helen L. Adelman
Promotion Director
National Program Division

HLA:COL

P.S. The ANNUAL MATERIALS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE is an automatic and inexpensive way to receive a copy of most of the titles the ADL publishes during the year. The cost is just $5 a year -- you get almost double the value of your money. For further information see the enclosed ANNUAL MATERIALS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE flyer and be sure to note your choice of bonus book or record.

AFL-CIO

EMPLOYMENT SERIES

* CHANGING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

experience report 102

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 3

To help protect unemployed workers and their families properly, the AFL-CIO calls for improvements and reforms in the nation's unemployment compensation system, with federal standards on benefit amounts and extended benefits for the long-term jobless. Changes should include:

1. Weekly benefits geared to lost weekly wages of jobless workers.

2. Supplemental extended benefits for jobless workers who have used up all their UC benefits under state law.

3. Full eligibility for all jobless wage and salary workers, with less restrictive conditions.

4. Better financing for the UC system to provide adequate contributions and safe reserves.

The AFL-CIO urges the 89th Congress to amend the federal unemployment compensation law to provide these improvements or to require similar state action as a condition of continued participation in the federal-state unemployment insurance system.

Income Protection Weakened

The competition between states for industry development through low payroll taxes continues to undermine the UC program. Experience rating—which is contrary to sound, long-term financing—has drastically cut UC reserves accumulated during World War II. In several states, reserves are so low they would provide benefits for no more than a few months in a recession—a situation which serves as an excuse for reducing benefits.

These forces have acted to reduce benefits relative to average wage levels. Originally the great majority of unemployed workers could expect benefit payments of at least half their weekly wage loss; today they average only one-third and some get as little as one-fifth. In every state the maximum benefit is less relative to average state wages than it was in 1939.

Most UC benefits end within the first six months, but long-term unemployment has increased in the last 10 years. Furthermore, unfair restrictions and penalties injure jobless workers and their families by denying them benefits, contrary to the wage insurance principle. Many state UC laws are written as if UC benefits were gifts by the employer conditioned on workers' good behavior. As a result of all the restrictions in the UC program—in coverage, benefits, and eligibility—only one out of every two jobless workers draws benefits, and only one out of every five dollars lost through unemployment is replaced.

Reform Needed

The AFL-CIO urges these specific changes in the federal UC law:

- Extension of coverage for (1) workers in all establishments with one or more workers; (2) employees in non-profit institutions; (3) farm workers; and (4) all other workers with a regular employee relationship.
- Increase state benefits to provide at least half the worker's lost weekly wage up a state-wide maximum set at two-thirds of each state's average weekly wage.
- Provide federal UC benefits up to the 52nd week of joblessness for all eligible workers who use up their state UC benefits, who have a firm attachment to the labor force and can't find work.
- Limit the use of arbitrary disqualifications and prohibit the imposition of penalties of indefinite duration.
- Improve UC financing by (1) increasing the taxable wage base; (2) equalization grants to states with abnormally high benefit costs; (3) all states to adjust tax rates without regard to experience rating; and (4) require solvency standards for reserve funds.

Urge your Congressmen and your Senators to vote for improvements and reforms of the unemployment compensation along the lines recommended by the AFL-CIO.

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Social Security Department. For additional copies of this fact sheet, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

EDUCATION

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 5

The AFL-CIO calls for quality education for all American young people, wherever their homes may be, however rich or poor their parents, whatever their race or nationality background. To make this kind of education universally available to every child and young person in the nation will require a much larger financial commitment to education than we have yet made, but it is a commitment which the nation can and must afford.

The 89th Congress should enact legislation which will carry on the tradition of achievement in education set by the 88th Congress. The 88th Congress passed a record number of bills to improve education opportunities throughout the nation—including aid for vocational education, college classroom construction, library services and construction, and improvements to the National Defense Education Act. But urgent education needs remain for action by the 89th Congress.

AFL-CIO Program

To achieve quality education for all Americans, the AFL-CIO calls for prompt legislative action in 1965 on the following:

1. A major program of federal aid to elementary and secondary schools to help meet all needs, including construction, in the categories of instruction covered by the National Defense Education Act. This should include construction grants for all schools.

2. Substantial federal aid to schools which serve large numbers of culturally-disadvantaged children from low-income areas, including work-study opportunities for vocational and high school students.

3. Comprehensive assistance, embracing scholarships, expanded student loans and work-study opportunities, for junior college and college students. The Cold War GI Bill of Rights would help meet this need.

4. Appropriation of additional federal funds to foster the growth of community junior colleges.

Elementary and Secondary Schools

The needs of elementary and secondary schools are particularly urgent. The Johnson administration has proposed a national goal of 400,000 new classrooms and 800,000 additional teachers by 1970. Such a goal would require federal aid of at least $2 billion a year.

Inequality of educational opportunity has increased in recent years. Per pupil expenditures for elementary and secondary education vary from less than $200 in some schools to over $1,300 in others. States and communities vary considerably in their ability to finance education. Illinois, for example, with an average per capita personal income of $2,945 spends 3.7% of its income for elementary and secondary schools, an amount which yields a per pupil expenditure of $480. New Mexico, on the other hand, having a per capita income of only $1,887, spends 6.5% of its income for its schools, but this yields only $440 per pupil.

Even states which do have adequate resources do not have a tax structure that can meet their educational needs. Sales taxes and property taxes provide approximately 80% of all school revenue. These regressive taxes hit low and middle-income families hardest. They fail to tap the best sources of potential revenue for the schools, personal and business income. Only a substantial program of federal aid—financed through the progressive federal income tax—can make equal opportunity in education a reality throughout the nation.

Urban and Rural Schools

Schools in urban and rural centers of low income have special problems. In almost every city, the movement of higher income families to the suburbs has damaged the city's tax base while leaving the city with the high cost job of educating large concentrations of children from low income families and from disadvantaged minority groups. Big city education is expensive, but most city schools receive less than their fair share of state support. Revenues from state programs provide more than 43% of the average school district's budget, but less than 35% of the budgets of school systems having enrollments of over 100,000.

The erosion of the tax base in big cities, as higher income families move to the suburbs, and the lack of adequate state aid have brought about budget crises in most large city school systems. Special

attention to big city school needs should be a feature of any federal school aid program.

Similarly, schools in many rural areas lack adequate resources with which to meet the tasks before them. They too need special federal aid.

Higher Education

Increasing costs of tuition, room and board threaten to price higher education beyond the reach of young people from low income and even moderate income families. A four-year college education costs anywhere between $4,500 and $12,000. Unless the U.S. quickly starts an expanded program of federal scholarship, loan, and work-study opportunity for college students, our nation will waste the potential of hundreds of thousands of young people. Expanded federal aid for community junior colleges will help students from low-income families.

Dangerous proposals for income tax credits for money spent by parents on their children's college education may be revived in the 89th Congress. Such "tuition tax credit" proposals offer little or no assistance to lower income families and even the apparent benefits to higher and middle income families would be wiped out by equivalent tuition increases. Such "student aid" would be more expensive in the long run than federal aid and would not help those who need it most. The AFL-CIO opposes such proposals.

Action Program for Congress

The action program for the 1965 session of the 89th Congress should include:

1. A $2 billion-a-year program of aid to elementary and secondary schools to improve facilities and teaching of subjects in categories specified in the National Defense Education Act—science, mathematics, history, civics, geography, modern foreign languages, English and reading.

2. Substantial aid to schools serving culturally-disadvantaged children from low-income areas, including work-study opportunities for vocational and high school students. At least 30% of available funds should be earmarked for such low-income urban and rural areas.

3. At least $500 million for scholarships, expanded student loans and work-study opportunities, for junior college and college students, and passage of a Cold War GI Bill of Rights.

4. More federal funds for community junior colleges.

Urge your Senators and your Congressmen to support aid for education along lines recommended by the AFL-CIO.

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Education Department. For additional copies, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

WAR ON POVERTY

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 8

The AFL-CIO strongly supports the "war on poverty" proclaimed by President Johnson—but the AFL-CIO will fight against any proposals which would undermine hard-won protections for working people, particularly those established by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

President Johnson's declaration of war on poverty is fully consistent with the policy of the American labor movement, which has been fighting poverty since the first union was established. Almost every item in the AFL-CIO legislative program is directed toward ending want and poverty.

The first legislation specifically identified with the war on poverty is the Economic Opportunity Act passed by Congress in 1964. Under its provisions, an effort is under way to provide greater educational opportunities, vocational training, and work experience for young people aged 16 through 21 from low-income families.

The Act also provides financial support for a variety of urban and rural community action programs which will be geared to increasing employability and otherwise aiding poverty-stricken people. These and other anti-poverty projects will need more money if they are to be effective.

Jobs and Poverty

A successful war on poverty must provide adequate full-time jobs at decent pay for more than half of the families in want who have a breadwinner at work or seeking a job.

This means that more than half the poverty problem is connected with unemployment, low wages and involuntary part-time work. Among the AFL-CIO legislative proposals to help these needy are:

- Enactment of a vast new federal public works program to create jobs and, at the same time, provide public improvements of long-time worth.
- Expanded coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act coupled with an increase in the minimum wage to $2 per hour. No anti-poverty program should tolerate proposals which undermine wage-hour coverage and minimum wage standards. The AFL-CIO will fight such proposals.
- Reduction of the basic work-week to 35 hours with an increase in the overtime penalty.
- Improvement of unemployment compensation through the application of federal standards.
- The end of all provisions of existing federal labor law which conflict with the established policy of the United States to further collective bargaining.

About one-third of all poverty-stricken families consist of people past retirement age. To help these elderly who are in want, increased benefits under Social Security, including hospital care, must be passed by the 89th Congress.

The remainder of the poverty-stricken are in families whose traditional breadwinner is disabled or dead. They need expanded Social Security benefits for survivors and the disabled, improved workmen's compensation and public assistance, and family income when the breadwinner is ill.

The end of unjust regressive taxes levied on basic necessities and the expansion of decent housing for low-income families are also of great importance in a successful war against poverty.

Urge your Senators and your Congressmen to vote for adequate funds for the war on poverty and to vote for other anti-poverty measures supported by the AFL-CIO.

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Research Department. For additional copies, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

CONSUMER PROTECTION

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 9

To protect American families against hidden high costs, dangerous products, and deceptive or misleading advertising, the 89th Congress must enact strong effective consumer protection legislation.

Here are five key issues in the AFL-CIO consumer protection program.

1. Truth in Lending

Payments on installment and mortgage debt now account for over one-fifth of average family income in the United States. Consumers have the right to plain information on what they are going to have to pay when they borrow money. Testimony before a Senate Banking Subcommittee has shown widespread concealment of high interest charges on consumer credit through misleading methods of stating financial costs.

Legislation sponsored by Senator Douglas (D-Ill.) would require lenders to "tell the truth," in understandable language, as to how much any particular loan or installment contract is going to cost the borrower. Lenders would have to give a clear statement of what the total finance charges are in dollars and cents and what interest rate is on the loan in terms of simple annual interest.

Few borrowers know that the "small service charge" of 1½% on department store charge accounts is actually 18 percent per year; that the 3 percent per month plan of small loan companies is 36% per year; that the 4½% new car financing plan of some commercial banks is really 9 percent per year; or that the advertised 5% rate on improvement loans is not less than a 6% first mortgage, but nearly twice as much or 10 percent per year.

2. Truth in Packaging

Legislation sponsored by Senator Hart (D-Mich.) was developed as a result of hearings by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on commercial packaging practices which confuse and mislead shoppers. Some packages are misleadingly large in relation to their actual contents. Some come in odd units so that prices cannot be easily compared with competing packages. Some "economy" sizes cost more per ounce than regular sizes. Too often, hard-to-read net weight statements and deceptive pictures increase the confusion.

Truth-in-packaging legislation would set ground rules to bring order out of the present packaging chaos and thus end deceptive, misleading packaging.

3. Loopholes in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act

One of the most basic "consumer safety" statutes on the books is the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act. The AFL-CIO urges that these serious loopholes in the law be closed:

- The law fails to require manufacturers to test cosmetics for safety before selling them to the public.
- The law does not require "therapeutic devices" (mechanical equipment for medical diagnosis and treatment) to be pretested for safety or effectiveness.
- The weakness of present controls over "pep pills" and "goof balls" has led to a large bootleg market in these psychotoxic products, endangering both users and the general pubilc.

4. High Drug Prices

Price-gouging and profiteering by drug companies will remain a problem until the Congress reforms the drug patent monopoly conditions under which manufacturers are permitted to hold long-term exclusive patents on drugs. At the very least, the 89th Congress should pass legislation to condition the patent monopoly privilege in reasonable consideration of the public welfare in the prices charged for drugs essential to human life and health.

5. Anti-Consumer Price-Fixing

Big business price-fixing efforts hide behind high-sounding slogans like "fair trade," "fair competitive practices" and "quality stabilization." Such special-interest "resale price maintenance" legislation would legalize price-fixing so that resellers of any brand-name product would have to sell at a price set by the manufacturer.

This would stop retail price competition on brand-name products and cost consumers $14 billion in higher prices. Resale price maintenance is touted as protection for "small business" but its chief benefits would go to big chain stores, big department stores, and big manufacturers.

Urge your Senators and Congressmen to vote for consumer protection legislation. Tell them:

1. **Support Truth-in-Lending**
2. **Support Truth-in-Packaging**
3. **Plug loopholes in Food and Drug Law**
4. **Break patent monopolies to reduce high drug prices**
5. **Oppose price-fixing "fair trade," "quality stabilization," resale price maintenance.**

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Research Department. For additional copies of this fact sheet, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

HEALTH SERVICES, FACILITIES AND PERSONNEL

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 12

Accelerating advances in medical science hold forth the promise of good health and long life to a degree never before imagined. The AFL-CIO insists that the benefits of this astonishing progress must be made available to all Americans. Here are four specific proposals for action by the 89th Congreess.

1. Federal Scholarship Aid to Students in the Health Professions

There is a pressing need for skilled personnel to man the hospitals and other health facilities now being built. At present there are not enough doctors to provide adequate care to our present population, and the doctor-patient ratio is declining. Legislation enacted in the 88th Congress provides federal aid to medical, dental, nursing and related schools and provides federal loans to students in health professions. This program will help meet the serious need for more health personnel.

But additional legislation is necessary to provide federal scholarship aid to students in the health professions. Otherwise, talented young people from low income families cannot realistically hope to get an expensive medical school education or related training in the health professions.

2. Operation of Community Mental Health Centers

In 1963 the 88th Congress passed the Community Mental Health Centers Act to help build community mental health centers. This was a significant step forward toward high quality community mental health centers, available to all. This first step must be supported with federal funds to operate these centers. Substantial federal funds for staffing the centers with mental health experts should be authorized by the 89th Congress.

3. Loans for Group Facilities

High quality medical care can be made more readily available to workers and their families through the expansion of comprehensive direct service health plans based on group practice. Comprehensive health plans eliminate the economic barriers to needed care through complete prepayment; care is directed toward the prevention and early detection of disease. Medical services are provided by family physicians and specialists working as a team, each doctor doing what he is trained to do best. The combination of comprehensive prepayment with the group practice of medicine provides the setting in which high quality care can be provided at premiums that working people can afford to pay and can budget for.

One of the major obstacles to the spread of group practice generally, and group practice associated with comprehensive prepayment in particular, has been the difficulty in financing the necessary facilities. The AFL-CIO supports legislation to meet this need with federal loans and loan guarantees for group practice facilities.

4. Expanded Federal Aid for Hospital Construction

In hospital and medical facilities construction, the United States is unquestionably ahead of most other nations. This is due in large part to the existence and successful operation of the Hill-Burton Hospital and Medical Facilities Construction program. If the Hill-Burton program is to continue to be effective, it must be further adapted and expanded to provide more assistance for construction of long-term care facilities and for modernization and renovation of existing health facilities. The legislation extending the Hill-Burton Act passed by the 88th Congress was a step in this direction, but additional funds in substantial amounts should be earmarked for long-term care facilities and for modernization by the 89th Congress.

Urge your Senators and your Congressmen to support the recommendations of the AFL-CIO for health services, health facilities, and health personnel.

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Social Security Department. For additional copies, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

AFL-CIO (agency)

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 13

To bring good housing within the reach of every American family, the AFL-CIO calls for action by the 89th Congress to stimuate housing, urban renewal, and community development programs.

Construction must reach an average annual rate of 2.5 million dwelling units per year in the 1960's to meet housing needs of the American people. But, for years construction has failed to rise above 1.6 million units a year.

Construction of new homes and community facilities will have potent direct job-creating effects—about 20,000 man-years of direct on-site employment for every 10,000 houses built. And indirect job-creating effects are great also. Furthermore, housing, urban renewal, and community development programs help eliminate the social and economic causes of poverty.

The AFL-CIO makes these specific recommendations:

1 Establishment of a federal Department of Housing and Community Development.

2 More low-rent public housing for low-income families who cannot meet the costs of available private housing—125,000 units a year for four years.

3 More federal aid for housing of modest-income families with incomes too low to be served by the private housing industry at the market rates of financing, and too high to be eligible for low-rent public housing.

4 A new program of rental housing for lower middle-income families—100,000 dwelling units per year for four years. Rents would be scaled down in accordance with family income and the sponsor would get a corresponding credit on his monthly debt service to the federal government.

5 Broadening of the program for sales housing for middle-income families.

6 Combination of low-rent and middle-income housing in one project, with PHA financing the public housing part of a project and FHA-insured financing by a non-profit agency available for the private housing part, thus helping low and lower-middle income families.

7 The existing special mortgage financing assistance program should be enlarged to enable FNMA to continue to purchase mortgages, including those of cooperative projects, projects in urban renewal areas, and projects for middle-income families and veterans. Also, $2 billion should be reserved for the Section 221 (d) (3) program under which labor unions and other non-profit organizations sponsor housing for families of moderate income.

8 The cooperative non-profit housing program should be improved to assure availability of adequate FHA-insured mortgage funds to help consumer cooperatives buy existing properties.

9 The direct lending program for housing for the elderly should be continued and improved to include (1) a new authorization of $1 billion over a four-year period; (2) permission for local housing authorities to be sponsors; (3) authorization for financing of non-profit nursing homes; and (4) authorization of capital grants for construction of such facilities as clinics, community rooms and craft shops in non-profit housing for the elderly.

10 The college housing program should be extended, adequately financed, and broadened to provide for off-campus housing for single students and for cooperative college housing developments.

11 Community facilities should be included as part of the cost of future housing projects sponsored by local public housing authorities or by non-profit housing corporations including unions, under Section 221 (d) (3) and similar programs. Such facilities can be a focus for community activities in the War on Poverty.

12 *Urban Renewal.* This program should have (1) a $4 billion increase in the capital grant authorization over a four-year period; (2) an increase in the federal share to three-fourths of net project costs; (3) relocation payments to families should be increased up to a limit of at least $500; and (4) rent supplementations up to 5 years for displaced needy families.

13 *New Towns.* To prevent haphazard suburban sprawl, municipal, county, or other local governments should be enabled to acquire presently undeveloped land or farm land in or near metropolitan areas, so that, when such lands are ready for development, they can be sold or leased to

private developers or public agencies for use in accordance with a legally adopted metropolitan area plan prepared by an official planning agency, with due regard to availability of mass transit facilities and conservation of areas for open space uses, and with safeguards against profiteering. With renewal and modernization of central cities, development of satellite new towns around metropolitan areas will make possible balanced growth in metropolitan areas.

14 Mass Transit is a decisive factor in the future of urban life. The bill enacted by the 88th Congress must be reinforced by the 89th Congress by fully adequate appropriations.

15 Special attention and assistance must be devoted to the thousands of families and small businesses which are dislocated each year by new highways, housing developments, and other public projects.

Urge your Senators and your Congressmen to support Housing and Urban Development recommendations of the AFL-CIO.

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Housing Committee. For additional copies of this fact sheet write to the AFL-CIO Legislative Department, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

ONE MAN-ONE VOTE APPORTIONMENT RULE UNDER ATTACK

1965 FACT SHEET NO. 14

Equal representation—the principle of "one man-one vote"—is fundamental to the operation of a truly democratic government. But a conservative coalition is trying to overturn this basic principle.

The AFL-CIO, its affiliated organizations, and other liberal groups are fighting hard to protect the "one man-one vote" principle against attacks in the United States Congress and in the state legislatures.

The democratic process assumes that every citizen has an equal voice, through the ballot box, in electing those who represent him in the U.S. Congress and in the state legislature. Unfortunately, millions of urban and suburban Americans have been robbed of equal voting power by malapportioned, rural-dominated "rotten borough" state legislatures and malapportioned congressional districts. A "rotten borough" is an area with few people and disproportionately large representation in the legislature.

Seven out of 10 Americans live in metropolitan areas. But too often rural minorities control malapportioned "rotten borough" state legislatures in which cows and trees are better represented than people.

1964 Supreme Court Ruling

On June 15, 1964, the Supreme Court upheld the "one man-one vote" principle and rejected the "rotten borough" theory that land and trees count more than people. The Court declared:

> **"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests. As long as ours is a representative form of government and our legislatures are those instruments of government elected directly by and directly representative to the people, the right to elect legislators in a free and unimpaired fashion is a bedrock of our political system."**

Therefore, the Court declared, the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution "requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral (two-house) state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis," which means on the basis of "one man-one vote."

Conservative Attack

A coalition of conservatives, right-wing extremists, and obstinate traditionalists who maintain their power largely through malapportioned, rural-dominated state legislatures, is carrying on a major campaign to overturn and to nullify the Supreme Court "one man-one vote" rulings.

This conservative coalition is fighting right now in the U.S. Congress and in the state legislatures to amend the U.S. Constitution to preserve unfair, unequal "rotten borough" representation in the state legislatures.

Amendments to the U.S. Constitution may be proposed either by the Congress (by two-thirds votes in both Houses) or by the states on application of two-thirds (34) of the state legislatures for a constitutional convention. Amendments proposed by either method become part of the Constitution after they are ratified by three-fourths (38) of the state legislatures or by special conventions in three-fourths of the states.

The conservative coalition attack takes two forms:

1. In the Congress the conservative coalition is pushing for congressional action on a constitutional amendment—for submission to the states—that would permit any state to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis other than population, if approved by a referendum.

The referendum provision gives this proposal an air of self-determination that is deceptive. No group of voters should ever be able to deprive anyone of his basic democratic rights, in this case the right to equal representation.

In the 1964 Colorado case (Lucas v. 44th General Assembly of Colorado), the Supreme Court ruled that the "one man-one vote" population basis for apportionment must prevail even if the voters of the state approve a non-population base for one house of their state legislature.

2. In the state legislatures the conservative coalition is pushing a campaign to bypass Congress by having two-thirds of the states adopt a resolution to force a constitutional convention to draft a "rotten borough" constitutional amendment to be submitted to the state legislatures.

Through this procedure, never used before, the conservative coalition hopes to get 34 state legislatures to petition Congress to call a constitutional convention. This convention, the conservatives hope, would then approve a constitutional amend-

meant to allow unfair, unequal "rotten borough" representation in the state legislatures. Even if this procedure is not successful, it may build up dangerous pressures on Congress.

Action in the States

The Supreme Court's March 1962 decision in the Tennessee apportionment case, Baker v. Carr, put malapportioned states under pressure to reapportion to achieve more equal representation in their state legislatures. The 1964 apportionment decisions increased this pressure, and by March 1965 a number of state legislatures had reapportioned themselves on a population basis.

Unfortunately, the conservative coalition has been making dangerous progress in the state legislatures toward amending the U.S. Constitution to preserve their unequal "rotten borough" representation.

Widespread confusion exists on the exact number of state legislatures which have formally urged the Congress to call a constitutional convention to start action on a "rotten borough" amendment. Differing proposals have been passed, and the legal status and relevance of some proposals passed are doubtful.

Since the 1964 Supreme Court rulings, a number of states have passed resolutions calling for a constitutional convention to consider an amendment which would permit states with bicameral legislatures to apportion one House on factors other than population.

Other states have passed resolutions merely asking Congress to propose an amendment to permit "rotten borough" representation in state legislatures.

Prior to the 1964 Supreme Court reapportionment rulings, some states passed resolutions demanding that the Congress call a constitutional convention to consider an amendment which would take away from the federal courts their jurisdiction in apportionment of state legislatures.

Defenders of the "one man-one vote" principle must determine exactly what the status of such proposals is in their own states—and then take action to block these proposals or attempt to rescind those which have passed.

Action in Congress

In 1964 after the Supreme Court "one man-one vote" reapportionment rulings, the House of Representatives passed a bill sponsored by Congressman Tuck (D-Va.) to take away from federal courts their jurisdiction in state legislature reapportionment. The Tuck bill died in the Senate.

Senate Republican Leader Dirksen (Ill.) proposed an amendment to the foreign aid bill requiring the courts to delay reapportionment orders, but, after a filibuster by Senate liberals, the Senate passed a non-binding "sense of Congress" resolution asking the courts to give state legislatures six months to act in reapportionment cases. The Senate-approved rider to the 1964 foreign aid bill was killed in a Senate-House conference committee.

In 1965 Senator Dirksen again launched an attack on the Supreme Court's reapportionment rulings. His proposal, S.J.Res. 2, would permit a state to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis other than population if a majority of the voters in the state approved such a change.

In the House, a discharge petition to force a vote on H.J.Res. 2, which would allow a state legislature to apportion the membership of one house "on other factors than population," is being pushed.

Backers of constitutional amendments similar to the Dirksen amendment include many Democrats and Republicans whose congressional district boundaries are determined by malapportioned state legislatures.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments opened hearings on the apportionment amendments on March 3, 1965. The House Judiciary Committee scheduled hearings on apportionment proposals to begin in April 1965.

The AFL-CIO is opposing all proposals in the Senate and in the House of Representatives which would nullify or weaken the "one man-one vote" principle.

Serious Threat

Malapportioned state legislatures are pushing "rotten borough" constitutional amendments because they want to protect their own long-standing vested interests. Unfortunately, state legislators, in an effort to protect their malapportioned state legislatures, too often also put tremendous pressure on members of the U.S. Congress to approve a "rotten borough" constitutional amendment to overturn the "one man-one vote" principle. All of these efforts must be opposed.

Fight for Fair Representation

1. Write or wire your Senators and Representatives in the U.S. Congress. Urge them to oppose the Dirksen amendment or any other "rotten borough" proposal to overturn "one man-one vote."

2. Organize delegations to visit your state legislators. Tell them you oppose any action by the state legislature to push a "rotten borough" constitutional amendment.

3. Visit mayors, city managers, and suburban county officials. They have a big interest in fair apportionment. The areas they represent are the previous victims of malapportionment. Urge them to oppose action by the Congress and by the state legislatures against the Supreme Court "one man-one vote" decisions.

Fight the "rotten borough" attack against "one man-one vote."

For additional copies of this fact sheet, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

AFL-CIO

A Common Goal— Equal Opportunity

AFL-CIO

STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
TO SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
ON H.R. 14765, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1966

May 24, 1966

Mr. Chairman, my name is Andrew J. Biemiller. I am Legislative Director for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Accompanying me is Thomas E. Harris, our Associate General Counsel. We appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the AFL-CIO on this important matter.

The proposals which this Subcommittee are considering deal with two major problem areas in the functioning of American democracy. The first has to do with the administration of justice; the second with discriminatory housing practices.

In both of these fields there are large and acute evils which must be eradicated; and the AFL-CIO welcomes the determination of the President and the Congress to face and face squarely the difficult issue of how best to remedy the deficiencies which all of us recognize.

We all, I am sure, believe in equal justice under law; and we all, I am sure, believe that no part of our population should suffer discrimination in so vital a matter as a place to live. The question is how to implement these principles.

The AFL-CIO indorses and supports H.R. 14765. We think it provides constructive and effective cures for the evils with which it deals, and we urge its enactment. We believe that the bill could be strengthened in a few particulars which we suggest below, but in general we are for it.

I will discuss successively the various titles of the bill, indicating in each instance what, if any, changes we think might be made.

Titles I and II

Titles I and II undertake to end discrimination in jury systems, in, respectively, the federal and state courts.

Up until now three different groups have been discriminated against in various areas as respects selection for jury service. These

groups are: first, Negroes and perhaps members of certain other minorities; second, women; and third, people with low incomes. The discrimination may be de facto or de jure.

Discrimination against Negroes is unquestionably most acute in the South.

Discrimination against women is also concentrated in the South but is probably also more prevalent de facto in rural and small town areas than in cities. Also, both of these types of discrimination are much more prevalent in state than in federal courts.

On the other hand discrimination in selection for jury service against people having low incomes is decidedly not a peculiarly southern vice, and it is probably more prevalent in federal than in state courts and in cities than in rural areas. Mr. Thomas Dewey, when he was a young district attorney, was an advocate of the so-called blue ribbon jury -- in state courts in New York City. But the use of blue ribbon juries is at least as prevalent in federal courts as in state courts generally.

Prosecutors have the idea that juries drawn from the upper economic strata are readier to convict. We commend Attorney General Katzenbach for his willingness to forgo this advantage for prosecutors, if indeed it is one, and for his recognition that discrimination on grounds of economic status is just as violative of the equal protection of the laws as discrimination on grounds of race or sex.

There is another reason for banning discrimination on the basis of economic status. It is that if such discrimination were permissible it could perpetuate, in a different guise, discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups.

We therefore agree with the sponsor of H.R. 14765 that all three types of discrimination -- i.e. race, sex, and economic status should be ended. Further, we agree that the language of the bill is clear and straightforward, viz. (p.2, lines 9-12):

> "No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on grand and petit juries in the district courts of the United States on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status."

The same terminology is used in the provision as to state courts.

However, we suggest that the procedure for enforcing these standards might well be strengthened.

In the case of state juries, the bill authorizes the Attorney General to bring injunctive proceedings against state jury officials. However, the bill does not contain any such authorization in the case of federal juries, evidently upon the assumption that federal judges and jury commissioners will be readier to effectuate the bill's bans on nondiscrimination than will their state counterparts. Even if this assumption is correct there has been, as the Attorney General acknowledged, some discrimination in the federal courts, and we see no reason why the provision for suits by the Attorney General should not be applicable to federal juries as well as to state.

More important, we are doubtful that the enforcement provisions of the bill are adequate even in the case of state juries. The bill does provide a discovery procedure to make it easier to find out whether unlawful discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process. This procedure is available to the Attorney General in civil suits brought by him and to defendants in criminal prosecutions. However, for enforcement of its bans on discrimination the bill relies exclusively on adjudications in individual law suits, either where the issue is raised by private litigants or in suits brought by the Attorney General.

We are doubtful that this sort of spot policing will be adequate to end jury discrimination. It has not been adequate to end discrimination in other fields.

As respects the right to vote, for example, prior to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 earlier legislation relied for enforcement on suits brought by the Attorney General or by voters. Suit had to be brought in each election district, and in each separate suit there had to be an adjudication whether there had been an unlawful deprivation of the right to vote. We foresaw that these provisions would prove to be inadequate. We testified, when the bill was before Congress that implementing the Fifteenth Amendment by law suits was like trying to paint a wall with a fountain pen.

Our forebodings proved to be well founded, as testified by the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The 1965 Act utilized several novel devices to counter enforcement difficulties. It provided an automatic triggering test, i. e. whether fewer than 50% of eligible persons were registered or voted. It provided for determinations applicable throughout major geographic units, i. e. States or counties. It provided for the use of federal examiners to register voters, and for federal observers at elections.

These provisions, in contrast to their predecessors, seem to be proving effective.

As respects school desegregation, too, individual law suits proved to be a slow and ineffective way of vindicating constitutional rights.

On the basis of these experiences, we suggest that broader scale procedures for the implementation of Title II may be needed than enforcement through individual law suits. We believe the suggestions on this point made by Roy Wilkins in his testimony for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights have substantial merit and deserve the attention of this Committee.

TITLE III

This Title deals with discrimination in the schools and other public facilities. It eliminates certain existing limitations on the bringing of suits by the Attorney General, and provides for broadened relief.

We are in favor of the enactment of Title III as written.

Since the Attorney General's testimony of this Title was rather general, we propose to give a concrete illustration of why this Title is needed.

In 1950 some Negro parents brought suit against school officials in Clarendon County, South Carolina, seeking the admission of their children to the white schools. In 1951 the federal district court ruled that the schools were very separate but not very equal, and that the plaintiff's rights under the Fourteenth Amendment were being violated. However, the court did not order that the children be admitted to the white schools: it ordered that the Negro schools be made equal.

In 1954 the Supreme Court likewise held that the Negroes' constitutional rights were being violated, on the ground that segregation by races is inherently unequal. This case was one of the four decided by the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483. In 1955 the Supreme Court, on reargument, ruled that integration should proceed with "all deliberate speed," and the case went back to the district court.

In the District Court the deliberation has been more evident than the speed. It was not until the fall of 1965 that the district court finally required the admission of six Negro children to white schools in Clarendon County.

Of course these were not the same children whose parents had started the litigation. A child who was six years old in 1950 was 21 in 1965. However, one Negro girl whose parents had intervened later, and were parties in the 1954 Brown cases in the Supreme Court, did finally get into a white school at age 17 after 11 years of litigation. Incidentally, according to news reports, the whites have been giving her a bad time.

Of course the litigation isn't over. The court has retained jurisdiction and has ordered further desegregation next fall. Anyway, Negro parents, with the help of the legal defense fund of the NAACP, have been carrying on this litigation for 16 years, and the end is not in sight.

The Department of Justice has not brought suit in this situation. The burden of the litigation has been left to the parents and to the legal defense fund. The Department of Justice could bring suit under Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 if the Attorney General certified that the parents were unable to maintain appropriate legal proceedings, which means under the statute that they "are unable either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation ***."

How can the Attorney General determine such a thing as that? The legal defense fund of the NAACP is presumably able to sustain a certain volume of litigation, but what is the basis for saying that it is able to maintain one particular suit and not another?

More broadly, it is our view that the burden of vindicating these constitutional rights should rest on the Federal Government, and that it should rest there regardless of whether particular parents can or cannot afford to sue. That is one reason why we urge the enactment of Title III.

The other reason is the physical and economic intimidation which faces Negro parents in some areas. Title III authorizes the Attorney General to seek injunctions against such intimidation, and we are of course strongly in favor of that.

Title IV

The AFL-CIO likewise strongly supports Title IV of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966.

Organized labor has long been in the forefront in the fight for fair housing legislation. Laws enacted by a large number of states and municipalities to outlaw discrimination in housing have been placed on the statute books with the full backing, and often on the initiative of, organized labor.

The Sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, held last December, called for equal housing opportunity in these words:

> "A key feature of labor's housing program is its drive for equal housing opportunity for all Americans. There is no place in America for racial ghettos. Equal access, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, to every residential neighborhood in every American community should be assured for every family in America. Equal opportunity in housing should be assured in all programs in which housing is provided with Federal aid or is protected by Federal insurance of mortgages or guarantee or regulation of mortgage loans."

The national purpose was pledged by Congress in the Declaration of National Policy set forth in the National Housing Act of 1949 (Public Law 171, 81st Congress; 63 Stat. 413; 42 U. S. C. 1441), which stated:

> "The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require...the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

This Congressional affirmation of the national goal in a basic legislative enactment underlying all Federal housing statutes promulgated from 1949 to date, should be viewed in the light of the Nation's resolve proclaimed by the 14th amendment to the Constitution. The 14th Amendment declares that no State should deny "the equal protection of the laws" to any person, regardless of race.

The Supreme Court has said /Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948)/:

> "It cannot be doubted that among the civil rights intended to be protected from discriminatory state action by the Fourteenth Amendment are the rights to acquire, enjoy, own, and dispose of property. Equality in the enjoyment of property rights was regarded by the framers of that Amendment as an essential pre-condition to the realization of other basic civil rights and liberties which the Amendment was intended to guarantee."

And the Supreme Court has held, in that case, that the 14th Amendment prohibits the courts, as instrumentalities of the states, from enforcing private racially restrictive covenants. In another case /Hurd v. Hodge, 334, U.S. 24, (1948)/, the Supreme Court applied similar prohibitions to the Federal government and its courts, as well.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1961 Report on Housing, reviewed the constitutional problem involved here and arrived at this compelling conclusion:

> ". . . it poses the question whether, as a matter of national policy, the Federal Government can permit itself to be involved in the denial of equal opportunity; whether the Federal Government, which has established national housing programs to achieve a national purpose, should not take affirmative steps to move upward the achievement of equal opportunity in housing for all Americans. The Supreme Court has recognized that 'Equality in the enjoyment of property rights' is 'an essential pre-condition to the realization of other basic civil rights.' If the achievement of this 'essential pre-condition' is not here the explicit command of the Constitution, it is nonetheless its promise."

What opposition there is to the assurance of equal opportunity in housing to all Americans regardless of race, when it is not the result of outright race bias, is usually based on misinformation or ignorance of the facts.

One widely broadcast misconception prompting such opposition is that property values will drop whenever non-white families move into a previously all-white neighborhood. There is absolutely no documentary evidence to support this contention. It is a myth which has been completely exploded.

A comprehensive study of property values was conducted for the Commission on Race and Housing, a distinguished citizens' group which included nationally known specialists in the social sciences, by Dr. Luigi Laurenti. Its findings are included in the volume, Property Values and Race, (University of California Press, 1960). Dr. Laurenti's research involved 20 neighborhoods in San Francisco, Oakland, and Philadelphia, where Negroes had entered during a span of 12 years.

With each of the three cities he studied, Laurenti compared price movements in "test" neighborhoods with those in similar neighborhoods which had remained all-white over the same period. The price transactions studied covered a 12-year period from 1943 to 1955. Over 9,900 sales prices were analyzed comprising about 40 percent of all the sales during the study period. Almost all the neighborhoods consisted of single-family, owner-occupied residences and were not contiguous to other areas of non-white population.

In 44 percent of the comparisons, prices showed gains which ranged from five to 26 per cent. Another 41 per cent of the comparisons showed no significant change in price behavior. The other 15 per cent showed declines but none were over 15 per cent.

Put another way, 85 per cent of the cases either showed upward improvement or remained stable.

The results of the studies in these three cities are consistent with those made by other investigators who studied similar areas in Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit, and Portland, Oregon.

In the volume, Property Values and Race, Laurenti concluded:

> "The major statistical finding of the present study is that during the time period and for the cases studied the entry of non-whites into previously all-white neighborhoods was much more often associated with price improvement or stability than with price weakening. A corollary and possibly more significant finding is that no single or uniform pattern of non-white influence on property prices could be detected. Rather, what happens to prices when non-whites enter a neighborhood seems to depend on a variety of circumstances which, on balance, may influence prices upward or downward or leave them unaffected."

Another myth, long since exploded, is that neighborhood standards will go down whenever Negro families become part of the neighborhood.

Extensive studies have shown that Negro homeowners are just as concerned with neighborhood standards as any other citizens. Even a poll conducted more than twenty years ago by the National Association of Real Estate Boards supported the fact that Negro homeowners maintain their properties as well as whites.

There are good standards and bad standards in both white and non-white neighborhoods.

Overcrowding, economic exploitation, and neglect of buildings by landlords contribute to the creation of slums, regardless of the color or national origin of the residents. But slum areas, with which the Negro stereotype is all too often associated, generally were badly deteriorated before Negro residents fell heir to them.

Equal access to housing, regardless of race, creed or national origin in a free market, should be a part of the American way of life. Equal opportunity in housing is intimately linked to equal opportunity in schooling and to other civil rights.

The AFL-CIO strongly supports the enactment of Title IV because it will remove the obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of Americans on the unjust basis of their race, creed or national origin. We support it, above all, because its enactment will broaden the horizon of American democracy and will extend the opportunity to contribute to the strengthening of community life to every citizen of our country.

In addition, we believe the committee would be well advised to explore with care the possibility of adding administrative enforcement procedures to this title. As this committee knows from our previous testimony on civil rights matters, we consider administrative enforcement less cumbersome, more immediate and generally more effective in matters of this kind. We hope you will consider carefully adding administrative procedures to this title.

Title V

This Title has to do with crimes against Negroes and civil rights workers.

There have been numerous such crimes in recent years, but very few convictions, particularly in the state courts. Something needs to be done; and if anyone has any doubt of that we suggest that they read the 1965 Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. The shocking breakdown of law enforcement in the South, as respects Negroes and civil rights workers, is there set forth in horrifying detail.

Certain violent deprivations of civil rights are made criminal by the Federal Criminal Code, Title 18 U. S. C. § § 241 and 242, but these provisions, which date back to Reconstruction days, contain technical deficiencies which make it very difficult for the government to prove a case under them. Title V parallels but does not supplant these existing federal criminal statutes, and undertakes to cure some of their deficiencies.

The jury selection proposals of Titles I and II also of course relate to the general problem of the administration of justice, which is most acute in, though it is not confined to, the South.

Title V was drafted in the light of the recent Supreme Court decisions in United States v. Price, and United States v. Guest. In those decisions the Court sustained the sufficiency of the indictments, but it pointed out that the requirements of proof under existing law are difficult to meet, and the Court suggested that Congress enact more specific provisions. Title V embodies such provisions, and we urge its enactment.

Under Section 241 it is necessary for the government in a case like Guest to prove that the defendants had a specific, wrongful, intent in two different respects. In the first place, the government must prove, as in the case of nearly all criminal statutes, that the defendant intended to commit the prohibited act, as, for example, that the defendant intended to murder or injure the victim, and that the death or injury was not the result of accident. This sort of intent is a normal and proper prerequisite to conviction in criminal cases. Under Section 241, however, the government must also show a second type of specific intent, viz., that the defendant also intended to interfere with the victim's exercise of some right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The government must show, for example, not only that the defendant murdered a Negro, but that he murdered him to keep him from voting, or attending a desegregated school or exercising some other federally protected right. Proof of this sort is unlikely to be available, and one of the purposes of Title V is to obviate the need for it.

Section 501(a) substitutes for the specific intent requirement we have been discussing the requirement that the defendant must have injured the victim (1) because of his "race, color, religion or national origin", (2) while the victim is engaging or trying to engage in the exercise of any of various enumerated federal rights, such as voting or attending a public school.

Under this provision it would still be necessary to show that the defendant injured his victim because of his race, etc. In other words the specific intent requirement is shifted from intent to prevent the victim from voting, for example, to intent to injure him because of his race while he is voting.

Evidence of racial animus is more likely to be available than evidence that the defendant intended to prevent the exercise of some particular federal right. Even with the new provisions on the books, however, the task of the federal prosecutor will still be a most difficult one. In a case like Guest it will still be necessary for the prosecutor to show not only that the defendants deliberately killed their victim, but they did so because he was a Negro.

In general we think the Department of Justice has done a good job in drafting Title V. We suggest, however, that the language should be revised to make it clear that traveling on a public highway is a protected type of activity. That is what was involved in the Guest case; it is clearly sufficient as a constitutional basis for a federal intervention; and there will be cases where it may not be possible to prove that the victim was engaging or seeking to engage in any of the other types of activities enumerated in the bill.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude with a brief observation. This Congress and its predecessor are certain to go down in history for the trail-blazing legislation passed in 1964 and 1965 in this field. All of us who played any role whatsoever in achieving the civil rights legislation have a right to be proud.

But so much more remains to be done, Mr. Chairman, that none of us can pause for self-congratulations.

We have all read reports that this Congress is tired of the subject; that this Congress believes this is no time for another civil rights battle; that 1966 should be the year of stock-taking, not action.

Well, we just don't believe those reports.

We believe this Congress will recognize -- as did the President in the message

in which he submitted this bill -- that the unresolved problems are many and great but that they can be solved, as indeed they must be solved.

We in the AFL-CIO are dedicated to the belief that true and absolute equality of opportunity is possible in America and we intend to help achieve it. That, we are confident, is the mood of the American people and we believe it to be the intention of this Congress.

AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 13, 1966

Dear Friend:

As a participant in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", I am sure that the discussions and the program ideas presented have raised many questions in your mind.

Some of these questions have to do with the need for new civil rights legislation, and implementation of existing legislation, others must deal with education, housing, employment and related economic issues.

In addition, questions as to the policy and practices of the AFL-CIO and various of its affiliated unions were raised at the conference. Therefore the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO is enclosing a number of pieces of material which will provide information about some of these areas of concern.

If you desire additional copies of any of these publications please feel free to write to us:

AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, Room 701
815 Sixteenth St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DS:cr
Enclosures: 6
opeiu-2-aflcio

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 1966

AFL-CIO President George Meany today issued the following statement on the shooting of James Meredith:

The shooting of James Meredith demolishes the argument heard recently in Congress that no further civil rights legislation is needed. There are still those who would use murder to prevent the achievement of racial equality in America; a federal law is essential to curb such terrorism and to punish its perpetrators. This is one of the provisions written into the Civil Rights Act of 1966, now before Congress. The act must be passed.

-30-

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

FOR RELEASE IN P.M. PAPERS, TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 1966

The AFL-CIO told Congress today that a "detailed review" of the Manpower Training and Development Act, including its relationship with other statutes covering similar matters, should be undertaken to insure the continued improvement of the program.

Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, appearing before the labor subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, said MDTA was "too important" to be treated by "a series of piecemeal amendments which must inevitably leave gaps in the program."

Biemiller's comment came at the end of testimony on eight different bills to amend the act and a ninth which, while offered as a separate piece of legislation, should in labor's opinion be part of MDTA.

The AFL-CIO witness generally supported amendments that would broaden the concept of training and set up procedures to meet certain barriers that now face some potential trainees. He opposed two types of proposals -- those that in the AFL-CIO's view would weaken the independence of trainees or threaten existing labor standards, and those that would amount to "training just for the sake of training," rather than for a specific job purpose.

Thus, while supporting a training program for persons in correctional institutions, Biemiller warned that trainees who are also being rehabilitated are too often "at the mercy of the employer." He urged a provision requiring consultation with the labor movement in areas where such programs are undertaken.

He flatly opposed an amendment that would permit the government to pay the cost of wages for on-the-job trainees; "when a worker produces for an employer, he ought to be paid by that employer."

Biemiller also opposed a proposal to pay allowances to workers taking part-time training, while otherwise employed.

"It would be an inducement which would prompt too many employers to press their employees into training programs with all sorts of rosy promises, with no meaningful results," he said. The emphasis would be on the allowances rather than the purpose of the training, he asserted; opportunities for self-improvement through adult education are already provided for, without allowances, under existing legislation.

Similarly, the witness opposed a proposal that would virtually eliminate, for disadvantaged persons, the requirement that training must be based on "reasonable expectation" of employment.

"The AFL-CIO has never endorsed the concept of training just for the sake of training," he said. In our view, training activities have to be related to job opportunities in order for the training programs to be successful. For this reason, and in order to safeguard incumbent employees and their standards -- and in the interests of the prospective trainees who would be disillusioned to find no job at the conclusion of training -- we have always insisted that MDTA funds be spent only where there is reasonable expectation of employment in the occupation for which the individual is being trained.

-more-

"This concept was embodied in the MDTA and adhered to quite rigorously in the earlier days of the law. Since then, there has been some loosening; reasonable expectation is being interpreted more liberally. And now, (the current proposal) would, in our judgment, stretch this concept far out of shape and, in the end, change the philosophy that lies behind the MDTA as originally conceived. The AFL-CIO is not prepared, at this juncture, to endorse such a change."

(Copies of Biemiller's testimony may be obtained from the Department of Public Relations, 815 - 16th Street, N.W.)

-30-

AFSC

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

INCORPORATED

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

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GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Rec'd 1/27/66

25

January, 1966

Dear Friend:

I spent three months in South Vietnam last summer as a member of a three-man fact-finding mission for the American Friends Service Committee. I was deeply stirred by the plight of the more than 600,000 women, children, and old men who have left their village homes to escape the twin perils of Viet Cong harassment and U. S. bombings. The situation of these people grew worse as the weeks passed.

Crowded into inadequate camps around the cities of the coastal area, these uprooted people are maintained at a bare subsistence level by public and private agencies which have been attempting to provide the necessities of life. The recent acceleration of the war has brought a fresh influx of such proportion that these services are overtaxed, and severe suffering exists. Sheer humanity demands that we meet the needs of these distressed people wherever we can reach them.

The AFSC has decided to undertake a program among the refugees in and around the city of Qui Nhon, Binh Dinh Province. Here an estimated 100,000 refugees now live - 38,000 of them between the ages of 3 and 17. Our work will concentrate on self-help, skill training, and recreation. We hope that by providing useful occupations for these innocent victims of a struggle in which they feel themselves to have little stake, we can help to prevent the demoralization which forced idleness often produces. On an emergency basis we will try to meet direct physical needs.

David and Mary Stickney have recently arrived in Vietnam to undertake the administration of the refugee relief program there. David Stickney is on an eighteen months' leave of absence from his position as associate director of the Illinois Hospital Association, and Mary Stickney has been teaching school in Glencoe, Illinois.

There are no frontiers to human need, and therefore, our Board of Directors, in announcing plans for work in South Vietnam, also affirmed its intention to extend similar services to the refugees in North Vietnam should this become possible. This is in line with the Committee's long-standing tradition of working on both sides of a conflict.

Will you join us in attempting to minister to the needs of the unfortunate people of Vietnam? Your generous response to this emergency appeal will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen G. Cary

Stephen G. Cary
Associate Executive Secretary

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

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Baxton Bryant
Katherine Jones
Robert L. Combs
Eliza Paschall
Robert R. Alexander

February 15, 1966

Miss Connie Curry
American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, S E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Curry:

The Southern Regional Council invites you to attend a luncheon in Atlanta on February 28, 1966, at which Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach will deliver a major address on voter registration and education It will be held at the Marriott Motor Hotel at 12:30 P.M.

It is important that we know whether or not you plan to attend. Please let us have your reply at your earliest convenience.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ED/pf

AFSC - Materials

Room 502
41 Exchange Pl., SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February 22, 1966

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Constance Curry, American Friends Service Committee

At the January meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, a discussion was held on possible cooperative efforts for working in school desegregation. Several agencies announced their intentions of co-sponsoring state-wide conferences, immediately after the guidelines were issued by the Department of HEW.

The first of these conferences will be held on March 12, in Montgomery, Alabama, and further details are given in the enclosed letter of invitation which has been mailed to approximately 500 contacts in Alabama.

Many of the agencies represented at the January meeting expressed an interest in the conferences and asked to be kept informed. We hope that you or a representative of your agency will be able to attend the conference and that you will contact any of your constituents in Alabama who are interested in working in school desegregation.

Within the next few weeks you will be receiving copies of letters of invitation to the other state-wide conferences. For further information on plans, please contact any of the sponsoring agencies listed on the letter.

February 21, 1966

Dear Friend:

As a community leader in your area, we wish to tell you about an important meeting concerning school desegregation. The meeting will be from 9:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Saturday, March 12th and will be held at the First C.M.E. Church, Montgomery, Alabama, at the corner of Holt and Glass Streets.

By September of 1965 your school board had reached a decision in response to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These were the choices facing each board:

(1) Show that their system is already under court order and indicate how they are complying with the order.

(2) Submit a plan for initial school desegregation in September of 1965.

(3) Take no action and run the risk of losing federal funds used in their school system.

The great majority of Alabama school boards made the second choice and submitted a plan of desegregation to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington. All of the Alabama school boards that submitted plans chose freedom of choice as the means of desegregation. This means that each Negro parent and child had to decide which school the child would attend and follow the procedures for registration as outlined in their local plan. This of course places the entire burden on the Negro parent. Until the burden of initiating change is placed squarely upon school administrators, it is vital that your community organize to see that the greatest possible amount of school desegregation takes place in September of 1966. It is important that organization begin right away.

To help inform citizens of the new possibilities in school desegregation and to aid them in organizing communities, a State Leadership Conference on School Desegregation will be held on March 12th, in Montgomery, Alabama. The conference is being sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Alabama State Conference of Branches-NAACP, American Friends Service Committee, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

(more)

The program will include speakers on the new guidelines under Title VI, the legal aspects of school desegregation and the specific problems that you are facing in your community. Lunch will be provided for conference participants. There will be funds to provide the actual cost of gasoline for attending the conference.

We know that you are interested in working in school desegregation and urge you to attend the conference. Please fill in the enclosed post card and return it to us as soon as possible. We shall be sending you further information and do hope that you can be with us at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Septima Clark

Septima Clark
Southern Christian
Leadership Conference

Winifred Falls

Winifred Falls
American Friends
Service Committee

Conference Coordinators

Conference Sponsors

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Alabama State Conference of Branches-NAACP
American Friends Service Committee
NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

AFSC

SUMMER PROJECTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Work Camps

Work camps are based on manual labor but are often supplemented with such activities as tutoring or recreation. The minimum age for participants is eighteen. Dates vary with the projects. The cost is $150 to cover room and board, insurance, and project expenses. Participants are responsible for travel and personal expenses. Some scholarship aid is available.

Marietta, Washington: Project participants will work with the Lummi Indians in completing a community center and developing the "Stommish," or powwow, grounds into a year-round park and recreation area. Dates: June 24 to August 19.

Valley View, Mississippi: Working with local families to complete a community center and recreational facilities, the unit may also help with a cultural enrichment program. Dates: June 25 to August 20.

Community Service

Participants gain experience in social and economic problems of urban and rural communities by working with social agencies and organizations engaged in education, employment, and housing programs. Unit members are responsible for travel and personal expenses. Financial arrangements vary. Some financial aid available.

Durango, Colorado: Members of the unit will work in programs of recreation and cultural enrichment that relate Durango and the Spanish-American community of Santa Rita. Dates: June 27 to August 22. The cost will be $150 for room and board, insurance, and orientation.

New Orleans, Louisiana: After extensive orientation, the project will help with community development programs in citizenship education and recreation. Civil rights experience is needed. Minimum age is nineteen. Dates: June 24 to August 19. Cost: $150, covering orientation, room and board, and insurance.

Detroit, Michigan: Participants will cooperate with local agencies, schools, and recreation programs in a variety of community projects. Dates: June 25 to August 12. Room and board are provided, plus $100. Insurance fee: $7.

Civil Rights Projects

Glendale, California: Project members will work with church, civic, and political groups for integration, nondiscrimination, and open housing. Dates: June 27 to August 22. Room and social fields is required. Single or married persons of professional or graduate level may apply. Hospitality is provided in local communities. Dates: June 18 to August 8. Participants are responsible for travel and personal expenses.

Western Washington: Volunteers will work on Indian reservations under the direction of tribal councils, conducting remedial education, day care, and enrichment programs. Hospitality will be provided. Participants, married or single, of graduate level or equivalent, may apply. Dates: July 5 to August 30. Participants are responsible for travel and personal expenses.

Institutional Service Units

Participants become acquainted with current institutional practice; engage, under professional supervision, in new programs; and provide needed personal relationships for those served. While financial arrangements vary, all participants are responsible for their travel and personal expenses.

Buckley, Washington: Project participants will aid regular staff in teaching, remotivation, and recreation programs at the state school for mentally retarded. Dates: June 30 to August 25. Room, board, and $50 are provided.

Corvallis, Oregon: In a farm home for children, unit members will assist the staff and participate in the daily round of activities, including housekeeping, farm work, camping, and excursions. Dates: June 27 to August 22. Room, board, and $150 are provided.

Loysville, Pennsylvania: The AFSC unit will supplement programs in swimming, education, and recreation in a correctional center for adolescent boys. Dates: June 25 to August 20. Participants will receive $100.

Pueblo, Colorado: The unit will work with patients under staff supervision in a state mental hospital. Dates: June 24 to August 20. Room, board, and $100 are provided.

Towson, Maryland: Unit members will serve as aids in various aspects of patient care and therapy in a private hospital for the emotionally disturbed. Dates: June 25 to August 20. Salary—less room, board, and deductions—will provide approximately $150.

Peace Caravans

With the theme of "Operation Discovery," participants of different races and nationalities will tour various regions of the United States, making public surveys on subjects related to peace

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SUMMER SERVICE PROJECTS

1966

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Detroit, Michigan: Participants will cooperate with local agencies, schools, and recreation programs in a variety of community projects. Dates: June 25 to August 12. Room and board are provided, plus $100. Insurance fee: $7.

Civil Rights Projects

Glendale, California: Project members will work with church, civic, and political groups for integration, nondiscrimination, and open housing. Dates: June 27 to August 22. Room and board, plus $50, are provided. Insurance fee: $8.

Oakland, California: Unit members will serve with organizations in the Oakland and East Bay communities. Civil rights experience and related skills are needed. Dates: June 27 to August 22. Room and board, plus $200, are provided. Insurance fee: $8.

Sumter, South Carolina: The project's activities will be related to voter registration and citizenship education. Dates: June 23 to August 20. The cost will be $150 for room and board, orientation, and insurance. Some financial aid is available.

Individual Service Assignments

Eastern Carolinas: Working individually or in pairs, unit members will conduct tutorial programs with the support of local committees. Skill in language arts, education, or related sible for travel and personal expenses.

Institutional Service Units

Participants become acquainted with current institutional practice; engage, under professional supervision, in new programs; and provide needed personal relationships for those served. While financial arrangements vary, all participants are responsible for their travel and personal expenses.

Buckley, Washington: Project participants will aid regular staff in teaching, remotivation, and recreation programs at the state school for mentally retarded. Dates: June 30 to August 25. Room, board, and $50 are provided.

Corvallis, Oregon: In a farm home for children, unit members will assist the staff and participate in the daily round of activities, including housekeeping, farm work, camping, and excursions. Dates: June 27 to August 22. Room, board, and $150 are provided.

Loysville, Pennsylvania: The AFSC unit will supplement programs in swimming, education, and recreation in a correctional center for adolescent boys. Dates: June 25 to August 20. Participants will receive $100.

Pueblo, Colorado: The unit will work with patients under staff supervision in a state mental hospital. Dates: June 24 to August 20. Room, board, and $100 are provided.

Towson, Maryland: Unit members will serve as aids in various aspects of patient care and therapy in a private hospital for the emotionally disturbed. Dates: June 25 to August 20. Salary—less room, board, and deductions—will provide approximately $150.

Peace Caravans

With the theme of "Operation Discovery," participants of different races and nationalities will tour various regions of the United States, making public surveys on subjects related to peace and to domestic and world affairs, interviewing city officials to see whether their opinions differ from those of the communities, and conducting public discussions on the issues involved. Local sponsoring committees will arrange hospitality and schedules with civic groups, granges, labor unions, churches, service clubs, and other community organizations. Participants will attend a preliminary week-long orientation session at Camp Sierra, California. The project will begin June 25 and close August 11. Participants may be pacifists or nonpacifists, with a minimum of one year of college or an acceptable equivalent. Maintenance and travel costs during the project will be provided by the Service Committee. However, travel costs to and from the project must be paid by participants. Some financial aid will be available if necessary. Caravans will tour the West Coast and Midwest, and probably the Pacific Northwest, the New England area, and the Appalachia region of the South.

FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE SUMMER SERVICE PROJECTS 1966

PROJECT GROUPS observe a period of silent meditation each day. Usually members live together cooperatively and share responsibility for cooking and housekeeping. Groups plan their own educational, recreational, and work activities. Some financial aid is available in projects where a member is expected to cover his own expenses.

SUMMER PROJECTS ABROAD

Community Service

Mexico: Volunteers from North America, Latin America, and other parts of the world will serve together in village units. Cooperating closely with federal and local authorities in the fields of public health, education, and agriculture, each group will work with neighbors on recreation and community improvement projects—including construction jobs for men—and participate in the life of the village. Volunteers must be at least eighteen and have one year of college or its equivalent. A knowledge of Spanish is important. The cost will be $225 in addition to travel expenses. Some scholarship aid is available.

Work Camps

Volunteers are assigned to some work camps sponsored or co-sponsored by the AFSC and to some sponsored by national and international work camp organizations. Projects usually involve construction or similar manual labor. Participants must be at least twenty years of age and in good health. Language facility and previous project experience are desirable. The cost is $600, which covers transportation, orientation, maintenance, and insurance. Some scholarship aid is available. Americans who plan to be abroad for other purposes may apply for work camp assignments, arranging their own transportation. Details on such arrangements are available at the national office. Countries in which AFSC has made arrangements for participation this year include:

Africa: Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Nigeria, and Tunisia. Extra transportation cost for Ghana or Nigeria: $250.

East Asia: Japan (Japanese language required), and Korea.

Europe: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

Middle East: Cyprus, Israel, and Turkey.

LONG-TERM PROJECTS

Voluntary International Service Assignments (VISA)

VISA provides opportunities for young Americans to learn through serving for a two-year period. Volunteers work for agencies of host countries while living among the people they serve. In addition to their individual assignments, volunteers meet periodically with their VISA colleagues and AFSC field representatives. Projects are in Germany, Guatemala, India, Tanzania, and the United States. Maintenance is provided. Age range is twenty to thirty.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization, attempts to relieve human suffering and to seek nonviolent solutions to conflicts—personal, national, and international. In addition to its service projects for young people, the Committee sponsors community relations programs; world-wide programs of social and technical assistance, relief and rehabilitation; and seminars and institutes on peace and international affairs. Its work is carried on without regard to race, creed, or politics. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

For application and further information write to the AFSC office nearest you

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138 ..... 44-A Brattle St. (write P. O. Box 247)
CHICAGO, ILL. 60605 ..... 431 S. Dearborn St.
DAYTON, OHIO 45406 ..... 915 Salem Ave.
DENVER, COLO. 80203 ..... 1460 Pennsylvania St.
HIGH POINT, N. C. 27261 ..... 1818 S. Main St. (write P. O. Box 1791)
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77004 ..... 4717 Crawford St.
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 ..... 15 Rutherford Place
PASADENA, CALIF. 91102 ..... 980 N. Fair Oaks (write P. O. Box 991)
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102 ..... 1500 Race St.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94121 ..... 2160 Lake St.

National Office: 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

In Canada write to: Canadian Friends Service Committee, 60 Lowther Ave., Toronto 5, Ontario

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. BOX 1791 ZIP CODE 27261 TELEPHONE 919 882-0109

August 28, 1967

Letters to the Editor
Charleston Evening Post
134 Columbus Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Your editorial of August 18, "Mr. Mizell For The State," has just been brought to my attention. This editorial was prompted by my remarks before the Senate Education Subcommittee which was considering amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I was saddened by this editorial, not because of the incorrect interpretation of my position, but because it reflected the faulty logic, lack of information, and immaturity which continues to characterize Charleston journalism.

First, let me set the record straight about the American Friends Service Committee. The AFSC is not a membership organization and therefore does not have a "South Carolina chapter" which I allegedly "head" as you stated in the editorial. My correct position is given at the end of this letter.

You also charge that the AFSC "is known more for its promotion of forced integration than for its efforts in behalf of freedom." Such fantasies are easily stated but impossible to document. For the past fifty years the American Friends Service Committee has initiated a wide variety of humanitarian programs throughout the world in an effort to relieve the deprivation, despair, and alienation which damages the humanity of the individual and creates barriers between men. No AFSC program promotes "forced integration" as you charge. On the contrary, the AFSC seeks to relieve those conditions which create unstable situations in the human family and thereby threaten man's freedom. Having its roots in the Quaker faith, the AFSC is dedicated to a deep respect for the individual--regardless of his race, nationality, economic status, or political ideology.

The pace of school desegregation is also not as impressive as you would have us believe. Last year only 5.9% of South Carolina's Negro children attended desegregated schools. This year the figure is a mere 7%. I do not consider an increase of 1.1% significant progress as you do.

Your editorial also expressed the concern that "Negroes go to school to learn and not to foster the New Society." It is regrettable that such learning must take place in Negro schools which continue to lack the educational resources, programs, and academic environment which facilitates learning in desegregated schools. You did not mention that there is impressive documentation that a great many graduates of the Negro schools perform only on the tenth, ninth, or eighth grade level. You did not point out that such educational deprivation eventually necessitates the creation of state and federal job training programs--further burdening

the taxpayer and contributing to the bureaucracy which you abhor. You also chose to ignore, of course, the fact that the doctoral dissertations of two psychology graduate students at the University of South Carolina documented that the academic performance of Negro children generally improves after they transfer to the desegregated school.

You also charge that I, along with "a host of government officials, including the U.S. Commissioner of Education and more than one eminence of the federal bench," hold the view that "integration, to be worth having, must be compulsory." I have certainly never made such a statement nor have I heard such a view expressed by government officials. I would say that integration, to be worth having, must be significant. But there is no significant integration now, compulsory or otherwise.

I am, however, opposed to the so called freedom of choice system as a means for desegregating our schools in South Carolina. Besides the fact that freedom of choice is ineffectual as a device to abolish the dual school system, it forces the Negro parent and child to assume the burden of desegregating the schools. It is racist in approach and implementation. It certainly does not dismantle the dual educational structure which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional in 1954 and which the U.S. Congress declared ineligible for federal funds in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. For the Southern Negro freedom of choice means the freedom to suffer economic or physical intimidation, the freedom to risk social isolation and academic failure, and the freedom to be denied equality of educational opportunity.

Freedom of choice, then, is a specious device which achieves only a kind of progressive tokenism and maintains a segregated education for most Negro children. Individuals have no freedom of choice so long as our society continues to cling to those institutions born of servitude and segregation. There can be no freedom of choice when such "freedom" is dependent upon the courage, inclination, and determination of the Negro to throw off the psychological and social restraints placed upon him by generations of white power. Just as the political and social events of the nineteenth century continue to distort the perspective of the Charleston newspapers, so are many Negro citizens still bound by the unpleasant memory of their recent past as well as by a conditioned allegiance to those institutions which our white society forced THEM to create. The present racial crisis in our country demands that white citizens give the necessary priority and commitment to the task of taking strong affirmative actions to eradicate the last vestiges of segregation and racism. Only then will we be on the road to assuring a meaningful freedom of choice.

It would not be fruitful or constructive to debate every point made in your editorial. It is apparent that we view our country quite differently. You implied that it was in a state of decay and that I am somehow "furthering the process of deterioration." To the contrary, I have a deep faith in our democratic system and in its ability to respond to crises and inequities in our society. If we are in such a state of decay as you claim it is because of a sense of pride and exclusiveness which makes meaningful responses difficult; it is because of [redacted] & racial of fear and negativism which editorials such as yours help to create.

the taxpayer and contributing to the bureaucracy which you abhor. You also chose to ignore, of course, the fact that the doctoral dissertations of two psychology graduate students at the University of South Carolina documented that the academic performance of Negro children generally improves after they transfer to the desegregated school.

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and free choice of the individual for the allegedly superior wisdom of the state." Such is not my position, and in fact I feel that the best way of avoiding federal compulsion is for local leaders to take dedicated and sincere initiatives to deal with obvious local problems. The judgement and free choice of the individual is indeed sacred but if we are to create and maintain a free society such judgement must be infused with a respect for the rights of others and, at the same time, free of the dogma which would deny those rights.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell, Director
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
704 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

MHM/sog

AFSC

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The American Friends Service Committee, founded fifty years ago, is one of the corporate expressions of Quaker faith and practice. It is rooted in the conviction that each human life is sacred, each man a child of God, and that love, expressed through creative action, is the only power that can overcome hatred, prejudice, and fear. To that end, the Committee undertakes programs of relief, service, and education, ministering to both the physical and spiritual needs of men. Its work is made possible by the generous cooperation of thousands of concerned persons of all faiths.

To see what love can do

During its 50-year history, the American Friends Service Committee has had so many projects in so many places that it would be impossible to describe them adequately in anything less than a book. These few pages try to show how the Committee works rather than what it has done. The programs mentioned have been chosen to illustrate the development of the major interests of the Committee.

Within the Service Committee many smaller committees carry out the policies set by the Board of Directors. Decisions are reached by a consensus of those involved. This democratic way of working expresses the respect for the individual that underlies all the work of the Service Committee. Because field workers have a voice in administrative decisions, programs are responsive to changes in conditions. The committee structure gives young people opportunities to contribute new insights and new approaches to problems and to infuse the Committee with the energy and passionate courage of youth.

The power of love to overcome fear and hate gives promise that the institutions of a just society and a peaceful world can be built. The unfinished history of the Service Committee is an experiment to see what love can do.

Gilbert F. White

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Meeting youth's need for service

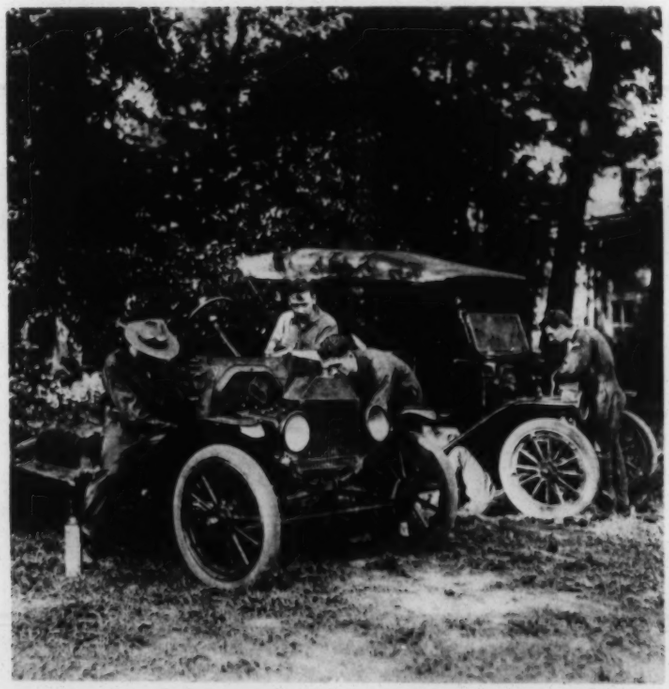
The will to rebuild of these young work campers in Europe finds material in the rubble of World War II.

"My experience with the AFSC has convinced me that love has the power to break down barriers between men and thus combat the causes of war. The way of life of Jesus makes sense because it works."

This straightforward and pragmatic statement by a young Service Committee volunteer is typical of the point of view of many of those who are attracted to the Committee. The Service Committee itself is an evolutionary organization, not working toward some preconceived utopia, but seeking answers that meet the challenge of changing problems. It follows in the tradition of William Penn, the Quaker who founded Philadelphia as a "holy experiment."

Penn wrote: "A good end cannot sanctify evil means; nor must we ever do evil, that good may come of it. . . .

(Above) In the joy of working together, differences of culture, religion and race are shared away. (Below) The first group of volunteers in 1917 prepare themselves at Haverford College for the rigors of ambulance driving in France. Tearing down cars familiarizes them with automotive maintenance and repair.



Let us then try what Love will do: for if men did once see we love them, we should soon find that they would not harm us. Force may subdue, but love gains; and he that forgives first, wins the laurel."

The events of history, and the Service Committee's responses to them, trace a pattern over 50 turbulent years. From the beginning, the Committee tried to do more than just alleviate suffering—it tried to overcome the alienations of war by the force of love. As the years passed and the AFSC helped the victims of one war after another, its interest and attention came increasingly to focus on the causes of these disasters. While not ceasing to respond to calls of distress, it began exploring ways of building peace.

Amid the social disorders of the thirties, culminating in World War II, the Committee became convinced that, as one staff member put it, "the seeds of war lie among the first neglected human beings." It widened the scope of its work to include efforts to combat deprivation not connected with war, to resolve racial discord and other potentially explosive tensions, and to make understanding of other nations and peoples part of children's education.

It was the desire on the part of young Friends for constructive alternatives to participation in World War I that led to the founding of the American Friends Service Committee in 1917. Young women joined that first group and have been prominent in the Service Committee's programs ever since. By the next spring 227 Americans were serving in the "Mission de la Société de Amis," and the number grew until it reached a peak of 547. The physical hardships and emotional shocks of war were a harsh test of the commitment of these young idealists, but nearly all

Hang-ups of this kind bothered the conscientious objectors of World War II, such as this fire jumper, less than the feeling that their conservation work in Civilian Public Service camps lacked social significance. But out of their service in mental hospitals grew the National Mental Health Association.

returned strengthened in their faith in the power of love.

After the war young people continued to volunteer for service with the Committee. In 1922 the Committee began placing young college graduates in reform schools, prisons, settlement houses and other institutions. The volunteers were encouraged to serve for a full year, during which they received only their maintenance.

In the summer of 1933 two small groups of summer volunteers went to Kentucky and West Virginia to live with miners' families and devise their own programs. This was the beginning of youth projects run by the Service Committee itself. A workers' conference was first held that same year to assure that the experience of the volunteers working in institutions was related to the concerns of the Service Committee. The conference studied the philosophy and technique of the Friends' approach to conflict situations, explained some of the basic principles of social work, and drew the participants together in work, worship and play.

The next summer the Committee launched something new on the American scene: the work camp. The men built a water system for a new government subsistence homestead community at Westmoreland, Pennsylvania. The women worked with the homesteaders' wives, providing entertainment for the children and helping the women with canning. The work campers shared housekeeping chores. The men slept in a barn and the women and the director's family lived in a tenant house. In the evenings labor leaders, industrialists, educators, and government administrators led discussions of the economic and social problems of the thirties.

The work camp was a great success and changed the course of several participants' lives, perhaps because it combined study of social problems with practical experience that gave meaning and urgency to the studies. This combination has become the hallmark of the Service Committee's approach to education—making the abstract concrete through personal experience, adding the human dimension to intellectual study.

In subsequent years the work camps multiplied. There were junior work camps and senior work camps, work camps in cities and in rural settings. They attracted attention and interest in many circles, and other organizations picked up the idea and began running their own work camps. After World War II, in 1947, the Committee began sponsoring work camps overseas and sending young people to camps run by European organizations.

A program for children between the ages of 6 and 12 was started in 1942 to promote international understanding and good will at a time in their lives when lasting

(Above) A young American on a two-year voluntary international service assignment meets familiar joys and sadnesses in an African village. (Right) Voter education takes a student to the Deep South. Summer projects for high-school and college students have included human relations work in white suburbs in the North, work with American Indians and assignments in institutions for the old, the ill and the retarded.

attitudes are being formed. A school affiliation program for older children has formed ties among more than 300 schools here and in other countries. Three times in recent years Russian teachers with a special interest in teaching English have participated in the life of American schools and American teachers have taught in Russian schools. After these experiences, it is hard for American children to believe all communists are devils, or for Russian children to believe all capitalists are oppressors of the people.

World War II brought a repetition of the First World War's flood of conscientious objectors seeking alternative service assignments. But this time it was different. A rider was attached to a Congressional appropriation bill making it illegal for CO's to leave the country.

The Friends, together with two other traditionally pacifist churches—the Brethren and Mennonites—cooperated with the Government in running Civilian Public Service camps for the CO's. The men worked on reforestation and conservation, receiving only maintenance and an allowance of $2.50 per month. Later some 3,000 CO's were used to alleviate a shortage of attendants in mental hospitals. They discovered that patients were being mistreated in many of the hospitals and sparked a continuing revolution in the care of mental patients.

Special youth projects were initiated in response to the Cold War, the first being an annual tripartite work camp sponsored by the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain. A similar effort to break down barriers was a work and study project held in the German Democratic Republic. In these projects the Committee demonstrated that distrust could give way to friendship when there was a common goal.

Again, because of the Vietnam War, conscientious objectors are turning to the AFSC for counseling and alternative service assignments. In response, the Committee has enlarged its national CO services program and provided for additional counseling in each region. About 60 young men are working in alternative service assignments with the Committee, and openings are being developed for many more.

(Above) A determined young lady in an early work camp disregards the lack of earth-moving equipment, as well as the niceties of a woman's role, to get the job done. (Right) Yoshiko brought with her a touch of Japanese grace and beauty when she came to the United States as an exchange student under the School Affiliation Service. (Below) A world affairs seminar in Washington gives high-school students firsthand acquaintance with policy making and policy makers.

Responding to suffering

Next door to an AFSC staff member live a doctor and his family. One evening the Service Committee worker told the doctor about an AFSC shipment of medical supplies for North Vietnamese civilians. The doctor heatedly responded, "I can understand your motivation in feeding children and helping refugees, but I can't understand why you are sending aid to our enemies in North Vietnam."

This doctor, faced with a wounded Vietnamese child, would almost certainly treat the child's injuries without hesitation, whether the child were "friend" or "enemy"—and would not be deterred even if the child had been wounded by "our side." But it is so difficult to see enemies as human that in time of war tears of sympathy soon dry up. The motivation deeper than sympathy, which sustains our concern for others through the searing days of war and makes us unalterably opposed to war itself, is reverence for every human life.

The first group of volunteers who went to France were aiding America's ally in the war and were controversial only in their refusal to participate in the war. Some ran hospitals and homes for children, convalescents and old people. Others organized sewing and embroidery workshops for women and recreation programs for children. Clothing, furniture and bedding were sold below cost rather than given away—a method of distribution that enabled more people to receive help and was more acceptable to the independent French peasants.

Although Russia had also been an ally against Germany, after the Bolsheviks took control and withdrew Russia from the war an expeditionary force, including American troops, was sent to Russia and aided the White Russians against the Bolsheviks. The Service Committee workers, who had just arrived in the Buzuluk area to help in relief work started by British Friends among refugees from western Russia and Poland, saw no reason to change their attitude toward the unfortunate refugees because of the change in government. They continued with medical care and with workshops that employed the women in weaving cloth and sewing garments.

The work of the Service Committee in Germany after World War I is probably better known than anything else it has done, and there is now general approval of its service of love in feeding a million children a hot meal a day. But at first the Committee was attacked for helping America's enemy. Feeling against Germany ran high in those years,

Under the red and black star, the Friends Ambulance Unit in China brought Western medicine to many for the first time in their lives. Equipment was primitive and supplies sometimes so scarce that even bandages were washed, sterilized and used again.

(Left) When famine broke out in India during World War II, the Government of India asked the Committee to administer a joint relief program of more than 300 agencies. This led to the present community development programs in India and Pakistan. (Below) In the terrible famine in Russia after World War I, Quaker relief workers lived in box cars for months, bathing in kerosene every night to repel typhus-infected lice.

(Top) Tales are told of Siberian blizzards in which the drivers of Quaker Service sleighs had to grope their way through blinding snow from one telegraph pole to the next, leading their horses on ropes. (Below) Lack of gasoline was overcome by rigging up charcoal burners, but bandits and the anarchy of civil war finally halted the trucks of the Friends Ambulance Unit in China after they had hauled medical supplies to isolated hospitals throughout western China from 1941 to 1949. The men and women of the unit then set up a clinic in the old transport buildings and ministered to civilians and military casualties of both the Nationalists and the Communists.

with heavy reparations being demanded and shipping blockaded to enforce payment. The Committee's Annual Report for 1923 anticipated the consequences prophetically:

"On account of the French occupation of the Ruhr, and other contributing causes, conditions in Germany are as bad as they have been at any time since the war. The mass child-feeding has brought up the general health standards of the children, but the depreciated currency, lack of foreign credits and a general distrust on the part of the peoples in the allied countries have brought great suffering to the people throughout Germany. The occupation of the Ruhr has likewise revived a great deal of the spirit of hatred that we hoped would pass with the period of the war. The close of the year's work in Germany, therefore, makes us realize that we must make far greater efforts to help these people in their time of need, or such seeds of hatred will be sown that will in another generation result in an even more dreadful war."

Controversy came again when the AFSC decided to feed starving children of miners in the coal fields of West Virginia who were out on strike. Some people who approved of feeding war victims felt that feeding the families of striking miners was taking the union side against management. The first feeding was in 1922, and in 1928 the Committee again fed children of miners, this time in Pennsylvania.

With the great depression of the thirties, miners were thrown out of work in large numbers. The United States Children's Bureau asked the Committee to feed miners' children in Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Attention shifted overseas again when the Nazis rose to power in Germany and the international center in Berlin was swamped with Jews trying to flee. In 1938 a delegation of Friends attempted to intercede with Hitler on behalf of all those being persecuted. Failing in this, they visited a top official of the Gestapo and sought support of their efforts to help Jews emigrate. The apparent result was that the staff of the Berlin center met less difficulty in arranging for Jews to leave the country.

The staff in Europe worked on with a sense of gathering

From the warehouse of the AFSC as much as 2¼ million pounds of clothing, blankets, shoes, soap, vitamins and tools have been shipped in a year. The Material Aids Program solicits these supplies from manufacturers and collects used clothing from the Committee's constituency. Much of the labor for collecting, processing and shipping these goods is volunteered. (Below) The value of aid given to German children after World War I was more than double that of supplies shipped to Germany, thanks to donations of flour, sugar and transportation by the German Government. Fewer than 50 Quaker Service workers were involved, the great bulk of the work being carried out by 25,000 German volunteers.

(Right) The smile on the face of this girl in Barpali, India, is reward enough for a Quaker Service worker. (Center) Food and medical supplies are loaded for airlifting to Cuba after the hurricane of 1963. The Service Committee also helped refugees from the Castro regime in Cuba to make a new start in the United States. (Bottom) All persons of Japanese ancestry were removed from the West Coast and placed in relocation centers after Pearl Harbor. The AFSC aided them in the relocation centers with personnel to work in adult education and the school system. Quakers visited, wrote letters, and sent books and toys for the children. Relocation hostels in Chicago, Cincinatti and Des Moines gave them lodging while they started a new life. (Opposite page) A Quaker Service worker exchanges a little cheer in improvised living quarters in Germany after World War II.

darkness. Even after the United States had entered the war and the AFSC workers in France had been interned by the Germans, European Friends continued their work all through the war.

The Hungarian crisis in 1957 flooded Europe with refugees. The Service Committee rushed supplies and workers to Austria and Yugoslavia, setting an AFSC record for shipments in a single month. AFSC workers were the only voluntary agency staff providing welfare services for about 20 refugee camps in Yugoslavia.

The Committee's insistence on treating men everywhere as brothers has opened many doors to its work. Its efforts to work with efficiency and integrity have perhaps been an additional factor in persuading other organizations, including the United Nations, to entrust it with the administration of relief programs. A few workers carefully selected for their ability and dedication have often carried out large programs—as in the Gaza Strip in 1949 and 1950, when a team of 60 workers fed over 200,000 refugees and provided work, schooling and medical care for them.

The Committee tries to adapt its aid to the needs of people. When Algerians needed clothing, it decided to send burnouses, a kind of parka worn over other clothing. So the AFSC organized volunteer groups in hospitals, churches and other institutions to make burnouses. They obtained gifts of yard goods from manufacturers and thread and sewing machines from local business men. Transportation from the workshops to Philadelphia was often contributed by truckers.

Latest in the long series of international disasters, and most distressing for many Americans because of our country's role in it, is the Vietnam War. AFSC relief efforts started in 1966 with the opening of a day-care center for refugee children at Quang Ngai, in South Vietnam. Seventy children receive supplementary feeding and baths and enjoy games, dances, and stories.

Imperative though the need for relief work has been throughout the history of the Committee, and willingly though men and women have given years of their lives to it, most of them have ended their service with a feeling of work left unfinished. Many have returned to the Service Committee in later years to contribute to its efforts to bring about peace between nations.

Staying to rebuild

Young American volunteers join in giving a cracked and battered French cottage a new roof.

With assistance from many groups, the Italians energetically rebuilt towns and villages ruined by battles between Allied and Axis armies in World War II.

"We wanted to mend houses," wrote an AFSC worker in France during World War I, "but the reason we wanted to mend houses was that it would give us a chance to try to mend hearts." This spirit has always carried the Service Committee beyond the immediate tasks of relief that take it to trouble spots around the world. Rebuilding was an important part of the first Service Committee work in France, where the volunteers set up factories to make portable wooden houses while the fighting was still going on. At the end of the war, an entire district of more than 40 villages around Verdun was rebuilt with material from American army dumps and cash obtained by selling equipment from these dumps.

During World War II, the Service Committee prepared for peace. Projections of reconstruction needs were made while armies still marched across war-torn countries. After the war had ended, and the Committee had helped meet the first emergency needs, many agencies joined in helping Europe get back on its feet. What seemed to be needed most was logistical support for the many reconstruction projects. So the Committee hauled building materials in France, Italy, Poland, Austria and Germany.

Neighborhood centers were set up in war-devastated communities in France, Germany and Japan. Providing workshops, sewing rooms, laundries, libraries, and rooms for student and adult discussions, they helped restore the mechanics of civilization while drawing people together in community responsibility.

In China the Friends Ambulance Unit, organized by British Friends, had been working since 1941. After the war the Service Committee took responsibility for its administration and renamed it Friends Service Unit, China. The Unit turned to reconstruction of the demolished village of Chungmou. Kilns were built to fire bricks. A new school and a hospital were built and cooperatives were organized. Medical teams turned their attention from battle casualties to kala-azar and malaria sufferers. As civil war swept the country, teams worked with both the Communists and the Nationalists. The Service Committee was able to continue its work for about a year after the defeat of the Nationalists, and then turned its operations over to the Chinese.

Throughout the Korean War, the Quaker United Nations Program supported efforts for peace negotiations. Even before the truce had been arranged, the Service Committee sent workers to investigate refugee needs. After the war, a Joint Friends Service Unit, representing the AFSC, the Friends Service Council (London) and the Canadian Friends Service Committee, went to Kunsan. There they rehabilitated a 250-bed hospital and ran a self-help housing program for refugees.

In all its relief work, and in the rebuilding after an emergency has passed, the Committee's motivation is deeper than charity. It is interested in helping people live fuller and more independent lives rather than merely improving their material circumstances. Men and women cannot easily develop their inherent potential under conditions of sickness, starvation and hunger. The trucks with the red and black star may carry milk and medicine, but their most precious cargo is the brotherhood of love. It is in this spirit that Quaker Service workers in Algeria help villagers build a new mosque. Their desire is not to convert men to their persuasion, but to help men follow the guidance of their own spirit.

A new patriotism

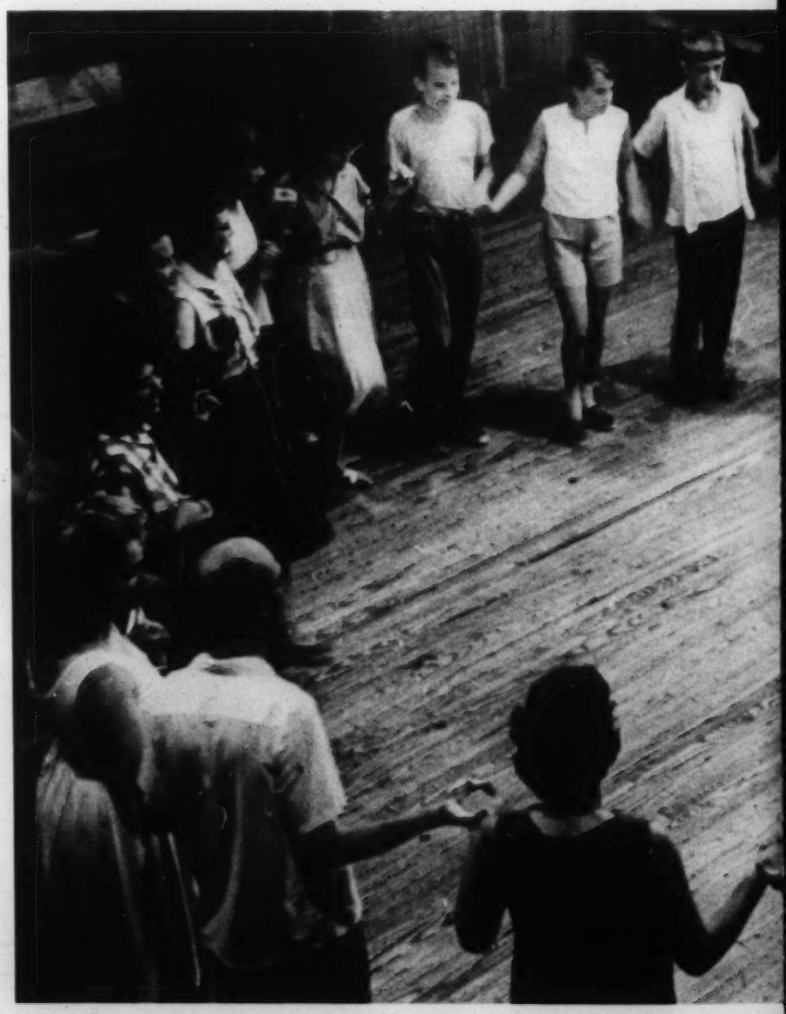
"Feeding the hungry and clothing the naked is spectacular and inspiring work. It is less spectacular and a much harder task, however, to prevent a war; to keep children from being starved; to encourage nations to settle their differences by arbitration; to cultivate a spirit of goodwill among men for men; and to develop a new type of patriotism."

These words in the 1928 Annual Report clearly point out the future course of the Service Committee in education for peace. Peace caravans had already begun this "harder task" in 1927. Young men and women toured the country that summer, speaking to those who would hear them, bringing the fresh eye of youth and a new point of view to towns and cities across the United States.

Institutes of International Relations began in 1930. Ministers, teachers and other adults met on campuses to discuss problems of peace. Attendance grew rapidly with ten institutes enrolling 1,496 participants by 1936.

Since World War II Service Committee efforts to improve communication between the U.S.S.R. and the United States have perhaps played a small role in relieving Cold War tensions. In 1949 a study, "*The United States and the Soviet Union—Some Quaker Proposals*," called for accommodation and cooperation between the two countries. *Speak Truth to Power*, a study that examined the relevance of pacifism in a nuclear age, was published in 1955.

As recently as 1964, however, discussion of any relaxation of obdurate policies of isolation and containment of China was limited to small groups. That year an experienced AFSC working party wrote *A New China Policy:*



From the early peace caravans (above) to the family camps of today (below) the AFSC has raised questions in young minds—questions of ends and means, questions of ultimate values. Young people, less paralyzed by conflicting loyalties and motivations, see the futility and evil of war more readily than their elders. They see that, even as mature love is not blind infatuation but takes satisfaction in helping someone live up to his own expectations, so a deeper patriotism is not blind nationalism but concern that our country be true to its ideals.

Some Quaker Proposals, now in its third printing by Yale University Press. Three major conferences on U.S. policy toward China followed: one on the West Coast in 1964, a national conference in Washington, D.C., in 1965, and an international conference in Chicago in 1966. Co-sponsored with major universities and foreign policy organizations, they brought together experts from Asia and Europe, as well as the United States. Many local seminars and institutes have involved additional thousands of citizens in their own communities. Gatherings of this type have been buttressed by an active literature and national speakers service.

The Vietnam War has challenged the AFSC to educate the public about the nature of the war and our role in it. *Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach in Southeast Asia*, written by an AFSC working party, was published in 1966. Printings exceed 100,000 copies. Public statements have been widely circulated by newspaper advertisements and pamphlets. The latest statement called for a cessation of U.S. bombing and the beginning of a clearly stated and swiftly phased withdrawal to create a climate in which all the Vietnamese can negotiate. As far back as 1954 the Committee issued a statement, saying in part:

"The AFSC is profoundly disturbed with the pressures for U.S. military intervention in Indo-China. On the basis of long Quaker experience in international service we are convinced that nothing but disaster lies down this road. The destructiveness of modern war can produce nothing but hatred, even among those on whose behalf the fighting ostensibly is undertaken, and hatred is no foundation upon which freedom and democracy can be built."

Opening doors

Young leaders who attend AFSC seminars early in their careers often rise to influential positions in subsequent years. Of more than 1,000 diplomats who have participated in AFSC conferences, over 100 are now in ambassadorial positions. (Below) The director of the Quaker United Nations Program in New York City confers with a delegate from an African nation. The AFSC has primary responsibility for this international program, which is also supported by Quaker groups from other countries.

There was a certain formality, even though the chairs were comfortable and the table well supplied with coffee and cakes. The secretary of the East German Peace Council, which had invited the AFSC to East Germany, began the meeting with an ideologically correct account of the Peace Council's approach to peace. The leaders of the AFSC mission to divided Germany responded with a description of the Service Committee's approach to peace, stressing personal relationships rather than politics.

The leader of the Friends group then invited those around the table to introduce themselves and say a few words about themselves. As the East Germans sketched their backgrounds, they repeatedly mentioned previous experiences with the Quakers in Germany. Several had been among the more than two million of their generation fed in the relief and rehabilitation program after World War I. One had been helped as a refugee fleeing the Nazis; another's wife had been rescued from a concentration camp. Others had received aid in refugee or relief operations after World War II. When the introductions were over, all but one of the dozen East Germans had expressed appreciation for past relations with the Quakers.

The significant thing that emerged from their comments was not that they had received help when they needed it. Those who have been the recipients of charity are not proud of it and seldom care to recall it. These men remembered their encounters with Quaker workers as meaningful human experiences that had occurred at crucial times in their lives. As they recalled moments of warmth in harsh times, something of warmth and trust was rekindled in the conference room.

The Service Committee's efforts to reconcile international disputes, which were part of its work from the beginning, found focus in its international centers—small groups, often just a couple, who maintained contacts and looked after Quaker interests in countries where the Service Committee had worked during and after World War I. After World War II new centers were established in several cities. The centers in Paris and Geneva have played major roles in the Committee's work over the years.

During the 1950's the Committee began appointing men as Quaker International Affairs Representatives (QIARs) to promote communication among groups and nations estranged from each other. There are QIARs based in Germany, Switzerland and Japan, and there is one who divides his time between India and Pakistan.

Reflecting on his role, one QIAR wrote, "The QIAR is not another power representative added to the power jumble; indeed his very powerlessness is an asset which explains in part his relevance and which opens many doors on both sides that might otherwise remain closed."

After World War II the Committee began a series of international seminars for foreign students in the United States. This program was expanded in the 1950's to include conferences for diplomats. These have involved 1,400 diplomats—a sizeable portion of the 23,000 diplomats estimated to be posted outside their own country—and have promoted the concept of international responsibility in diplomacy. In the 1960's the program was extended to reach other categories of young leaders in Europe, Asia and Africa who are beginning careers of public service.

The Service Committee's nonpartisanship and the confidentiality with which participants' remarks are treated encourage openness and trust. As one diplomat remarked, "Candid discussions in friendly surroundings for ten days can do much more toward understanding another's viewpoint and frankly assessing your own than could be done by formal and informal diplomatic entertainment in a year."

Encouraging initiative

A Quaker Service worker in Algeria shows mothers how to wash their babies. Then the mothers try it themselves.

"A quarter of my time went into talking informally with people—the mayor, the schoolteachers, anyone. These conversations put across the vital parts of my work: new ideas, a different viewpoint, encouragement to look at a problem and do something about it.

"But even more important, for two years someone many had come to love and respect said continually in words and deeds, "You *can* learn to read; you *can* find ways to improve your life, you *can* cure your sick child if you demand help; and it is important that you do all these things because you, personally, are of value."

These reflective words by a volunteer returning from service in Guatemala give the gist of a way of helping that builds self-reliance. An AFSC staff member recently observed that some of the best projects in the history of the Service Committee were not carried out by the Committee itself but by others.

A citizen of Baroda, India, explained it to a neighbor this way: "To mend the cracks in your roof you need cement to mix with sand and pebbles. We are the sand and pebbles; these people who have come to help us are like the cement. They are here to hold us together and make us strong."

In Baroda, the Indian community workers of the Service Committee staff were selected for ability in working with people. They brought few technical skills to the communities in which they worked, and no money, tools or materials. They act as catalysts, stimulators, motivators—they raise questions and participate in meetings in as quiet and helpful a way as possible. The people of Baroda decide what is needed and do the work. The staff of the Baroda Community Development Service measure their success by how much people can do without them.

The evolution of the Committee's community development programs can perhaps best be illustrated by the example of Mexico. The first project was a work camp in the summer of 1939 that brought American and Mexican students together to build two adobe schools. The number of work camps increased in subsequent summers, and two of them were continued all year round through 1946 and 1947. Participation of Mexican young people has always been an integral part of these camps, and in recent years young people have been encouraged to come from other countries.

In 1948 a "Pilot Project in Basic Education" was co-spon-

Most of the people of the Peruvian barriada of Pamplona Alta were unemployed and needed work. This sewing cooperative and a metal working cooperative were first steps; skills and experience gained in these efforts have since been used to start private enterprises.

A case worker of the Family Planning Association of Hong Kong, which receives AFSC aid, interviews the head of a household in his shack perched over the waters of the harbor.

Work may matter to their parents, but play is the important thing to the children of Pamplona Alta.

(Above) Maternal and child health clinics are part of community development programs in several countries. (Below) While the men build, the women of this summer project in Mexico introduce the children of a village to some new ideas.

sored with UNESCO and the Mexican Government. This grew into the social and technical assistance projects of the 1950's, which brought workers with special skills, as well as generalists without special training, to teach new ways of doing things. Many of the specialists were provided by the Mexican Government. Young South Americans have come to work in the projects and in some instances have gone home and started their own volunteer programs. In recent years increasing emphasis has been given to encouraging local initiative and playing a supportive role in community efforts.

In 1966 the Service Committee started a community development project in a low-income housing development in Mexico City, where it has encouraged the formation of a parents' committee to improve schools and recreational facilities.

Perhaps the most conspicuous results of 28 years of association between the AFSC and Mexico are the wells, roads and schools that have been built; but the most significant results are new attitudes and goals that have become an inextricable part of the life of the country and extend beyond the borders of Mexico.

As the Service Committee gained experience in self-help techniques during the 1930's, it became interested in family planning as a way to help people gain more control over their own lives. In several instances the Committee has been able to pioneer in the introduction of family planning techniques because of its policy of making advice and contraceptives available only as an integral part of a

broader and more comprehensive program. A well-known early research report, *Contraception and Fertility in the Southern Appalachians*, by Gilbert Wheeler Beebe, was based on work done from 1936 to 1939 by the AFSC in Logan County, West Virginia, as part of its program for unemployed coal miners. The Committee also initiated family planning work in Tennessee, North and South Carolina, and Alabama during those years. Family planning has since become part of AFSC programs in many countries.

Self-help housing has long been an interest of the Service Committee. When the Government set up a program of Subsistence Homesteads in 1933, the Committee was involved in the planning and its executive secretary, Clarence Pickett, assisted in the administration of the program for the first year.

In 1937 the Committee began its own homestead community in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Penn-Craft, as it was called, was a pioneer venture in self-help housing. A sweater mill was started to provide employment and a community garden provided much of the food.

A similar pioneer effort in the urban field was undertaken in the heart of Philadelphia in 1949.

In 1962 the Service Committee started a self-help housing program in Tulare County, California. Twenty families got low-interest, long-term loans from the Farmers Home Administration to buy the bricks and mortar, the AFSC provided construction supervision and the families shared their labor to build modern houses valued at $10,000 each. From this impetus self-help housing projects have developed independently of the Service Committee in New Jersey, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Florida and other states. In California a state-wide organization, seeded by AFSC funds, is helping hundreds of families use this technique. In 1966 International Self-Help Housing Associates was founded, with AFSC encouragement, to provide a resource for self-help housing groups.

Near the original houses built in Tulare County, 55 families are building a self-help community in Three Rocks, one of the most blighted farm labor communities in California. The houses were long ago condemned by the state. For the last nine years each family had to haul its water from nearby camps or irrigation ditches. With Service Committee help these families have formed a corporation called El Porvenir and have received a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The assistance of state, county and community officials, combined with large donations of time and skill by engineers and architects, has helped them overcome innumerable obstacles.

A shaded corner, a quiet moment, a few notes of music shared . . .

Toward equality for Americans

Most people take it for granted they can live anywhere they desire and can afford. The Service Committee works to make this true for everyone.

A woman who visited government officials in Washington as one of a group of southern Negro farm workers remarked afterward in surprise, "You know, they really treated us like we was somebody! We knew we was somebody, but we didn't know that they knew."

The conviction that she and her children are each somebody has given this woman the grit to get her son and daughter into college. But many Americans still don't know that they are somebodies. And many of their fellow citizens still refuse to treat them as somebodies.

Discriminatory institutions and customs, such as separate school systems and exclusionary business practices, must be abolished if all our citizens are to enjoy their constitutional rights. The history of the civil rights acts has shown that citizen support and government enforcement are needed to make laws work. Then we can have the kinds of equality that reduce prejudice—children going to school together, men working together as equals, families living next to each other with similar problems and ambitions and with similar economic means to realize their ambitions.

In the 1920's when the Service Committee was working in the coal fields of West Virginia, couples known as Friendly Counselors moved into the area and tried to bring together hostile factions—miners and mine owners, white and Negro miners. Because they lived with the people and involved themselves in the affairs of the community, their understanding was greater than that of groups not locally involved. Because the Friendly Counselors sought to help everyone involved to live in a better way, and took sides against no one, they were able to bring people together who would resist partisan efforts to force change on them. From this work, however, the Committee learned that real communication requires mutual respect. When employer and employee, or Negro and white, can search together as equals for solutions to their mutual problems, new and better ways of working and living often emerge.

A century before the Civil War, John Woolman sensitized American Quakers to the immorality of slaveholding, and Friends have subsequently been among the leaders in the fight to end slavery and its aftereffects. Many of the young people who volunteered for socially constructive work in the Home Service Section of the AFSC during the 20's were placed in teaching positions in Negro schools. In the 1940's special emphasis began to be placed on making work camps multiracial and locating them in areas of interracial tension. A Race Relations Committee was formed in 1943 and worked to avert violence in racial disorders in Philadelphia that year. Negro educators and scholars were sent on visiting lectureships to colleges and universities. In 1945 efforts were started to find employment for Negroes in fields previously closed to them. This broadened into a program of employment on merit, with staff in ten major cities.

After rioting broke out because a Negro family moved into an all-white neighborhood in Cicero, Illinois, in 1951, the Service Committee became involved in housing integration. It has worked in several major cities and two smaller cities to end segregation and build an open society. In the last few years new directions have been taken. In Philadelphia an experimental program has tried new ways of bringing housing opportunities to the attention of the Negro community. This program has also sought to put more vigor in the official nondiscriminatory policy of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration.

The changing roles of government and private agencies are shown in this program. As government agencies take responsibility for new social services, private agencies with competence and experience in those areas are needed to advise the new programs, act as watchdogs to see that the Government fulfills its responsibility to the public, and pioneer in new areas where the risk of failure is too high for a politically vulnerable agency. At times such as the present, when the Government relaxes its efforts, demands

(Top) Fishing rights granted to several tribes of Indians before the creation of the State of Washington are at issue. The AFSC is helping defend these rights. (Below) A paroled convict, released without a job or a place to stay and with little money, needs help. The Committee's halfway house for women was the first on the West Coast.

increase for private agencies to report people's needs and assume the financial burdens of programs.

In 1966 the Committee participated in the first major attempt to use nonviolent direct action against the social injustices of a northern city. An AFSC program in Chicago had been working for an integrated city for 15 years, using education and persuasion, helping to bring buyers and sellers together outside the discriminatory real estate industry. Little progress had resulted.

Resentment and anger built up in Chicago, breaking out in riots. Everyone understands the threat to society of physical violence. The suffocating violence of the status quo is harder to appreciate, especially for those afraid of change. The closed door, the turned back—these hidden violences cast a black shadow into the future in the same baleful way as does physical violence.

The Committee encouraged Dr. Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to come to Chicago and begin The Movement to End Slums. The Movement attacked the whole complex of problems facing the city—problems of schools, housing, jobs and public services. AFSC staff members served on the major policy-making committee and manned the two headquarters from which marches were launched. Rioting and violence broke out, but the marchers maintained nonviolent discipline. And for the first time in a major Northern city, all leadership groups publicly committed themselves to a policy of open housing and to specific actions to implement that policy.

Twenty years ago Henry Cadbury, then chairman of the Committee, gave an explanation of the Committee's methods that remains unsurpassed:

"The work of the American Friends Service Committee is not to be regarded as adequate or complete. It is simply an attempt to pioneer for a better world. It points a direction that differs from the continuing politics of force and power politics, of class and race conflict. It suggests that means are as important as ends, and that personal contact and understanding must underlie large-scale relations if they are to be wholesome. To the great social problems Friends do not profess to have already the ultimate answers. They wish to supply the evidence of actual experience rather than the theories of abstract utopias. They know that blueprints remain blueprints unless men can be found to do some real building, and that wholehearted enthusiasm is no less needed than intelligent understanding. Many of the practical questions can be solved only step by step. To face the problems fearlessly and frankly is the beginning of wisdom."

American Friends Service Committee Programs

International Affairs

International Conferences and Seminars for diplomats, leaders and advanced students, held in Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, Africa, and the United States. Informal, unofficial, residential sessions ten days to three weeks in length.

AFSC-sponsored international affairs representatives and/or international centers are based in the District of Columbia, Japan, Pakistan, India, Germany, and Switzerland.

Quaker United Nations Programs in New York and Geneva organize conferences for mission members, seminars for officials, and informal gatherings to foster personal relationships among international leaders.

Washington International Affairs Seminars for leaders in government and various professions provide opportunities for off-the-record discussions, with outstanding resource persons contributing information out of their own experience and research.

International Service

Programs of social and technical assistance and community improvement in India, Mexico, Peru, West Pakistan and Zambia, and with former refugees in Algeria and Hong Kong.

Refugee relief programs in South Vietnam.

Refugee resettlement in the United States.

Material Aids Program—Collects, packs and ships donated relief and program supplies for Algeria, the Congo, the Middle East and other destinations, including some in our own country.

Family planning programs in eight countries around the world.

Peace Education

Literature relevant to peace and international affairs; papers by special working parties (recent publication: Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach In Southeast Asia).

National conferences dealing with Vietnam and related issues; special projects; seminars, family camps and summer institutes; national speakers service.

Program on Disarmament and Social Change: pilot projects in the use of "defense industry" skills and resources for community development.

Work and witness with religious groups and organizations: ecumenical cooperation for peace.

Peace education in areas of social change (particularly the Freedom Movement).

Peace caravans: young speakers visiting local communities.

Community Relations

American Indian programs: Community development work on reservations in Arizona, California, Montana and western Washington. Work in urban settings in Oakland, California, and in Denver. Self-help housing in Maine.

Rural affairs programs—working with farm laborers, growers, and other rural residents on job and leadership training, family planning and housing in three California counties, southern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey; and traveling with the East Coast migrant stream.

Education programs seeking to bring community and government resources to bear on achieving desegregation and providing top-quality, integrated education for all children. Focused on South Carolina, eastern North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Housing opportunities programs designed to develop a democratic housing market in Xenia, Ohio; Muncie, Indiana; Chicago; Philadelphia; and New York City. A combined emphasis on employment and housing patterns in Atlanta; the San Francisco Bay area; Chicago; and Richmond, Indiana.

Urban affairs programs in Chicago; Boston; Pasadena; San Francisco; and Oakland, California, encourage civic efforts to overcome poverty and racial barriers.

Rights of Conscience Program—to broaden the legal recognition of individual rights of conscience. The recent emphasis has been on sufferings grants in Southern civil rights situations.

Halfway houses for released prisoners in California and in Des Moines. Work on problems of police-communtiy relations in rural and urban situations.

Youth Services

National Children's Program: Service project suggestions and stories about other cultures for elementary classes.

School Affiliation Service: Arranges cultural (and occasionally personnel) exchanges between schools in the United States and schools in nine other countries.

College Program: Study groups and weekend conferences on timely issues. . . . Counseling services for both faculty and students.

Cultural enrichment programs for children in Chicago and Denver.

High school seminars during the school year and institutes during summer vacation—for discussion of national and international problems with qualified resource persons, and for living experience with young people of other backgrounds.

College and high school summer work projects: Work camps in the United States and in Africa, East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East; community service units in the United States and Latin America; service units in United States mental and correctional institutions; civil rights projects in the United States; individual community service assignments in the United States.

Resident staff in Nigeria plan work camps throughout the year for local youth.

Advice and job placement for conscientious objectors to military service.

Voluntary International Service Assignments (VISA): Two-year periods of individual service with host institutions and agencies in Germany, Guatemala, India, Tanzania, Vietnam, or the southern United States.

Community service opportunities, with ongoing training and education, for young people deeply concerned with social conflict and world tensions.

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Improving the Image of a Group

by

S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

Reprint

Abram Calls for Study To Eliminate Prejudice

PREJUDICE

AJ 6/6/66

By JOHN ASKINS

Prejudice will only be eliminated by a "scientific" study of its causes, the president of the American Jewish Committee, former Atlanta attorney Morris Abram, said here Saturday night.

Morris Abram

He was guest speaker at a dinner celebrating the 60th anniversary of the AJC, which he said was formed to "enforce human rights."

Mr. Abram, who is also the U.S. representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, said prejudice has many forms, and the form historically manifested against Jews "has had as its ultimate goal a world without Jews."

HUMANITY, he said, "does not know nearly enough about prejudices, but it is not something that comes out of economics or class structrue—it's something that comes out of deep psychological needs in the individual.

"We do know," he said, "that a man who is deeply prejudiced is a man fundamentally not satisfied with himself, and that prejudice in extreme forms is a disease . . . this knowledge has reformed many attitudes in America.

"Now no one wants to be known as emotionally unstable."

He said the AJC believes strongly that a scientific attack on prejudice will work, and to that end sponsors research into the subject.

So far, that research has concentrated almost exclusively on prejudice in individuals, he said, "but there has been no work at all into the dark field of what causes mass prejudice.

"We still do not know how it was possible for the most literate people in the heart of Europe to eviscerate and destroy 6 million Jews."

Mr. Abram, who was co-chairman of the first White House conference on civil rights in 1965, said legislation is one answer to prejudice, because "an old Jewish proverb says that while the law cannot make people good, it can make them pretend to be good, and if a man pretends long enough to be good he may become like his pretense."

BUT THE TIME may soon come, he said, when legislation in the field of human rights will have been "exhausted," when there is nothing more legislation can do.

Court Asked To Intervene In Mississippi

Ark. Gazette 2/25/66

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Justice Department asked a federal court Thursday to desegregate schools and to order remedial classes in two Mississippi counties.

The remedial classes would bring the educational level of the Negroes up to that of whites, the Department said.

The Department moved in United States District Court at Jackson to intervene in a school desegregation suit against school officials of Issaquena and Sharkey Counties.

The Court had ordered a four-grade-a-year desegregation plan for the counties last October and the government Thursday requested several additions to the plan, contending that they were needed to bring it up to current minimum legal standards.

It asked a requirement that the districts begin an educational program "to correct the effects of past interior educational opportunities afforded Negro students because of their race."

The Court was asked to bar the use of race as a factor in assigning teachers and other employes.

The Justice Department also asked the court to forbid segregation in school buses and all other school facilities and services and to guarantee pupils the opportunity each year to transfer to another school of their choice.

Under the court order of last October, 49 Negro pupils enrolled in one formerly all-white school and six Negroes enrolled at another.

ARKANSAS
2/25 Ark. Gaz.

A Fund Which Fails Any or All Tests

GOVERNOR FAUBUS is back from Florida but still has made no public indication whether he will accept or reject a cash fund that some of his friends have been raising to help pay for the new mansion that he is building up near Huntsville.

There is some question which is, or ought to be, the more astonishing—the fact that such a fund campaign should have been started in the first place, or the fact that the governor did not repudiate it the instant that he heard of it. The whole affair, in any case, shows just how thick the callouses that have accumulated over this state's administration's sense of right and wrong after so many years in power.

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FROM ALL the news accounts, The Fund is not designed to finance another campaign for office (although most people expect the governor to run for a seventh term). The Fund is, from all the accounts, designed to be just a big payment on the governor's house, the money to be gotten from diverse sources including, reportedly, that host of men who have been appointed to state boards and commissions over these 11 years and two months of the Faubus administration.

Talk about conflict of interest! Here is the sight of a governor's friends engaged in a gift-raising campaign whose scope may at least partially be measured by estimates of the Huntsville mansion's cost. Mr. Faubus has estimated the cost may run under $70,000, which figures at less than $10 a square foot, but if it doesn't actually run into six figures then Mr. Faubus is the greatest cost cutter since Sewell

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There are various yardsticks on the size of gifts that a public official may deem proper: One celebrated set of definitions was drafted by a Washington official who listed what his assistants might accept in detail, ruling out for example any ham that weighed over 12 pounds. Another rule of thumb is that the only proper gift is one that may be eaten or drunk at a single sitting. We have heard of no rules governing contributions to a private home, but we are confident that the mansion fund fails any of the tests from the 12-Pound-Ham Rule on up the line.

There have been no disclosures of the identities of the people who have been asked to contribute, and one can only speculate on how personal interest may or may not be inter-related in each case with the state's business. But the simple acceptance of such a gift would in itself be a violation of the code governing conflicts of interest that is deeply rooted in the public policy, if not in the law, of this country.

★ ★ ★

AFTER WORD of The Fund leaked out last week, we withheld comment (other than facetious comment) pending the governor's return from a vacation. Now that he has returned we know no more of his intentions about the proposed gift than we knew before. His non-committal response at a press conference this week was not what we might have expected from the governor's office a few years ago. In pure conjecture, can anyone imagine a Francis Cherry or a Sid McMath or a Ben Laney *daring* to respond in such fashion even if he found such a proposed fund tempting? This far the state has come in these six terms.

We do not know whether or not Governor Faubus is going to douse the whole project with a word, as he can. He has disavowed any prior knowledge of what his friends were undertaking and we believe him. But let us define the issue precisely, for the record:

It is grossly improper for a public official to receive large gifts, from individuals or from groups. It was grossly improper for the Faubus friends to inaugurate the mansion fund. It would be grossly improper for Governor Faubus to accept it.

DEPT.
EMBERT & CO

ARKANSAS

Desegregation Lags, Lawyer Tells LR Board

Ark Gazette.
2/25/66

By BILL LEWIS
Of the Gazette Staff

John W. Walker, a Negro lawyer, urged the Little Rock School Board Thursday to take the lead in carrying out school, athletic and faculty desegregation rather than leaving it to its "delegated agents."

Walker and Board members made some rather abrupt statements in the brief exchange, which took place during a period of the Board's regular meeting set aside for audiences with groups and individuals.

Walker began by observing that the Board—then with a totally different membership—had started a plan for school desegregation in 1956 that was to have ended in 1962 or 1964.

"This is 1966, and there still remains a lot of school segregation," he said. "I think it's time for the Board to address itself to the problem and have it settled by the Board, not its delegated agents."

As to teacher segregation, Walker began by quoting Superintendent Floyd W. Parsons as saying the Negro teachers were not adequately trained.

"Mr. Walker," said Parsons sternly, "I did not make that statement."

Walker then said he thought all School Board meetings were "supposed to be public." The Board had just concluded an executive session on what President W. C. McDonald said were "disciplinary problems."

McDonald told him the Board's attorney had assured it that the executive sessions were proper. Walker started to say something else, and McDonald cut him off by delaring, "Thank you very much for your statement."

Walker persisted. The character of the schools now is "not substantially different" from 1956, he said. "For example, we still have Negro schools partici-

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Russell H. Matson Jr. told him that it had been reported in newspapers that athletics were to be desegregated. Others said Negro students could request transfer under the freedom of choice plan next year. Dr. John A. Harrel Jr. said that on some things—like teaching staff integration—the Board had gone farther than the majority of the District's patrons wanted it to, without court order.

Walker began again to discuss the teachers, saying that Parsons and Deputy Superintendent Paul R. Fair had said in January 1965 that Negro teachers were not "equally prepared."

Parsons interrupted him and said, "Mr. Fair, did you make that statement?"

Fair answered, "I did not make that statement but I agree with it."

Walker was asked if it were true. He said he didn't think so.

"Then why don't you sit down and let us operate the schools?" Matson demanded.

The matter was resolved for the moment by Mrs. Jean Gordon, who said three organizations—the Conference on Race and Religion, the League of Women Voters and the Special Committee on Public Education—had asked for audiences with the Board to discuss desegregation. At her suggestion, the Board agreed to set a date for such a hearing later.

Members Chided, For 'Rudeness'

After that occurred, Ozell Sutton, associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and a Negro, arose to say he was "surprised at some of the things we're hearing today," particularly the "rudeness of some of the Board members." The remark was greeted with applause by some SCOPE members and others present.

"The question has been raised that the structure of our school system is still the same," Sutton said. "You know it, we all know it. It's still segregated. All that's been done is to let a few Negroes who are bold enough go to white schools. Until the structure is removed, there's not going to be full desegregation."

He said he felt Negro teachers, including his wife, had reason to question the objectivity of the staff in assessing their qualifications and "have reason to fear any judgment of the staff on it."

ADVERTISEMENT

ARKANSAS

Bennett Denies Negro's Charge In Job Lawsuit

Attorney General Bruce Bennett, speaking for the state Revenue Department, denied Thursday an allegation that Mrs. Mildred Tennyson of Little Rock, a Negro, had been sent to a Negro politician to get a recommendation before she could get a temporary job in the Department.

Bennett filed an answer in federal District Court to a request by Mrs. Tennyson's attorney, John W. Waker of Little Rock, that he make 14 admissions of fact in connection with Mrs. Tennyson's lawsuit against the Revenue Department.

Mrs. Tennyson contends that she applied December 27 for a Revenue Department job to sell automobile licenses and that she was told that she would have to see a local Negro politician for a recommendation. She said this violated her rights under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Her lawsuit also said she had passed examinations by the Merit System Council for jobs in the Welfare Department and Employment Security Division but that an assistant to Governor Faubus referred her to a Negro political leader for a recommendation.

In his original reply, Bennett said only that a screening committee had not been authorized by the governor or Revenue Department.

Dissatisfied, Walker filed his request for 14 admissions of fact on February 14.

Bennett denied the charge that Mrs. Tennyson was referred to a Negro politician for a recommendation and that all Negro applicants for the temporary jobs were sent to Negro politicians.

He also denied charges that the Revenue Department had set a fixed number of jobs for politicians were assigned quotas Negroes, that various Negro to fill and that the temporary employes were assigned jobs on a racial basis. Walker had said that Negroes were assigned to jobs only in substations in Negro areas and that the staffs at the substations were either all-white or all-Negro.

The Revenue Department replied that the employes were assigned, at their request, to substations nearest their homes.

Bennett's reply also said the federal court did not have jurisdiction in the case and that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to temporary jobs in the state Revenue Department.

Mercury Stays Above Freezing

After a morning low of 32 degrees Thursday the temperature stayed above freezing the rest of the day. The high was 44. Most of the snow that was exposed to the sun melted.

The record low for February 24 is 17 in 1899 and the record high is 78 set in 1890, 1891 and 1918. On February 24, 1965, the high was 47 and the low 21.

Excluding Alaska and Hawaii, the hottest and coldest places in the nation Thursday were Miami Beach, with 80 degrees and 10 below zero at Havre, Mont. At Anchorage, Alaska, the high was 22 and the low 4 and at Honolulu, Hawaii, it was 70 and 64.

V+d Ark. Gazette 2/25/66

Deputy Fred Huffman and James (center), Ed Vail.

Negro Slain in Cold Blood, Jury Is Told at Hamburg Trial

Gazette State News Service

HAMBURG—Prosecutor Frank Wynne said Thursday that the state would prove that Ed Vail, 40, a Hamburg mechanic, shot Lee Edward Culbreath, 14, a Portland Negro, in "cold-blooded murder for no reason more than meanness in his heart."

Vail's trial opened before Circuit Judge G. B. Colvin with the selection of an all-male jury and the opening statements by the prosecuting attorney and John F. (Mutt) Gibson of Dermott, the defense counsel.

The jury, composed of businessmen, farmers and mill workers from all sections of Ashley County, included one Negro. Five Negroes were questioned as prospective jurors but several disqualified themselves when they said they did not believe in the death penalty.

The state is asking for the death penalty for Vail, who is charged with first-degree murder in the fatal shooting of the young Negro as he was standing in front of a cafe at Portland about 6 p.m. December 5.

In his opening statement, Wynne said he would call as a witness Bobby Golden, 14, of Portland, who he said would tell of riding into Portland on a bicycle with young Culbreath and letting him off in front of the cafe. He said Golden would testify that Vail, who was in a pick-up truck, fired a .22 caliber revolver four times. Culbreath was hit in the lungs, Wynne said, turned into the Negro entrance of the cafe and died in the arms of another Negro.

Wynne said another witness would testify that he saw Vail point the gun out of the truck, which had a Christmas tree in the back. The prosecutor said arresting officers and ballistic experts would testify about taking the gun from Vail and that the bullet which killed Culbreath was fired from his gun.

"This is a serious crime, an uncalled-for crime so the state is asking the death penalty," Wynne said.

Defense Claims Vail Was Drunk

Gibson said the defense would prove that Vail was "completely, totally dead drunk and did not know where he was at the time." Vail was so drunk at the time of his arrest, Gibson said, that he could not be questioned.

Gibson said the defense would admit that the bullet was fired from a gun in Vail's possession but that Vail did not know whether he had shot a Negro boy. He said the defense would show that the boy was standing in the shadows under an awning.

"There was no premeditation. It was a pure and simple accident brought on by a man dethroned of his reason," Gibson said.

Several hundred persons, about one third of them Negroes, were in the courtroom part of the day. During recesses, several white persons shook hands with Vail.

Vail's brother, James, also was charged in the shooting. He will be tried later.

The trial is expected to continue through Saturday.

Ark. Gazette 2/27/66

Negro Vote Can't Yet Obtain Full Equality, Council Told

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, said Saturday at Little Rock that the Negro vote was powerful but not strong enough to gain full equality for Negroes.

He said an education program geared to showing the newly registered voter the relationship between his vote and "bread and butter issues of better housing, employment, schools, paved streets, police protection, recreation and the like" was necessary to aid Negroes.

Jordan, 30, a native of Atlanta, spoke to the 11th annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations at the Albert Pike Hotel. More than 100 attended.

He called on the Council, and similar groups, "to move into the hard-core areas of the community" with education programs.

He said that although the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act have provided many opportunities for Negroes, many Negroes have been unable to take jobs because of inferior education, many Negroes live in slum and ghetto conditions, many Negro children beg for bread and dimes, many Negroes are resigned to their plight and the welfare rolls, and that many men refuse jobs because of the shame involved in signing an "X" on their checks.

Jordan said that in 11 Southern states more than 2.3 million Negroes are registered to vote and that 2 million remained to be registered. He said the Negro vote saved Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia for the Democrats in 1964. In Arkansas, he said President Johnson's margin over Barry M. Goldwater was 65,400 votes and the estimated Negro vote in Arkansas was 67,600.

—Staff Photo

VERNON E. JORDAN JR.

The Council adopted resolutions calling for:

★ Abolition of the freedom-of-choice desegregation plan in schools where one or more schools are rated superior and others inferior.

★ Assignment of Negro teachers on an interim step to all white schools in 1966-67 in proportion to the number of Negores attending and for white teachers to be assigned to predominantly Negro schools in "meaningful numbers."

★ Compliance with Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in both letter of the law and with the spirit which the funds were designated — to help meet the needs of students from low-income families.

★ A requirement that Housing Authority and Urban Renewal comprehensive plans include detailed information as to how the projects will contribute toward eliminating patterns of racial and economic segregation in housing.

★ White residents who live in racially segregated areas to promote principles of open occupancy and aid in its implementation.

★ Negroes who are seriously seeking housing to consider purchasing or renting in now all-white neighborhoods for the creation of a harmonious, inclusive community for all residents.

★ Aid from moral and religious agencies to dispell the "myth concerning integrated housing" and to prevent panic caused by "misinformation and groundless fears."

Another resolution called on members of the Council to accept "a personal responsibility to get involved in the local level in organizations and committees in the areas of voter registration, economic opportunity, employment, public education and housing."

The Council re-elected Rev. Walter B. Clancy president, Dr. William H. Townsend and William G. Kelly II, vice presidents, Mrs. Frank N. Gordon secretary and Rev. A. M. Roberts Jr. treasurer. All are of Little Rock.

ARKANSAS

Hays Expected to Enter Arkansas Race Today

Wash. Post 4/14/66

Special to The Washington Post

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 13 — Former Congressman Brooks Hays, of Little Rock, is expected to announce Thursday that he will be a candidate for Governor of Arkansas on the Democratic ticket this fall.

Hays would only say late today that he would announce his decision at a press conference Thursday morning.

Hays, now Associate Director of the Community Relations Service, is an avowed moderate on the race issue, a fact that cost him re-election to his House seat in 1958.

He lost, after serving eight terms, to Dr. Dale Alford, also of Little Rock, who ran against Hays as a write-in candidate with the backing of Gov. Orval E. Faubus.

Faubus has said that he will not seek a seventh term as Governor in November and a general scramble for the Democratic nomination is expected.

At least eight and perhaps as many as ten Democrats are expected to file for their Party's primary to see who will oppose Republican Winthrop Rockefeller. Rockefeller, running for the second time, is given a good chance in the race for Governor.

Two Democrats, State Rep. Kenneth S. Sulcer of Osceola, and former State Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson, have already filed. Johnson is a founder of the segregationist Citizens Council of Little Rock.

Alford, who served two terms in the House, has also hinted that he might enter the gubernatorial race.

Hays, now 67, ran for Governor in 1928 and 1930, losing both times. During the 1958 congressional campaign, Hays took a moderate stand on the Little Rock desegregation crisis when Faubus used National Guardsmen to block school integration. Hays' position cost him the election.

Pictures on Page 12.

ARK.

A FIFTH DEMOCRAT IN ARKANSAS RACE

NYT 4/23/66

68-Year-Old Businessman Is Seeking Governorship

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 22—Raymond Rebsamen of Little Rock, a millionaire industrialist and philanthropist, became a Democratic candidate for Governor today.

The announcement surprised the state. Mr. Rebsamen, 68 years old, had not been mentioned in speculation about the race. He was the fifth Democrat to enter the primary contest. Several others are expected to file before the deadline for filing next Wednesday.

The primary will be held on July 26. If no candidate gets a majority, a runoff will be held Aug. 9. So far, Winthrop Rockefeller is the only announced candidate on the Republican side.

Mr. Rebsamen disclosed late yesterday that he would run. He paid his $1,500 filing fee in cash this morning. Before filing, he resigned by telephone as chairman of the board of directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.

Mr. Rebsamen also is a member of the board of directors of the Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company, which furnishes natural gas for most of the state. He said he would resign shortly from that position.

Linked to Stephens

The board chairman of Arkansas Louisiana Gas is W. R. Stephens, who is known as a king-maker in Arkansas politics and the key man behind Gov. Orval E. Faubus. Mr. Faubus is not seeking re-election to a seventh term.

"I don't believe I would have wanted to oppose Governor Faubus," Mr. Rebsamen declared.

He refused to critize the Governor's administration.

Mr. Rebsamen said he did not intend to spend a large amount of money to be elected. He is widely known, especially in central Arkansas, where he has contributed money and land to many civic projects.

Mr. Rebsamen first became successful with a general insurance agency he established in 1928. He now owns the largest Ford dealership in Arkansas and over the years has moved into banking, hotel, and land development businesses and has been a stockholder in a number of companies.

Others Expected to Run

Two other major candidates are expected to file tomorrow —Sam H. Boyce, 34, prosecutor of Newport, who is a former assistant attorney general and a persistent critic of Mr. Faubus, and Dr. Dale Alford, 50, of Little Rock, an ophthalmologist who was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1958 as a segregationist. Dr. Alford opposed Mr. Faubus for Governor in 1962 and has since relaxed his segregationist views.

Democrats already in the race are Brooks Hays, 67, of Little Rock, a former representative; Jim Johnson, 41, of Jacksonville, a former associate justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court who ran an unsuccessful segregationist campaign against Mr. Faubus in 1956; State Representative Kennedy S. Sulcer, 40, of Osceola, and Winston G. Chandler, 46, of Little Rock, president of a trailer convoy concern, who opposed Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, in 1962 and lost by a vote of 250,000 to 130,000.

FAUBUS STAYS OUT AT CLOSE OF FILING

ARKANSAS

10 Seeking to Succeed Him as Arkansas' Governor

4/28/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 27 — The qualifying deadline for the July 26 primary elections in Arkansas passed at noon today and for the first time in 12 years the Democratic ticket did not include the name of Orval Eugene Faubus.

The six-term Governor, who has dominated the state's politicf longer and more thoroughly than anyone in Arkansas history, kept his pledge of March 21 to step aside this year.

He had made the same pledge in two previous elections and had changed his mind at the last minute

The Governor's retirement inspired the largest numbzr of gubernatorial candidates in years. Eight Democrats and two Republicans are running.

The scramble for office spread to other races. United States Representatives Wilbur D. Mills, James W. Trimble and E. C. Gathings all have opposition. So do Senator John L. McClellan and Attorney General Bruce Bennett.

The opponents of Mr. Mills and Mr. McClellan are political unknowns, but the opponents of the others include some experienced politicians.

6 Seek Harris Seat

Five Democrats and one Republican are seeking the seat vacated by Representative Oren Harris, Democrat, who resigned to accept a Federal judgeship.

The Republicans were forced to hold a statewide primary when Gus McMillan, a Democrat, switched parties and entered the race for the Republican gubernatorial nomination yesterday. He will oppose Winthrop A. Rockefeller, Arkansas Republican National Committeeman and brother of New York's Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

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Republican officials are skeptical of Mr. McMillan's conversion and are speculating openly that the Democrats put him into the race to cause the Republicans the expense and labor of a primary.

Frank Holt, who resigned Monday as an associate justice of the State Supreme Court to seek the Democratic nomination for Governor, has emerged as a leading contender.

An easy-going man, Mr. Holt had managed to stay relatively free of political entanglements all through the Faubus years. But when he filed for Governor on Monday, he was accused at once of being the handpicked candidate of the "Faubus organization."

Denies Label

He denied it, although he acknowledged having discussed his candidacy with W. R. Stephens, board chairman of the Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company and chief financial pillar of the Faubus administration. Several other major friends of the Faubus administration are lining up with Mr. Holt.

A few Faubus supporters, however, are joining other candidates. Lieut. Gov. Nathan Gordon, a long-time Faubus stalwart, is promoting the candidacy of Brooks Hays, a former United States Representative and Presidential adviser.

Others seeking the Democratic nomination for Governor are former United States Representative Dale Alford who, as a segregationist, defeated Mr. Hayes, a racial moderate, for Congress in 1958; Jim Johnson, a former State Supreme Court justice once known as a segregationist firebrand but now, along with Mr. Alford, trying to change that image, and Sam Boyce, an outspoken critic of Mr. Faubus and, at 34, the youngest man in the race.

Also seeking the nomination are Raymond Rebsamen, a Littl Rock millionaire and civic leader; Kenneth Sulcer, a state legislator from the Mississippi River Delta, and Winston Chandler, a right-wing conservative who unsuccessfully opposed Senator J. W. Fulbright in 1962.

5/1/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES

DEMOCRATS BEGIN ARKANSAS BATTLE

Arkansas

Tired Political Machine and No Heir Left by Faubus

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 28 — The contenders to succeed Orval E. Faubus as Governor, now that he is definitely out of the race this year, are feverishly courting his old supporters behind the scenes.

Meetings and quiet talks are being held all over the state to attract the key men in the banks, utilities, industries, construction companies, plantations, labor unions and courthouses.

Some Faubus men were committed to new candidates even before the ticket for the July 26 primary elections closed here yesterday. There is a feeling, however, that many are waiting to see how the eight Democratic and two Republican contenders shape up before taking a stand.

Frank Holt, an associate justice of the State Supreme Court who resigned to run for the Democratic nomination for Governor, is said to be the leading contender for the support of the Faubus organization, or what is left of it.

The organization is splintering. Before the primary deadline closed, two Faubus stalwarts, Lieut. Gov. Nathan Gordon and Sheriff Marlin Hawkins of Conway County, had gone to work for the candidacy of former United States Representative Brooks Hays, a racial moderate who was an adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

Alford Running Again

Carl Adams, a former welfare commissioner for Mr. Faubus, is campaigning for former United States Representative Dale Alford, a one-time segregationist who defeated Mr. Hays for Congress in 1958 and in turn was defeated by Mr. Faubus when he tried for the Governor's office in 1962.

Just how much of the Faubus organization will be left to inherit is not certain. There are indications that the machine of the 56-year-old Ozarks Populist has abou worn out durng the 12 years he has been Governor.

Three of his most trusted advisers had serious heart attacks during the last year.

Several of his legislative leaders have died or are retiring because of poor health. Others are threatened with expulsion because of court-ordered reapportionment of the rural-dominated Legislature.

Mr. Faubus is at odds with his most important agency, the Highway Commission, because of a scandal over several hundred thousand dollars worth of secret pay raises, placed on the payroll after office hours one night, for selected employes of the Highway Department. The raises were granted with the Governor's knowledge but apparently without the knowledge of the commission.

Because of a 12-year accumulation of political problems, the Governor is enjoying his worst relations ever with the state's Congressional delegation, with local politicians in various sections and even with certain of his own department heads in state government. He is rumored as a possible candidate against Senator J. W. Fulbright in 1968, and he was half expected to run against Senator John L. McClellan this year.

The race issue, which catapulted Mr. Faubus to fame and a third term after the Little Rock desegregation crisis of 1957, has subsided in Arkansas and is not expected to be a major concern in the elections this year.

Besides a general fatigue over the question, a rising Negro voter registration has helped engender moderation. Negro registration is estimated to have risen from 80,000 to 100,000 during the last year, and it will go higher before the election.

Mayor Ben Butler of Osceola, a crusty Faubus man from the Mississippi River Delta—and a Holt backer this year—remarked on the new moderation in a telephone interview.

"A man is a damn fool," he said, "if he thinks he can be in politics now and not pay any attention to them [the Negroes]. There's gonna be 100,000 of them vote this year."

It has been widely assumed that Winthrop Rockefeller, the leading Republican candidate, who ran a strong race against Mr. Faubus in 1964, would get most of the Negro vote again this year. That is not necessarily true.

Mr. Rockefeller has had little success in welding an organizational following among Negroes during the last two years. With most of his possible Democratic opponents untainted by racism, he no longer can take the Negro vote for granted.

Taxpayers' Math Gives Revenue Men Headache

CHICAGO (AP)—Taxpayers' math is giving Internal Revenue men an outsized headache.

More than 3.9 million errors in "tax arithmetic" turned up in a check of 62.9 million individual income tax returns for 1965. Commerce Clearing House says this is 1.3 million more errors than the previous year.

Most of the errors were in favor of the taxpayer.

Verification resulted in the collection of an extra $194-million in taxes, an increase of more than $28.5-million from the previous year.

Increases averaging $98 were asked from more than 1.9 million taxpayers.

ARKANSAS

Hall Boundaries To Stay the Same; Protests Heard

By DOUG SMITH
Of the Gazette Staff

After more than an hour of lively discussion Friday, the Little Rock School Board Friday let the new Hall High School attendance boundaries stand.

An outspoken group of parents whose children will be required to attend Central High School this fall because of the boundaries adopted by the Board on May 9 packed the meeting room to ask that their children be allowed to attend Hall.

Board member Warren K. Bass, who said he had voted against the boundaries, moved that their request be granted, but his motion died for lack of a second.

About 60 children who will enter the tenth grade this fall will be required to attend Central because the Board set West Markham Street as the southern boundary for attendance at Hall. The Board said the boundary was necessary because Hall was overcrowded.

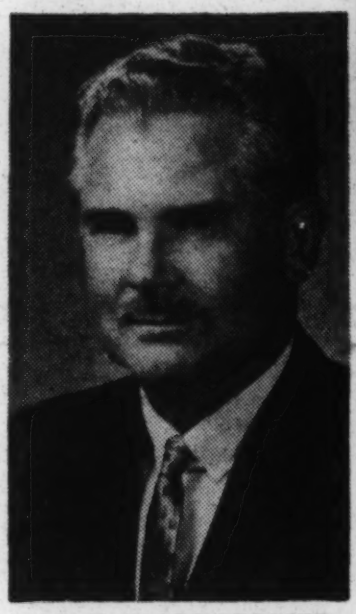
Dr. Paul N. Means of 7509 Choctaw Road said some of the children in the group had attended six schools in nine years. This is a traumatic experience for them, he contended. He said some of the students lived within a mile of Hall and from three to six miles from Central and that this would create a transportation problem.

Dr. Means said the parents wanted the School Board to put up temporary classrooms at Hall for a year. The proposed new high school at John Barrow Road and West Twenty-seventh Street is to be completed in a year and the Board says it will relieve the overcrowded conditions at Hall.

Herbert M. Chafin of 311 Cherokee Circle said he had two children who had graduated from Hall, one who will be a senior there next year and another who will enter the tenth grade next fall and refused to attend Central.

Chafin said there was a keen rivalry between the two schools and that for Hall students, Central was the great nemesis. "I'd rather she'd be assigned to Fort Smith or Pine Bluff," he said. He said that when his daughter told him she wouldn't attend Central, he told her, "Well, you can go to Metropolitan and be a cosmetologist."

Billy B. Bowe of 22 Flag Road said the Board had created a



DR. H. HARDY PERRITT
Board's Advisory Specialist

by Dr. Keith Goldhammer and Dr. Lawrence Fish, has done several similar surveys, Parsons said. The Board said it would invite a member of the team to Little Rock for an interview.

The last item of the meeting was brought up by McDonald. He said he favored setting up a citizens advsory committee as an official body. The group could include representatives of the PTA Council, the League of Women Voters, the NAACP, the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO among others. he said. Coates said if there was one thing Little Rock schools weren't deficient in, it was committees. He said he valued the School Board's independence from the various committees that offer advice and thought it would be a mistake to give one official status. Bass moved that the Board adopt McDonald's suggestion, but failed to get a second again.

"Mr. Bass is batting 1.000," McDonald said.

problem.

Dr. Means said the parents wanted the School Board to put up temporary classrooms at Hall for a year. The proposed new high school at John Barrow Road and West Twenty-seventh Street is to be completed in a year and the Board says it will relieve the overcrowded conditions at Hall.

Herbert M. Chafin of 311 Cherokee Circle said he had two children who had graduated from Hall, one who will be a senior there next year and another who will enter the tenth grade next fall and refused to attend Central.

Chafin said there was a keen rivalry between the two schools and that for Hall students, Central was the great nemesis. "I'd rather she'd be assigned to Fort Smith or Pine Bluff," he said. He said that when his daughter told him she wouldn't attend Central, he told her, "Well, you can go to Metropolitan and be a cosmetologist."

Billy B. Bowe of 22 Flag Road said the Board had created a gerrymander when it set the boundaries. He said two Board members who lived in the Hall district lived farther from Hall than the objecting parents did. Temporary classrooms wouldn't be objectionable for special classes, he said.

Board member Dr. J. A. Harrell Jr. said the problem at Hall wasn't classroom space but laboratory space, cafeteria space and hall space. He said students attending Hall while it was overcrowded were getting a second-rate education.

David Feltus of 7502 Choctaw Road told the Board, "If there's ever been discrimination in Mississippi, it's nothing like what we're getting here."

After some more of that, Bass offered another motion, this one to let the administrative staff assign students to Hall. That, too, failed to get a second and it set off a debate between Board Member Russell H. Matson Jr. and a member of the parents' group who wanted to know why the Board wouldn't trust the administrative staff's judgment. Matson said the Board members were elected to make controversial decisions and to act as a buffer between the staff and the school patrons. Board member James M. Coates Jr. told the group that the Board had considered six alternatives to relieve the overcrowding at Hall and that all of them were controversial.

"If we'd adopted any of the others, there'd be just as many people down here," he said. W. C. McDonald, chairman of the Board, agreed and asked for the third time if there was a second to Bass' first motion. There wasn't.

"We're not here as a group of irate property owners," Dr. Means told the Board at the start of the meeting. They looked irate when they left.

Board Votes to Hire Advisory Specialist

The Board voted to hire Dr. H. Hardy Perritt, chairman of the Division of Humanities and professor of English at Miles College at Birmingham, Ala., as an advisory specialist on human relations on the recommendation of School Superintendent Floyd Parsons. The School District has received a $32,314 grant from the Office of Education to set up the position.

Miles is a Negro college, but Perritt is white. He is 48, a native of Wesson, Miss., and received a bachelor's degree in history and English and a master's degree in speech and political science from Louisiana State University. He received his doctor's degree in speech and political science from the University of Florida. Parsons said Perritt would report August 1.

The Board voted to talk with a desegregation survey team from the University of Oregon about making a survey of Little Rock schools. The team, headed several similar surveys, Parsons said. The Board said it would invite a member of the team to Little Rock for an interview.

The last item of the meeting was brought up by McDonald. He said he favored setting up a citizens advsory committee as an official body. The group could include representatives of the PTA Council, the League of Women Voters, the NAACP, the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO among others. he said. Coates said if there was one thing Little Rock schools weren't deficient in, it was committees. He said he valued the School Board's independence from the various committees that offer advice and thought it would be a mistake to give one official status. Bass moved that the Board adopt McDonald's suggestion, but failed to get a second again.

"Mr. Bass is batting 1.000," McDonald said.

ARKANSAS
8/7/66

ARKANSAS RUNOFF TESTS PRESIDENT

Democrats Pick Candidate for Governor Tuesday

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 6 (AP)—Arkansas takes a second step Tuesday toward selecting a successor to Gov. Orval E. Faubus in a Democratic primary runoff that one candidate calls a test of President Johnson's political strength.

Jim Johnson, an outspoken critic of the National Administration led the ticket in the July 26 preferential primary with 106,000 votes. He called it support for his attacks on "Federal authoritarianism."

"This has put a crack in Lyndon Johnson's armor on invincicility that will be seen around the world," Mr. Johnson proclaimed.

His runoff opponent is Frank Holt, a career politician who says the election of Mr. Johnson might endanger Arkansas' extensive Federal aid programs.

A co-feature of the governorship runoff is a race between two young lawyers, David Pryor of Camden and Richard Arnold of Texarkana, for the Fourth District Congressional seat nomination.

Mr. Pryor, 31 years old, led the five-man ticket July 26, campaigning largely on his record as a state legislator for six years.

Must Face Rockefeller

Mr. Arnold is a newcomer to politics. The post was vacated in February by the resignation of Oren Harris, who became a Federal judge. The winner faces Republican opposition.

The winner of the Johnson-Holt contest must face Winthrop Rockefeller and a revitalized Republican party in November. The Democratic nomination no longer amounts to victory in this once "safe" Democratic state.

A major issue in the Governor's race was whether Mr. Holt was the Faubus administration candidate and would keep it on power, even though Mr. Faubus is retiring after 12 years in office.

Mr. Holt said he was a "free and unfettered" candidate.

Mr. Faubus declined publicly to back any candidate, but Mr. Johnson and the five eliminated in the first primary charged that Mr. Holt had the Governor's tacit support.

Segregation was not an issue, although Mr. Johnson vaulted to state-level politics as a spokesman for segregationists during racial troubles of the nineteen-fifties, a fact he recalled to voters' minds several times.

They Agree on Some Issues

Mr. Holt is regarded as a moderate on civil rights but he has refused to say where he stands on the question.

Both candidates promised to enforce civil rights laws.

Both resigned from the state Supreme Court to make the race.

Both have extensive programs for developing the state.

There the similarities end.

Mr. Johnson's career has been marked by controversy, spectacular success and sharp setbacks. He upset an incumbent Senator for a state legislative position, lost in a previous race for Governor, and easily won a Supreme Court seat.

Mr. Holt, who has never opposed an incumbent, has never lost an election. He has moved steadily through the ranks, from prosecutor to attorney general to state Supreme Court justice.

Johnson's attacks on the National Administration are not new. He supported state Democrats in 1964, but threw his support to the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater.

In this campaign he has said several times that the only good Lyndon Johnson is doing in the President's chair "is keeping Hubert Humphrey out of it."

VOTE IN ARKANSAS CALLED A PROTEST

8/11/66

Fear and Resentment Tied to Johnson's Victory

ARKANSAS

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 10 — The nomination of Jim Johnson, a hard-core segregationist, as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Arkansas yesterday was interpreted today by political observers as a clear expression of fear and resentment among white voters.

The Johnson victory had many roots. But mainly it was regarded as a protest asainst the domestic policies of President Johnson and the national Democratic party, the civil rights movement and racial violence.

Some voters were also believed to be expressing their dissatisfaction with the political organization headed for 12 years by retiring Gov. Orval Faubus.

Mr. Johnson, 41 years old, defeated J. Frank Holt, 55, a racial moderate supported by liberals and many of the old Faubus people, by 210,646 to 195,660, with all precincts unofficially reported.

Mr. Johnson's nomination is believed certain to encourage Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in his plan to seek the Presidency again in 1968 on a campaign of opposition to the National Democratic Party.

Mr. Johnson is a friend and admirer of Governor Wallace. He campaigned across the South for Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona in the 1964 Presidential race.

The Johnson victory presents a challenge to the revived Republican party in Arkansas in its attempt to capture the Governor's office at the November general election.

Challenge to Rockefeller

It is believed that Winthrop Rockefeller, the wealthy, racially moderate Republican candidate, will be hard put to match Mr. Johnson's vivid oratory and white supremacist appeal.

The Republicans quietly aided the Johnson campaign by urging Negroes and liberals to stay away from the polls, or to vote for Mr. Johnson. They theorized that Mr. Johnson would be easier to defeat than Mr. Holt.

Mr. Johnson skillfully exploited whites' fears of Negro unrest by assuring the voters that as Governor he would deal firmly with street violence and agitation.

He said that the Federal Government was abetting Negro unrest through civil rights legislation and the guidelines for speeding desegregation of schools and hospitals.

He denounced the guidelines vigorously, putting a finger on an issue that disturbs whites across the South this year.

Mr. Johnson ignored his opponents' charge that his elec-

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He denounced the guidelines vigorously, putting a finger on an issue that disturbs whites across the South this year.

Mr. Johnson ignored his opponents' charge that his election, far from preventing violence, would thrust the state into turmoil, "setting class against class and race against race."

Racist Campaign in '56

Mr. Johnson's first campaign for Governor, in 1956, when he unsuccessfully opposed Mr. Faubus, was more openly racist. The white Citizens Council, which he had helped to found in Arkansas, was in full flower. Many whites at the time still hoped that they could avoid integration. Since then, token integration has been accepted in most of Arkansas.

Mr. Johnson's victory was apparently more than racial backlash. It also appeared to be a protest against strange, sophisticated political methods, "socialism," higher taxes, wastful spending, bureaucracy, even secularism.

His main theme was a return to the old values. Arkansans, he said, are courageous, stable, friendly and energetic. Denouncing what he called waste in both state and Federal programs, he appealed to the rural instinct for thrift. He pledged never to raise taxes and said his first act as Governor would be to cut some of them.

He also denounced the Supreme Court's decision that a public school could not require daily prayers.

Mr. Johnson's public style is similar to that of a traveling Fundamentalist preacher. His language is Biblical and his drawling voice, tremulous at the high notes, evokes in an audience believable demonic images, so that "socialism and usurpers in Washington" becomes a clear and present danger.

Prayer Before Rally

He began one small rally in southern Arkansas by saying, "Let's kneel and have a word of prayer," whereupon 75 voters dropped to their knees and prayed.

His campaign also offered the excitement of seeming conspiracy. He told the voters that he had reliable information that President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey had personally sent orders, through the Faubus machine, to "defeat Jim Johnson at all costs."

Mr. Johnson was almost as hard on "the machine," meaning the Faubus organization, as he was on President Johnson, the Supreme Court and what he describes as "that gang of parasites in Washington."

He said the "machine" had become entrenched and was making its friends wealthy.

Two other "machine" candidates were defeated along with Mr. Holt.

Claude Carpenter, a former aide to Mr. Faubus, was defeated by James H. Pilkinton, City Attorney of Hope, for the Lieutenant Governor's nomination.

Attorney General Bruce Bennett lost his bid for a fifth term nomination to Joe Purcell, a former municipal judge at Benton, in spite of quiet campaign help from Faubus workers.

Winner in Arkansas

NYT 8/11/66

James Douglas Johnson

~~ARKANSAS~~

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Aug. 10—At the barbecues and rallies when all the candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor would speak, the crowds would mill around and chat and sip their drinks. Then James Douglas Johnson would start to talk and the crowd would hush and listen. His language was Biblical, his drawling voice compelling, his vocal images vivid. "When I look on the national scene," he shrilled to one audience, "and I see drunk men at the head of the Government, and I see high-placed preachers on the President's staff dancing vulgar dances until 3 o'clock in the morning while our boys are fighting and dying in the jungles of Vietnam, I cringe, I tell you. If that's the Great Society, Jim Johnson wants no part of it."

Man in the News

A majority of Arkansas Democrats must have agreed. They chose Mr. Johnson yesterday as their candidate for Governor, the high point so far of a political career that began quietly but started to catch fire after the United States Supreme Court decision in 1954 outlawing school segregation.

Mr. Johnson, until then an undistinguished state senator, began to appear in the news as a spokesman for white supremacy. He became director of the White Citizens Council. In 1956 he ran a bitter campaign against Gov. Orval E. Faubus. He said Mr. Faubus was "pussyfooting" on the racial question and "leading Arkansas squarely down the road to racial integration."

For Mr. Johnson, the racial question was simple. He was born and brought up in the Ku Klux Klan territory in the southeast Arkansas pine woods and he is, according to the people who watch Arkansas politics, a segregationist "true believer."

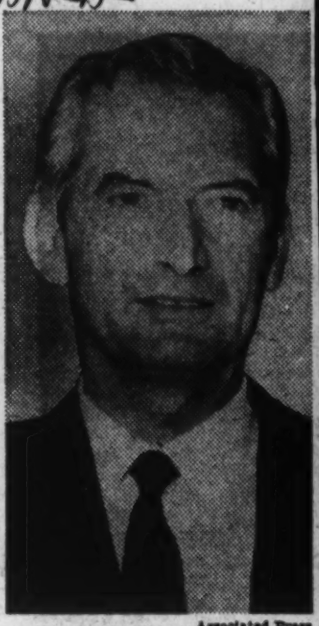
A Change Was Noticed

This year, the newsmen who followed his campaign found a change in the genial nature he used to show in private. This year he appeared to be grouchy toward the press and he seemed disturbingly intense.

When he inveighed against the "Socialists and usurpers in Washington," the image became clear and real to his audience and he appeared to be deeply convinced of its truth himself.

One thing that did not change was his persistent public reference to religion. He told the voters often that he was close to God. His wife Virginia, who campaigned with him, told a television audience last week that her husband prayed each night before retiring.

He was born Aug. 20, 1924, in Crossett. As a boy, he worked in his family's general store there. He earned his law degree at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn. During World War II, he served in the Marines. In 1947, he married the former Virginia Morris of El Paso, Ark. They are the parents of three sons, Mark Douglas and twins, John David and Joseph Daniel.



Associated Press

A racial true believer

In 1950, Mr. Johnson was elcted to the State Senate from Crossett.

He ran for attorney general in 1954 and was beaten. He ran for Governor in 1956 and was beaten. In 1958, he ran for a seat on the state Supreme Court and won.

The Johnson performance on the bench was mixed. He took part in a decision voiding convictions of some Negro sit-in demonstrators—a fact he pointed to when he was accused this year of racial prejudice. But he found himself unable to "bite my tongue" and, while continuing as a judge, spoke out often on public issues. In 1964, he toured the South for the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater.

If the Johnson oratory is strident, the Johnson appearance is not. He is 5 feet 9 inches tall, slightly built, well tanned, his hair graying.

Patches of Humor

His vocabulary is good and he is a remarkably effective speaker. He paces his speeches well, interspersing his denunciation of Big Government in Washington with patches of humor.

"I'm convinced that the greatest service Lyndon Johnson is performing for the people of this country is the fact that his sitting in the Hubert Humphrey out of it," he told one appreciative audience.

In his successful campaign this year, Mr. Johnson did not use a colorful fund-raising technique he had used in 1956. He would put a metal bucket then at the front of the platform and, as in some small country churches, the audience would file by and drop in their contributions.

But the religious orientation remained in the language. "Don't you make me fight your battle alone," he would implore. "Don't you make me carry this cross alone. And when this fight is over, let's be able to emulate Paul who said, 'I have fought a good fight. I have finished the course. I have kept the faith.'"

Parsons Says Coleman's Criticism Is That of an Uninformed Newcomer

Ed. - Ark. Gazette

By BILL LEWIS
Of the Gazette Staff

Superintendent Floyd W. Parsons personally delivered his reply Thursday to an attack on the school administration Wednesday by Elijah Coleman, acting director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Parsons told Coleman in a meeting that was admirable but frank that he had delivered his reply in person because I want to show you the courtesy of handing you a copy before showing it to the press." Coleman had sent his statement to the Gazette but sent none to Parsons.

In it, Coleman renewed the Council's offer to serve as an advisory group to the School Board on desegregation matters, charged the administration with "dishonest representations" and cited a couple of examples of what he considered the school administration's bad faith in carrying out desegregation or in repair of a Negro school cafeteria.

Parsons noted in his written three-page reply that Coleman was a new resident of Little Rock and "evidently felt compelled to attack something or somebody in order to let our citizens know he was here."

The superintendent noted that while the Council pleads for the School Board to use its resources as consultants, "the press is filled with reports of strife, misunderstanding and disunity in purpose among the wide variety of organizations interested in the civil rights movement" and to select the Council for this purpose would be "parallel to selecting one church group or one denomination as consultants to the school system."

Parsons conceded that, as charged, the dual system had not been "disestablished" but said progress toward it is "almost unbelievable" and has been cited nationally.

"We will be glad when this problem is solved once and for all," he said. "Then the time-consuming and energy-consuming sparring with community groups can be replaced by productive efforts to build a more effective program of education for all children."

Referring to Coleman's questioning of the Board's employment of consultants to make a survey on the ground that local people aren't aware of specific problems, Parsons asked: "Where has Mr. Coleman been during the past few years? The problem has been thoroughly and completely identified. We are now in the process of seeking solutions to the problem, and the team of professional educators will study housing patterns, locations of existing buildings, proposed school sites, financial requirements, sociological impingements and educational involvements in creating a unitary system of education for our community."

had lost its 'A' rating. We proceeded immediately to make corrections required to restore the rating. The necessary corrective measures were made, the rating of the cafeteria restored, and we have received no notification that this cafeteria fails to meet the required standards."

Then he got to the charge of "dishonesty" by the school administration.

"I will not say that the many false and erroneous statements made in his press release were based upon a dishonest appraisal of the Little Rock Public Schools," Parsons' statement said. "I will, however, state that his charges were based upon lack of information, misinformation and extremely poor judgment." He said Coleman has held his position too briefly to make a full public appraisal of the school operations.

Parsons concluded, "I am convinced that the two of us are striving for the same ultimate goal but derogatory and false charges flagrantly made to the general public may serve to impede rather than accelerate solutions to the problem."

Parsons Illustrates School's Progress

Parsons' statement cited facts illustrating progress the school district has made toward desegregation since 1961. At that time, he said, 14 Negro students were enrolled in formerly white schools; now there are 1,360 Negroes in schools formerly identified as white. Five years ago, he said, all Negroes were taught by Negro teachers and all white students by white teachers; this year, more than 4,000 students are being taught by teachers of another race. Athletic competition five years ago was segregated; this year it is open on a non-racial basis; since 1961, all faculty meetings and in-service programs have ben totally desegregated; freedom of choice has been substituted by pupil placement; and the number of children experiencing integrated education has increased from a handful to almost 15,000 this year. There are 24,103 students enrolled in the public schools this year.

In his brief conversation with Coleman, which was attended by a newsman, Parsons invited Coleman to visit the School Board offices and to discuss problems with school officials. He told Coleman he did not think Coleman fully understood the problems "when you made this premature release" and said he was delivering his to Coleman in person to "show you the courtesy you didn't show me."

9-16-62

Coleman said his objective was to "keep the general public informed" and Parsons replied that he agreed this was needed and while communication is never as good as it should be, "I think the public here is reasonably well informed."

Parsons told Coleman he thought the two of them "can communicate with each other much more effectively than we can communicate through the press.

"We are working for the same goals," he said. "If we start lambasting each other through the press, it could serve to impede progress toward a solution rather than accelerate it, and we are tremendously interested in accelerating the progress within the framework in which we are operating."

Coleman suggested a Negro deputy superintendent might be appointed. Parsons said this would necessitate displacement of well-qualified people already on the staff and that advancements should be made in those other areas where displacement would not be necessary.

existing buildings, proposed school sites, financial requirements, sociological impingements and educational involvements in creating a unitary system of education for our community."

Repair Work Criticized

Coleman had criticized repair of temporary structures at Carver Elementary School because they were late and were made only after classes had begun. Said Parsons: "When general repairs and refurbishing have been accomplished for a classroom or a building and then vandals break all the glasses, destroy the window frames and spread paint and debris over the classrooms, we proceed to repair the damages within time schedules permitted by the work load of the Maintenance Department. The classrooms in question at Carver School were completely repainted prior to the time that the vandals struck. Much of the work previously done had to be redone."

Coleman also had criticized operation of the Carver cafeteria, and Parsons said this was one question he did not understand.

"Last year we were notified that this particular cafeteria

Ed. - Ann. UPA
B.S.

School Board Member Implies Criticism Of Parson's Action

ARKANSAS

A member of the Little Rock School Board issued a statement Saturday implying criticism of Superintendent Floyd W. Parsons for his reaction to the statement issued by Elijah Coleman, acting director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Without naming Parsons, Mrs. Jean Gordon expressed the hope that "we school officials can be open enough to sit down, discuss and act upon these problems with people who have shown their concern for children by pointing out these problems."

To imply, she continued, "that citizens making complaints to us do not have the authority to do so belies our stated policy that we welcome interest on the part of any citizen."

Coleman's statement, issued to the Gazette, was critical of the administration's desegregation progress and accused it of "dishonest representations."

Parsons, who delivered his reply to Coleman in person, said that as a new resident of Little Rock, Coleman "evidently felt compelled to attack something or somebody in order to let our citizens know he was here."

Mrs. Gordon said that one of the problems cited by Coleman — a situation at Carver-Pfeifer School — had been brought to the attention of school authorities through "regular methods of appeal" but that they had been "to no avail before Mr. Coleman took his case to the press."

Different Viewpoints Called Unfortunate

Mrs. Gordon called the exchange of "different viewpoints" by Parsons and Coleman "an unfortunate occurrence."

"Since I happen to be on the Board of both organizations [the School Board and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations] I feel that I have some understanding of each viewpoint. As a School Board member, I think it is very important that these differing points of view be reconciled."

She said it was the School Board's stated policy "that we welcome and need interest and help from our citizens in the form of suggestions and criticism. Two of our biggest tasks as school directors are doing away with our dual school system and equalizing educational opportunities by enriching school programs for deprived children."

She said she was proud of the progress toward the goals of abolishing the dual system and of creating a single quality system "but I feel we must be realistic about the problems still to be solved."

Parsons emphasized in his brief conversation with Coleman that he would welcome Coleman to his office to discuss problems at any time but criticized him for issuing the statement to the press without providing him a copy first. His prepared reply, however, was more sharply worded, calling many of Coleman's statements "false and erroneous" and based on "lack of information, misinformation and extremely poor judgment."

In the matter of school desegregation, Mrs. Gordon said it seemed essential to her "that we co-operate with, in particular, the bi-racial committee which has been set up by a broadly representative group of Little Rock people as well as organizations like the Arkansas Council on Human Relations" and said the Board already had agreed, by a resolution adopted in April, to do so.

Coleman had renewed the offer of the Council to serve as an advisory group to the School Board on desegregation issues. Parsons said the Board could not single out any one group to the exclusion of others.

10/16/66

GOVERNOR'S CHAIR

Arkansas Foes Ready for Race

By JOHN R. STARR

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Oct. 15 (AP)—The wraps are about to come off in the Arkansas governor's race between Democrat Jim Johnson and Republican Winthrop Rockefeller after two months of nothing more than some gentle sparring.

The lull has been Johnson's doing. Rockefeller came out ready to fight just after Johnson won a bitter Democratic runoff primary with less than 52 per cent of the vote Aug. 9.

But, while Rockefeller paraded across the state, Johnson stayed in his headquarters and worked at patching up the Democratic party organization, split by the primary campaign.

Fearful of wearing himself out while his opponent was in hiding, Rockefeller quickly cut back his schedule.

Success in uniting the party behind him is critical to Johnson. Already some top Democrats have defected. Most are reported ready to.

Planter R. E. L. Wilson of Wilson and manufacturer Dansby Council of Fort Smith head an aggressive Democrats for Rockefeller organization. Rockefeller's finance chairman is Jack Pickens, a wealthy Little Rock contractor who has been close to several Democratic administrations.

AN EARLY FEAR among voters that election of Johnson might precipitate racial demonstrations and violence appears to be diminishing. Johnson has refused to discuss the race issue, except to admit that he is a segregationist.

Rockefeller has continued to call Johnson a radical on the race issue, as did Johnson's opponents for the Democratic nomination.

Fear of Johnson's position on the race issue is high in the minds of voters, said Rockefeller in a recent interview. He said Johnson probably would prefer that the topic be dropped, and added, "If I had his record, I wouldn't want to talk about it either."

Johnson has made it clear that he will try to make this a "poor boy vs. rich man" race such as Gov. Orval Faubus ran successfully against Rockefeller two years ago.

Faubus, retiring after six two-year terms, is not working openly for Johnson, although he has said he would rather see a Democrat win than a Republican.

HOUSTON TO AVOID RIGHTS LEGAL AID

~~HOUSTON~~ TEXAS

Agency Reacts to Criticism in School Integration Case

9/20/66

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Sept. 19—The director of the Office of Economic Opportunity's legal aid agency here, stung by criticism of its involvement in a school desegregation case, said today that the agency would avoid future civil rights cases.

Sam D. Johnson, director of the Houston Legal Foundation, which received a $704,000 grant this year for legal aid to the poor, announced last Friday that the foundation would drop the desegration case.

The foundation's position could make it a test case as to the obligation of a federally subsidized legal aid unit to represent poor Negroes in civil rights litigation.

Mr. Johnson said in an interview that he knew of no poverty office regulation that required local agencies to undertake civil rights cases. He said the foundation would not take such cases in the future unless it was instructed to do so by its 21-member board of trustees.

Letter to the Board

The controversy arose last week after a foundation lawyer had written a letter to the school board on behalf of Mrs. Melvyn Davis, a 39-year-old Negro barber, who wished to enroll her son Darrell in a still segregated class of a partly integrated school.

School authorities had refused to admit Darrell to the ninth grade of the school, citing a court-approved plan for a gradual desegregation.

All grades but the ninth had been integrated under the plan. The ninth grade will be desegregated next year.

The letter explained that the plan would require Darrell to attend an all-Negro school twice as far from his home as the integrated school. It cited a recent Supreme Court ruling that Negro children in such situations must be admitted to the integrated school, despite a gradual plan.

This action generated heavy behind-the-scenes pressure from conservative elements, plus open opposition from a new lawyers' organization that said the foundation was draining paying clients away from private practitioners.

In a letter to the foundation, the Texas Society of Practicing Lawyers, Inc., charged that Mrs. Davis was not indigent because her divorced husband could have been required to contribute to their son's legal expenses.

Mr. Johnson agreed and withdrew the foundation from the case.

He said that a poverty office agency could not legally duplicate a function being performed by another Federal department and contended that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had made the Justice Department the proper agency to handle school desegregation suits.

J. Charles Whitfield Jr., president of the Practicing Lawyers Society, said Mrs. Davis's suit was "a test case by the civil rights groups to see if they can get a free ride off the Federal Government."

Mr. Whitfield, a State Representative with a reputation as a liberal who is a member of one of the few racially integrated law firms in the nation, said the foundation should handle civil rights cases for truly indigent clients.

Negroes' Drive for Open Housing Causes Anxiet

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

housing desegregation strikes a raw nerve.

W. J. (Dukes) Duford, the friendly ex-football coach now serving as Commissioner of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, insists there is no outstanding racial difficulty. But he told a visitor:

"We'd have problems if outside groups came in here and demonstrated, even if they were peaceful demonstrations. A lot of people would get stirred up."

St. Louis, a mid-American city of 100,000 persons, is typical of the nation's metropolitan centers. Its boundaries have been frozen since 1876, and a massive flight to the suburbs has left the usual residue of urban vexations.

The bustling downtown business section is dominated by a 630-foot stainless steel arch conceived by Eero Saarinen, the architect. Glinting in the sun, the graceful structure is a symbolic gateway to the West.

Many crumbling old tene-

Instead, whites appear more prone to draw on a considerable reservoir of prejudice against Negroes, to voice antagonisms that have lain there, just under the surface, all along.

The comments of whites are marked by a sputtering irritation over demonstrations, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., black power, riots in other cities and other signs of Negro unrest.

They speak bitterly about welfare costs, complaining that most of the money goes to Negroes. They express resignation over having Negroes as fellow employes. There is muted anxiety about the busing of Negro children to outlying schools.

But in both blue-collar and middle-class sections, housing seems uppermost in virtually every mind. One knowledgeable authority asserted:

"There isn't a white neighborhood anywhere in St. Louis that you can have a colored family move in without it falling apart at the seams."

In a section of aging flats just south of Park Avenue, an off-

how they are and how they're always going to be."

"It used to be you could walk down the streets of Newport," Mr. Turnbough recalled, "and if there wasn't enough room on the sidewalk they [the Negroes] would step off and let you pass.

"Sometimes they'd even sort of bow and say, "Good evening, ma'am.' But you know what they'll do now? Why, they'll bump you right off the sidewalks."

He said he had worked brief as a "turn-on, light-up" man f the local gas company a often had called at homes Negro slum areas. It made hi sick, he said. The rats we sometimes terrible.

Negroes "are just trying start trouble," Mr. Turnboug declared. If a family tried move into his neighborhood, h is "pretty sure" there would b "lots of trouble."

"I don't know what the

You'll enjoy read

The Washington

... one of the wor

leading newspap

ARKANSAN TERMS RIGHTS PANEL SOFT

ARKANSAS

Adviser Says U.S. Agency Diluted Recommendations

12/4/66

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 3 —The chairman of the Arkansas advisory committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights denounced the parent commission this week.

Ted Lamb, a Little Rock advertising executive charged that the commission had diluted a report submitted by his advisory committee before it was published. Mr. Lamb disavowed the report.

"They have taken our clear and precise language and reduced it to a hodgepodge of bureaucratic mumbo jumbo to avoid recommending the sanctions of the Civil Rights Act," Mr. Lamb said. "I charge the members of the Civil Rights Commission staff and the people who wrote this report with having no stomach for imposing the sanctions of the Civil Rights Act."

Mr. Lamb, 39 years old, was a member of the Little Rock school board from 1958 to 1964 and withstood an attempt by segregationists, supported by Gov. Orval E. Faubus, to oust him in a recall election in 1959.

The advisory committee's report grew out of hearings it conducted in April in Eastern Arkansas. Mr. Lamb disclosed Thursday that the committee had recommended the following:

That Federal funds be withheld from seven school districts for failing to comply with Federal desegregation guidelines;; that all Government contracts with a rubber manufacturing plant at West Helena be suspended; and that Federal poll watchers be sent to Eastern Arkansas for the elections this year.

None of the recommendations was in the final report, Mr. Lamb said.

Discrimination, Mr. Lamb asserted, is built into a union contract with the Mohawk Rubber Company and into company policies on the hiring of women. The committee recommended that Federal contracts with the company be suspended until it stopped the practices.

The request for poll watchers was the result of charges of election fraud made by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee and the Election research Council, a private organization created in 1964 as a watchdog over elections.

The Election Research Council, which is headed by John H. Haley, a Little Rock lawyer, has received much of its financial support from Winthrop Rockefeller, the Republican Governor-elect of Arkansas.

Commission's Version

The Civil Rights Commission's version of the recommendations said that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the office of Federal Contract Compliance should review the policies of employers in four counties, that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should investigate charges of discrimination in hiring, and that the United States Office of Education should study the school districts' compliance with Federal desegregation guidelines more frequently and more intensively.

As for the election charges, the commission's version said that a voter education program should be started by the commission and that the staff should investigate allegations of racial discrimination in voting.

The Civil Rights Commission had the report revised five or six times, Mr. Lamb said. "They beat us down."

The commission has not acted on the report.

Dog Undergoes Surgery

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 3 (AP) —King, a German shepherd dog wounded last May during a manhunt, has undergone a two-hour operation that veterinarians termed successful. A spokesman for the University of Pennsylvania Veterinary Hospital said a metal plate, bolt and large screw were removed from the dog's left shoulder. They were inserted after a bullet shattered the animal's bone.

FAUBUS MAY RUN FOR A 7TH TERM

Observers Read Intention in Appointments of Negroes

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 4 —Some political observers here feel that Gov. Orval E. Faubus has decided not to keep his campaign promise of a year ago to give up the Governor's office in 1966.

Mr. Faubus is keeping his plans to himself, but evidence is mounting that he will seek a seventh term. One indication has been his intentness lately on making his peace with the Negro voters, a growing force in Arkansas politics.

The Negor vote may be strategic if the Governor's Republican opponent is Winthrop Rockefeller, a racial moderate, next November as it was last year. It could come in handy, too, if the growing anti-Faubus elements in the Democratic party finally find a strong opponent for the summer primaries.

Mr. Faubus was a racial moderate until the crisis at Little Rock in 1957, when he resisted court-ordered school integration. He then became a symbol of Southern resistance.

Lately, however, Mr. Faubus's remarks about integration have been temperate. A "Democrats-all-the-way" campaign, aided by President Johnson's popularity, delivered him large numbers of Negro voters in his race against Mr. Rockefeller in 1964.

Ten days ago, he announced that he was hiring more Negroes for state jobs and that he intended to put them on state boards and commissions. Before, they had served only on boards of Negro institutions.

Mr. Faubus followed this up last week by appointing George Henry, the director of the Urban League at Little Rock, to the State Manpower Development Council.

Mr. Rockefeller, Governor Rockefeller's brother, is co-chairman of the South-wide Advisory Committee for the league.

Without Mr. Johnson on the ticket next year, Mr. Faubus's task will be harder. A few Negro leaders are talking in terms of a Negro registration of between 150,000 and 200,000 next year and a bloc that size for Mr. Rockefeller would be hard to overcome.

In 1964, when Arkansas held its last election under the old poll tax system, about 100,000 of the 700,000 registered voters

Associated Press

MAY RUN AGAIN: Gov. Orval E. Faubus appears to seek new term in Arkansas.

ocratic party into harmony with the national party.

For the first time since 1957, Mr. Faubus lost control of the state Young Democratic organization in a bitter battle this fall.

Sam H. Boyce of Newport, 33 years old, who is a prosecuting attorney and a former assistant state Attorney General, took the presidency of the organization. Mr. Boyce is known to be willing to run for Governor if he can find the support.

Friends Service Group Planning Vietnam Project

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 4 —The American Friends Service Committee has announced plans to send young American volunteers to Vietnam to work with Vietnamese youth in programs of service in rural villages and hamlets.

The volunteers will work with the Voluntary Youth Association of Vietnam or a similar group. The association was established by young Vietnamese, some of whom had been part of Quaker work camps and seminars in Japan.

It is noteworthy, the committee said, that these young people work in border villages without being disturbed by the Vietcong or South Vietnamese.

Keokuk Blast Toll Rises to 16

KEOKUK, Iowa, Dec. 3 (UPI) —The deaths of two more persons today raised the toll in the Thanksgiving Eve explosion at the Keokuk Armory to 16. Mrs. Ruth Anderson and Randy Thompson, both of Keokuk, died in university hospitals in Iowa City.

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A permanent registration system went into operation this year and Negroes turned out heavily in the early months of registration.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, former state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, organized a statewide registration drive, but she suffered a stroke midway in the drive and it faltered.

Faubus Not Ruled Out

She said Friday that information from her workers indicated that about 125,000 Negroes had signed up. The drive will resume in the spring, she said.

Negro leaders are not counting Mr. Faubus out as a contender for these votes.

"The Negro vote is not going to be in the bag for anyone," one Negro leader said this week. "If Mr. Rockefeller doesn't go after it, he won't get it."

Mr. Rockefeller's silence last year cost him many Negro votes, he said. "Negroes are getting pretty nasty about white liberals who are ashamed to have it known that they are asking for the Negro vote," he said.

So far, the Governor's actions have not impressed Negroes.

"Most of the hiring," one said, "has been for federally financed programs where there is pressure from Washington. We don't blame him for capitalizing on it politically, but if he's serious we want him to start with the State Board of Education."

Mr. Rockefeller did not stop campaigning after his loss last fall. His large campaign staff is intact and he has been touring the state talking with local leaders about regional development.

Mr. Faubus has not had significant opposition in the Democratic primaries since 1962, but he is having problems keeping his party in line.

The insurgents in the Legislature increased this year and a group calling itself Democrats for Arkansas was formed in the summer to bring the state Democratic party into harmony with the national party.

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City Government Inadequate For Present Day, Report Says

ATLANTA AJ 2/23/66

By RALEIGH BRYANS

The team of experts which has just rendered a report critical of the Atlanta city government's administrative structure offered a variety of critical comments on city departments and operations.

These critical comments are sprinkled liberally through the report and apparently were offered by the experts in documentation of the conclusions they reached about the city's administrative setup.

Their conclusions add up to one major one—that the existing city government structure is too loose and, hence is inadequate for present day needs.

The experts who rendered the report (at city request) were members of the staff of the Public Administration Service of Chicago, a nationally and internationally recognized organization.

According to them, "It seems inescapable that it is the system, the plan of government, which is to blame for existing and growing difficulties" in the Atlanta government.

Here are some of the difficulties and deficiencies the experts noted in their report:

RENT-FREE HOUSES. Another way of padding out low salaries. Atlanta provides such quarters to 54 employes in five departments. Law requires that rent be paid; none is. Some of the houses are valued at over

Turn to Page 6, Column 1

City's Government Called Inadequate

Continued from Page 1

$30,000. "In 1965, two new houses (were) built, one apparently without full authorization. In the latter case the construction cost was met from a budgeted appropriation item: 'Shop and distribution system-general repairs.' The major abuse is that all employes in the same class do not receive housing . . . Fifty-four employes receive free housing and have the same titles, duties and salaries as 221 coworkers who do not. This situation is a justifiable source of resentment among coworkers."

PLANNING. The Planning Department "still lacks depth in staff" but is better off than formerly and "is receiving better recognition and being consulted more regularly." It is not organizationally located "in such a way as to be sufficiently accessible and responsive to the needs of the city's chief executive." The department "is beholden to too many boards and committees and must fritter away too much of its time providing staff assistance to them."

HOUSING CODE enforcement. The Building Department uses a multiple permit card for structures being repaired due to housing code actions. Each inspector (plumbing, electrical, etc.) is supposed to sign the permit card. "Some inspectors refuse to. In addition, the (card) is used only on repairs ordered by the housing division but not for other repairs (and) some repair jobs have cards while others do not. This situation creates confusion even among the inspectors."

URBAN RENEWAL. "The record of urban renewal in Atlanta is not outstanding. So far eight projects have been authorized for execution. Five began in 1956-57 and one each in 1961, 1962 and 1963. Only two of the eight projects—those that began in 1961 and 1963 — have been completed. These two are small projects involving less than five acres and were specifically designed to increase the facilities of a local educational institution. Greater success has been realized in those projects designated for predominantly commercial or institutional reuse than for residential reuse. . . . Overall, less than half of the 770 acres of land cleared for resale in urban renewal projects has been sold or committed for sale."

PENSIONS. In 1962, the city's pension systems were estimated to have an unfunded liability in excess of $100 million. Failure to fund these systems in order to meet currently incurred liabilities could result in a large portion of future annual budgets being devoted to pension payments.

COMPUTER USE. The comptroller in the past year instituted a central data processing center. This was "hastily organized," is operating on only a single shift now while the city searches about to find ways to utilize the computers. Yet even before the new computer proved its value, an even more sophisitcated machine was ordered. If it is delivered (the report urges that its delivery be delayed or canceled) the rent the city must pay the manufacture "will jump from $66,000 in 1964 to $250,000 in 1966."

PERSONNEL POLICIES. The city, as a result of a state law, must give first preference to on-the-job employes in filling new posts. This contributes to a "serious inbreeding of municipal employment." Better qualified people from outside the service are limited in securing city jobs. "This is hurtful in technical, professional and managerial situations."

OVERTIME PAY. Some departments pay no overtime for hours worked beyond the normal workday or workweek. Others pay overtime by increasing the number of actual overtime hours worked by 50 per cent. Some employes receive salary supplements by being assigned car allowances in excess of realistic use. Others are assigned city cars which they garage at home and use only in traveling to and from work.

CONSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT. It is "poorly supported financially," suffers a "critical shortage" of professional personnel eligible for advancement to top jobs, has a high rate of personnel turnover, is "poorly equipped." "The chief of construction and a few other long term professional personnel are holding this department together by sheer force of personal energy and dedication."

WATER DEPARTMENT. By contrast, it is well-financed and "liberally staffed and equipped." The end result is "a technically excellent waterworks fully able to meet both the present and future demands of the city and the surrounding area." But some of the department's operations "need closer analytical scrutiny." "Some of its administrative facilities and appointments appear to border on the luxurious."

SANITARY DEPARTMENT. The department has complained of inability to meet all demands for its services. However, there are "enough personnel" to accomplish garbage and trash collections. "There is observed idling by garbage collection crews which indicates either that field supervision is lax or that collection routes are not well analyzed and arranged. . . . Internal management and personnel practices are a contributing factor. . . ."

TRAFFIC ENGINEERING Department. Its operations are "Subject to political pressure and tampering." None of the department's personnel is college trained in traffic engineering. The staff enlargements recommended in a 1963 report have only partially been accomplished and the department is still 20 positions below what was recommended. It is forced to cope with only routine operations, to neglect planning.

AIRPORT. Operates with "remarkable efficiency." Its big problem is its location, which inhibits expansion.

POLICE DEPARTMENT. "Is not well organized, nor does it function to the best advantage. . . . Could profit from some significant internal realignments and from the adoption of more modern management and operational concepts. . . . Training is presently inadequate from the standpoint of developing fully integrated and knowledgeable command and supervisory staffs. Promotional practices and procedures need more careful development. No formal, consistent planning is done . . . nor are criminal analyses carried out. Internal security arrangements are deficient. A recent alteration (in internal security) . . . is not likely to improve the situation.

FIRE DEPARTMENT. Discipline is good, but department, overall, is undermanned. The department in ratings by the National Board of Fire Underwriters ranks about average within its group. Fire alarm system covers central city fairly well but covers outlying areas poorly.

PRISON FARM. Buildings are not satisfactory for continued operation of the prison under current population circumstances. Pay and qualifications of employes are too low. Buildings do not meet fire regulations. Prisoners receive little or no developmental training and have little to occupy them during lengthy periods of time when inclement weather prevents their working on the farm or city work projects. Circumstances contribute to repeating by prisoners. "Some prisoners are in effect serving life sentences on an installment plan." "The possibility of transfering this (facility) to (a) Fulton County, (b) to a group of counties in the Atlanta Metropolitan Region, or (c) to the state, should be fully explored."

PARKS DEPARTMENT. The department was long all but ignored. More recently it is being given needed attention. It still is strapped for personnel and funds, is weak in planning "in relation to need." It should abandon the practice of giving out free passes to parks facilities. "In 1965, over 450 such passes were given out which entitled the holder and a party of four to use the golf courses, swimming pools, or visit the Cyclorama free."

AUDITORIUM. Fees charged at present auditorium are "rather low" in comparison with those charged in other cities. (Implication: Fees for use of new auditorium, once these are established, should be higher.)

LIBRARY. Operations performed in an acceptable professional manner. The library, like most other departments, has high personnel turnover, is strapped for professional personnel particularly.

MUNICIPAL COURT. The general division is in "deplorable" quarters that were "designed as an afterthought" when the new Police Headquarters Building was being constructed. Judges have inadequate chambers, and when a point of law is raised, witnesses and the jury must leave the courtroom and wait in hallways. Three probation officers carry out their functions "under the most frustrating circumstances." Judges don't have prisoners records before them and sometimes end up placing on probation a prisoner who already is on probation. The "halfway house" for alcoholics originated by the court is a splendid operation but it is questionable if it should be continued, since health functions properly should be performed by the county and the state.

YANKEE LAMPOONS RACISM IN GEORGIA

ATLANTA

Integrated Audience Hails Outspoken Cabaret Skits

NYT 8/1/66

ATLANTA, Feb. 28 (AP)—A Yankee named Phil Erickson nightly lampoons the racial feelings of the solid South—and gets away with it—in a desegregated Atlanta cabaret called Wits' End.

In a typical skit, which would have been unthinkable here a few years ago, three masked girls come onstage in the garb of the Ku Klux Klan. They do a dance, singing:

"We're the female members of the K.K.K.

"The P.T.A. of bigotry.

"We can bomb a church as well as any man.

"And at lynchings, we rig the tree."

One by one they remove their masks. The first two are white, the third Negro.

Mr. Erickson, a former resident of Danville, Ill., and stage partner of the comedian Dick Van Dyke, says:

"Southerners can take a lot of ribbing, although it's only in the last 2½ years we felt we could go into the racial angle.

"Until then, my stockholders wouldn't have approved. For one thing, they've become more broad-minded, and so has the public. The truth is, the racial bit isn't as pungent as it used to be. It's getting to be almost old hat."

Wits' End is packed nightly with a mixed but predominantly white audience. The jokes are on the Southern white customers, but the sharpest barbs win laughter and applause.

"I see where one of our boys has been selected by Time Magazine as man of the year," says a white politician in one skit, referring to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"And what have you done to honor him?" asks a newsman.

"Well we've decided to let him register to vote," says the politician, and the customers roar.

Another favorite skit spoofs Lester Maddox, who closed his Atlanta restaurant rather than comply with a court order to desegregate.

Members of the troupe include Mr. Erickson and his wife, Nancy, Bill Sims, Kay Mason and Janet Meshad, who are white, and Sally Street, a Negro. The chief writer is Jack Kaplan, an advertising man.

Mr. Erickson opened the cabaret eight years ago. He said he had received so many inquiries about his show from other Southern spots that he was forming a road company.

"Starting March 5, we're doing country clubs, theaters and colleges in cities over the southeast," Mr. Erickson says.

"And we've had requests from Macon and Columbus, Ga., Greenville, S.C., and Montgomery, Ala., to use some of our racial skits in their own theater group. Some have even paid royalties to use our material."

ATLANTA
AC - 8/2/66

Fulton Jurist Upholds State Statute Evicting 2 Atlanta Rent Strikers

By REUBEN SMITH

Fulton Superior Judge Luther Alverson Tuesday upheld the constitutionality of the Georgia law that permits a landlord to evict tenants.

Two Negroes, participating in a rent strike in the Markham Street area (SW) of Atlanta, attacked the state statute, contending that it discriminates against the indigent.

In ruling, Judge Alverson also refused to grant Sam Martin and Willie Williams restraining orders that would have prevented landlord Joseph N. Shaffer from evicting them.

Martin lives at 445 Miller's Alley and Williams at 424 Markham Street. Both have withheld payment of rent until demands for repairs are met.

Shaffer obtained dispossessory warrants against the two Negroes. They, in turn, sought a restraining order on the grounds that Martin and Williams had an interest in their dwellings in that they had made repairs and had not been reimbursed.

The plaintiffs were represented in court by Howard Moore, Negro lawyer, who also represents Rep.-elect Julian Bond and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta.

Moore told the court that he believed the Georgia law outlining eviction proceedings was unconstitutional in that it required a tenant to post a bond in event a dispute arises over being evicted.

The lawyer contended that the statute was discriminatory because a "poverty stricken" person is unable to post bond.

Moore also insisted that the law violates the rights of his clients under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

Judge Alverson said the question before the court did not affect the freedom or property rights of Martin and Williams.

Saul Blau, lawyer for Shaffer, said the law is not discriminatory. He said it treats all people the same. He continued that the plaintiffs were attempting to set up different rules for people with different incomes. He contended the court if it ruled the law unconstitutional would then have to determine what constitutes a poor man.

Blau contended that to strike from the law the bond requirement would mean that criminals would be able to get out of jail without posting bond by simply representing themselves as poor.

Following Judge Alverson's ruling, Moore asked the court to grant a stay order until the case can be appealed to the Court of Appeals.

A stay order would have the same effect as a restraining order. Judge Alverson withheld a decision until Wednesday. Blau opposed the motion for the order.

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GHANA ORDERS 130 Russian technicians to go home. Page 2

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POLITICAL PRES

Negro Rule Is Possible Here, Williamson Says

ATLANTA By ACHSAH POSEY AC - 3/3/66

Alderman Q. V. Williamson told the Hungry Club Wednesday that if the present trend of the white flight to the suburbs continues, the population of Atlanta will be more than 50 per cent Negro.

Soon "we'll be electing a Negro aldermanic board," the city's first Negro alderman added, and the traditional feud between the city and county governments will take on racial aspects.

Williamson said that during a squabble about 30 years ago the aldermen cut off city water to some areas outside the city limits. "I can see the Negroes cutting off the water and sewerage to the suburbs," he said. That's why open occupancy is so necessary to Atlanta, he asserted.

Williamson, president of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers and a member of Atlanta's Empire Real Estate Board, said the Empire board supported fair housing laws only because "they give the white people an excuse to do right, and the people of Georgia need this excuse."

Admitting that present laws allow people to sell their homes to anyone who can afford them, he said Georgia still needs a fair housing law for an "excuse." Currently, he said, Atlanta desegregates by Negroes moving in and whites moving out and soon the racial balance is just what it was, only in different places.

Hubert Jackson of the Atlnata Housing Administration praised the moral and financial support given public housing by the Empire board.

He said that all public housing projects, of any age, in the nation are covered by the 1964 Civil Rights Act's anti-discrimination provisions, but he said most Southern cities have chosen to operate under freedom of choice, with very little integration resulting.

In many cases Negroes did not even know where white projects were to request them, Jackson said, but now the local agency is required to give applicants lists of all projects with units of the size and type of housing needed.

"There are lots of ways to handle it, though," he added. "Like the person taking the application saying, 'You might prefer Project A, mightn't you?' "

ATLANTA

Eviction Ordered For Rent Strikers

AC 3/5/66

By REUBEN SMITH

Fulton Superior Court Judge Luther Alverson ordered the sheriff's office Friday to evict two Markham Street area residents who have been participating in a rent strike.

The judge's order came after an attorney for the two Negroes —both of whom have refused to pay rent because of alleged poor housing conditions—failed to obtain a stay order from Federal District Court.

Judge Alverson earlier this week denied Willie Williams, 424 Markham Street SW and Sam Martin, 445 Miller's Alley, restraining orders that would have prevented landlord Joe Shafer from having them evicted.

STATE LAW UPHELD

The judge in denying the restraining order also ruled that the Georgia law outlining eviction proceedings is constitutional.

As a result of Judge Alverson's ruling, lawyer Howard Moore went to federal court in an effort to obtain a stay order while the case is on appeal.

Judge Alverson allowed Moore to seek the federal order before instructing the sheriff's office to proceed with eviction of the two Negro tenants.

DENIED BY HOOPER

Federal District Court Judge Frank A. Hooper denied Moore's clients a stay order, then set a preliminary hearing on the issue for next Thursday before Judge Sidney O. Smith.

However, by that time the question of a stay order will be moot since the sheriff's deputies plan to evict Martin and Williams Saturday morning.

The two Negroes are four weeks behind in their rent, according to Saul Blau, lawyer for Shafer.

Moore is expected to appeal Judge Alverson's decision through either the state or federal courts.

BIAS CONTENDED

The Negro attorney contends that the Georgia eviction law is unconstitutional because it discriminates against the poverty-stricken.

Georgia law provides that a person contesting an eviction must post cash bond. This, Moore contends, is unconstitutional because a "poor" man cannot post bond.

At the hearing before Judge Alverson Moore said his clients have an interest in the property in that they have made repairs and have not been reimbursed.

Negroes Pressing Gillis To Open I-20 Segment

ATLANTA
A 3/9/66

By WAYNE KELLEY

A delegation of Atlanta Negro leaders Wednesday met with State Highway Director Jim Gillis Sr. to demand early completion of a section of Interstate Route 20 through the west side of the city.

State Sen. Leroy Johnson said that the area in question was predominantly Negro and that the uncompleted segment of I-20 constituted a hardship to residents.

"Interstate 20 from the Industrial Boulevard to Douglasville has been completed, but the stretch through the heart of the community has been incomplete for two or three years," the senator said.

Attending the conference with Sen. Johnson were Rep. Ben Brown, Rep. William Alexander, and Negro community leader Jesse Hill.

Sen. Johnson described Mr. Giilis' reception as "warm," and said that the highway director promised "to do everything humanly possible" to speed up work on the highway.

CONSTRUCTION of I-20 through the west side community is not scheduled for completion until November 1966, the senator said.

But the Negro delegation asked that the highway be opened from Ashby Street to Hightower Road immediately, or that portions of this section be opened.

"We said that we would get the city to provide police to relieve the contractor of liability," Sen. Johnson commented.

The community representatives said they were anxious to see the highway opened from Ashby Street through Fairburn Street as soon as possible.

The highway department promised a "crash program" with increased work crews, according to Sen. Johnson. "They told us we may expect the highway open from Ashby to Longhorn Streets in a matter of weeks," he said.

No Fathers in Half Of Low-Rent Units

ATLANTA A.J. 3/11/66

By RALEIGH BRYANS

The Atlanta Housing Authority in an annual report for the past fiscal year notes that half of the families living in authority-managed low-rent housing units are families without fathers.

It indicated that the percentage of families with a woman as head of the household is increasing and expressed a concern that has been voiced nationally in this regard.

"This (the fact that 50 per cent of its households are without fathers) is very significant . . . since it implies the existence of serious family problems, some of them economic, and some social," it comments.

The authority's annual report covers the fiscal year which ended last June 30. As of that date, it shows, the authority had 30,269 persons living in the 8,145 dwelling units in 10 low-rent projects.

THE AVERAGE TOTAL family income for tenants, it reports, was $2,509.12, and 21 per cent of all families received some type of assistance from the Department of Family and Children Services.

Of the total number of persons living in public housing, 2,059 were elderly persons, a total of 12,493 were adults, and 17,776 were minors.

Eleven families had total yearly incomes of $900 or less. Thirty had incomes ranging from $1,000 to $1,999; 32 had incomes ranging from $2,000 to $2,900; 21 had incomes ranging from $3,000 to $3,900, and six had incomes of $4,000 or over.

The report said families earning $4,000 or more were on notice to vacate, since their incomes had exceeded the limit for continued occupancy. It gave these figures on length of occupancy by families:

FIVE PER CENT entered between 1936 and 1946, 6 per cent between 1947 and 1952, 13 per cent between 1953 and 1955, 4 per cent in 1956, 4 per cent in 1957, 4 per cent in 1958, 5 per cent in 1959, 5 per cent in 1960, 6 per cent in 1961, 8 per cent in 1962, 10 per cent in 1963, 20 per cent in 1964 and 10 per cent in 1965.

During the 1965 fsical year, the authority interviewed 9,039 applicants for housing, took 2,766 applications, processed 2,391 of these to approval, and admitted 1,935 of the latter by last June 30.

During the fiscal year, the authority collected $3,452,564.97 in rents from its tenants, for an average of $35.96 monthly per dwelling unit, according to the report.

Coal Executive Dies

NEW YORK, March 10 (UPI). Charles Dunlap, president for 30 years of the Berwind-White Coal Mining Co., died here Wednesday. He was 77.

ATLANTA

Court Declines to Drop Rent Eviction Test Case

3/17/72 AC

Landlord Joseph Shaffer asked a federal judge Thursday to dismiss a suit by two tenants evicted from his property for going on a rent strike. Shaffer's attorney, Sol Blau, contended the problem was made moot by their eviction.

U.S. District Judge Sidney O. Smith, who had called the hearing on a motion for a temporary restraining order to prevent the eviction, said he could not dismiss the case, which is to be heard by a three-judge panel March 25.

The tenants' attorney, Howard Moore, withdrew the motion for a temporary restraining order. Both sides agreed that would be moot since the tenants had been evicted by the Fulton County sheriff, also a defendant in the case.

Major issue before the three judges will be the constitutionality of Georgia's law providing that tenants about to be dispossessed can prevent it until trial of their case by filing a counter-affidavit with a bond. Moore contends this deprives people too poor to post bond of due process.

ATLANTA AC 3/11/66

Eugene Patterson

Atlanta Is Plowed And Replanted

To have the new 250-unit, high-rise public housing project on Ashby Street named for him is the kind of monument John O. Chiles would have wanted. The late city-developer didn't make much noise about his good works. But he had his heart in the unpaid job of being chairman of the Atlanta Housing Authority.

Men like him have remade the middle of this city in the last decade. Public housing itself dates back to the 1930s when pioneers like Charles Palmer brought the nation's first project, Techwood, to Atlanta. But urban renewal, with its massive promise, was added on in the 1950s.

The full sweep of things done since then cannot be readily grasped. No fewer than 2,600 acres of the central city have been or are being reclaimed from blight. Nearly $45 million in federal money is being poured into the work, coupled with a third again that much raised locally.

Four thousand displaced families and individuals have been relocated. Three out of four are now known to be living in decent housing. Into the former slums is pouring $80 million in private investment; examples are the Marriott and Holiday Inn motels, Landmark Apartments, and office buildings of the John Hancock and Oxford Manufacturing companies.

Millions more in public spending are reclaiming the former waste. Besides the $26 million for the city's new stadium and auditorium, Georgia Tech alone projects spending of $25 million on renewal-cleared land. Georgia State plans to invest $30 million.

The progress is phenomenal. So are the problems.

Construction of public housing proceeds in order to provide low-rent quarters for low-income families. But there's not enough in the face of population climb and urban renewal displacement.

Rehabilitation of existing neighborhoods is now a central part of urban renewal. But crooked contractors have moved in to sting the recipients of the repair and renovation grants; they pocket the people's money and botch the job. Those birds will have to be seen to.

Private enterprise is building acres of housing. The Rev. William Holmes Borders' church formed a nonprofit corporation, borrowed mortgage money from a Negro-managed local insurance firm, and put up one of the nicest new apartment developments, Wheat Street Gardens, whose 520 units are now occupied with rents starting at $69.50. But there simply aren't enough nonprofit groups doing this kind of thing yet. And private builders are far from supplying the demand for decent low-rent or low-cost housing. The plight of the families on the Markham Street sidewalk shows that. (The city is, however, offering those evicted families housing help whenever they decide they want a solution instead of an issue.)

There is far to go. But the newly named John O. Chiles Homes on Ashby Street make a monument to how far we have come.

ATLANTA
3/16/66 AJ

Bond Asks High Court For Assembly Seat

WASHINGTON, March 16 (AP)—Julian Bond, an outspoken critic of U.S. policies in Viet Nam, asked the Supreme Court Wednesday to clear the way for him to take his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives.

Attorneys for Bond, 26-year-old Negro, pacifist and official of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), said he was barred "solely because of his public statements on issues of national concern."

They asked the court to consider whether his right to free speech was impaired and whether his constituents were disfranchised.

"The questions are substantial," Bond's brief said, adding "this is the first case before the court in which a legislative body has refused to seat an elected representative because of his public expression of opinion."

Specifically, Bond asked the high court to review a Feb. 10 decision by a panel of three federal judges from Atlanta upholding 2 to 1 the Georgia House's refusal to seat him.

ATLANTA
AJ 3/17/66

Biracial Panel Urged To Avert Watts Here

State Sen. Leroy Johnson and Atlanta Alderman Q. V. Williamson, both Negroes, have asked Mayor Ivan Allen to create a biracial committee that would work "to avert a Watts situation in Atlanta."

They have in mind, they said, "a committee of Negro and white citizens armed with professional staff workers and charged with the responsibility of working with city officials and community organizations in bridging the gap between the slum dwellers, the culturally deprived, the low-income group and the rest of our society."

In a news release issued jointly Thursday, the two Negro leaders declared that a recurrence of rioting in Watts, a Los Angeles slum area, "reminds us that we should put the solutions of our own slum problems on an emergency basis."

They charge that "bureaucratic delays, indifference, ignorance and prejudice" have mitigated against effective solution of the slum problem in Atlanta, although they concede that programs to rid the city of the problem are being undertaken with some earnestness.

THEY SAID "red tape" could be cut through special emergency crash programs. But they said Atlanta needs "above all a heightened public conscience and an increased awareness that the evil conditions which spawned the Watts riots affect not only those who live under them but the entire community. . . ."

"Nobody desires a Watts in Atlanta," they said. "All citizens, Negro and white, must pledge themselves to greater efforts to eliminate the basic causes which may lead to trouble in our city.

"We call upon the community organizations, the churches, city officials and citizens of good will to join with us to speed up slum clearance and redevelopment. We call upon them to take moral and direct responsibility in housing programs which will not only supply better living space but will also create those environmental conditions, physically, socially and morally, which will make real the promises of education, better jobs and equal opportunity.

"This is the democratic way, our way, to good citizenship and under such conditions we need not fear a Watts with its attendant violence in Atlanta."

 ATLANTA 3/18/66

City's Shame in Shadow of Its Pride

ATLANTA'S PLUSH STADIUM TOWERS OVER SLUM'S POOR

By WAYNE KELLEY

In the shadow of Atlanta's pride, the new $18 million municipal stadium, live 30,000 poor citizens jammed into slums, without adequate city services and without much faith in the future.

When the lights go on in the stadium, the slums to the south are invisible.

But a report issued by the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., has shed some light on the condition of the people who exist there day by day.

THE COUNCIL report is the result of group interviews with residents and 15 weeks of intensive study of five small areas, each a block or two in size.

What the researchers found were: poor housing . . . no recreation . . . low income . . . alcoholism . . . illiteracy . . . poor health . . . exploitation of people . . . despair and ingrained skepticism about the promises of help

The area described by the council report includes the two communities of Summerhill and Mechanicsville. It is bounded roughly by the East Expressway on the north, the Southern Railroad on the west, Atlanta Avenue on the south, and Cherokee Avenue on the east.

Although the study centered on the blight surrounding Atlanta Stadium, the council said that most of the preliminary conclusions "are applicable to the other slums of Atlanta."

The researchers found "a very high rate of malnutrition, including just plain starvation." There was also the problem of premature births and contagious diseases.

EDUCATION, the great hope of the young for escape from the "poverty cycle," is beset by a combination of poor schooling and limited parental awareness of its importance, according to the report.

"On one block in each of four streets, staff found 39 different children in about two and one-half days who were not in school, but should have been," the report stated.

The study is one of several being prepared for the city administration to provide information on local problems. It is intended for use by Atlanta's Community Improvement Program officials.

But the report does not go easy on the city's role in the slum situation.

"People living in slums have never received an equal

NEWS ANALYSIS

share of services in the city," the study pointed out.

"Their streets are unpaved; the schools are much more crowded; the enforcement of sanitation, housing, and other standards is much less stringent; in many neighborhoods street lights are virtually nonexistent.

"COUPLED with the absence of service have been many unfilled promises to improve conditions. Bond issues have been sold on the promise of improved schools or streets or parks, but these services have not materialized. Public officials have stated their desires to improve this or that situation, but conditions remain essentially unchanged.

"It should be no surprise that almost everyone living in the slums of Atlanta is extremely skeptical of the local government's motivation," the report said bluntly.

"It should be no surprise that most people simply do not believe the benign expressions of good intent made by local officials," it added.

Neglect of children is widespread in the area because of splintered families and the need for both parents (if a child has both a mother and father) to work.

"Whether the parents are at home or away, it is common to see small children and even infants playing in the streets or among dangerous junk and trash piles that litter the area," the researchers said.

FAMILY income in the area is exceedingly low. Annual income of 8 to 12 per cent of the families is below $1,000. For another 15 to 25 per cent the family must exist on between $1,000 and $2,000 during the year.

The problem is not limited to low income, however. "Many grocery stores in slum areas sell cheap and even spoiled foods at fairly high prices," the report noted. "Door-to-door salesmen sell cheap merchandise at many times the cost of good quality material."

With money, recreation and hope severely limited, many slum dwellers turn to the temporary pleasure of drinking.

"Since drunkenness is a violation of the law, and since Atlanta police spend over half of their time enforcing this law, it is a natural consequence that residents have considerable experience with the negative side of police authority," the interviewers concluded.

UNHAPPY experiences with police temper the attitude of slum dwellers toward all authority.

The 17-page study made two recommendations:

1. A program of public information on future plans for all urban renewal clearance projects.

2. Development of two-way communications between local public agencies and the residents of low income neighborhoods.

ATLANTA

RUBBISH WORKERS GET JOB FOR DAY

City in Bind, Hires at 'Corner'

By RALEIGH BRYANS

Atlanta's Sanitary Department is so strapped for laborers to man its rubbish pickup trucks that it is resorting to an unusual and potentially controversial means of labor recruitment.

Every weekday, it dispatches trucks to a pedestrian "island" at the intersection of Decatur Street and Central Avenue and, on the spot, recruits men whom it will work for a day and pay at day's end.

The department is, in short, doing what many Atlantans have done individually over the years when they have wanted to hire a casual laborer to do yard work or odd jobs just for a day.

The pedestrian island at Decatur and Central is a well established labor pool of sorts. Negro men interested only in casual jobs collect there each morning and wait for potential employers to drive by.

The practice has given the area the nickname "Hungry Boys Corner."

It is unorthodox for the city to do this kind of hiring. The city has prided itself over an established civil service program that in general assures a stable work force of men and women it can vouch for.

BUT A MASSIVE problem of absenteeism on the part of rubbish pickup men has forced it to throw pride to the winds in order to keep down the anguished howls of taxpayers who want rubbish picked up.

"What else can we do?" asks Stafford Graydon, city sanitary engineer, with a shrug. "If we don't pick up the rubbish, people will howl."

Mr. Graydon's department has 1,126 regular pickup men on its rolls, but absenteeism among these is such a problem that an average of about 175 men can be counted on to lay off the job every day.

One morning last week, 184 men stayed home. Another day, some time back, 292 did so. And on such days, the city's work fleet of 56 rubbish trucks would be crippled if no make-do efforts were made.

The first expedient was to use city prisoners. "We are using 45 prisoners a day," says Mr. Graydon, "but they only come in in good weather, so we get them only a little better than half the time."

The plan of going down to "Hungry Boys Corner" each day to pick up casual laborers began just last Monday and derived, Mr. Graydon says, from a suggestion made by Mayor Ivan Allen.

"THE FIRST DAY we picked up 25 men," Mr. Graydon says. "Since then word has got around and there are more men down there than we can use. One day this week there were 65 and we took 45 of them."

As the men are picked up, a Sanitary Department employe takes their names and sends these to the city comptroller's office so that their checks — for $11.30 the day — can be processed and made available at day's end.

Yes, says Mr. Graydon, this is likely to be a controversial way of filling out the rubbish pickup work force.

"The other (that is, regular) laborers are unhappy because these casual laborers get paid every day while they get their checks every two weeks," he says.

"Also, our regular workers are people who have had to go through the Civil Service procedure — take tests, physicals, things like that — and these casual workers just have to be there.

"I expect some complaints from the labor unions when they get wind of this, but my outlook is that the public is more important than the employe. The public comes first here."

Even though hiring casual labor by the day is Mayor Allen's idea, it met resistance within the city government. City Comptroller Charles Davis opposed the idea at first. So did the City Finance Committee.

BUT THE IDEA FINALLY was approved. "We were in a corner," as Mr. Graydon says. And he describes the absenteeism picture, to make that statement stand up.

The problem has two-fold origins. A general shortage of available labor in the city figures in it. So does a liberal sick leave policy.

The sick leave policy forbids the city to question a man for the first five days he stays off the job and claims sick leave. "We have to take a man's word for it," says Mr. Graydon.

"Our worst absenteeism is on Mondays. They get drunk on the weekend and lay off on Monday. If the labor pool here were sufficient, we could fire them. But as things are, we can't fire a soul. We just swallow it."

The men hired from the streets are used only on rubbish pickups, not on garbage pickups. "We don't know who they are, what they'd do," says Mr. Graydon. "We can't have them going into people's backyards."

Rubbish, by city law, must be piled on front lawns, near the street. Homeowners keep garbage pails at the rear of their homes and collectors go into the yards to pick it up.

Negroes Ask Resignations In EOA Setup

ATLANTA
AJ 4/26/66

By WALKER LUNDY

A group of 40 "grass roots" Negro leaders Friday demanded the resignations of the executive director of the Economic Opportunity of Atlanta and 19 appointed members of the authority's board of directors.

The Negroes gave them 10 days to answer or face large-scale withdrawal from EOA programs by an unknown number of Negro poor.

The resignations were called for in a statement prepared for release Friday afternoon which charged that the EOA was systematically leaving the poor out of the decision-making of its operations.

THE STATEMENT charged that EOA had not honored a promise made to the city's Negro community 17 months ago to involve poor people "on all levels of policy-making and program operations.

The resignations of all appointed board members — four of which are Negro — on the 23-man board and the resignation of EOA Director E. O. Emmerich were demanded.

The Negroes set a time limit of 10 days for an answer from EOA.

"If we do not receive a favorable reply . . . we shall ask all residents in the target areas to withhold all participation in the community action program of the EOA," the prepared statement said.

It also threatened demonstrations at the EOA headquarters at 101 Marietta St. and at all EOA agencies in Fulton County.

The statement was drafted by the 40 Negroes after two closed-door meetings. The group claims

Turn to Page 6, Column 5

DEMANDS

Continued From Page 1

to represent Negro poor in all areas of Atlanta.

AMONG THE 40 signers of the statement were Rev. S. A. Samples of the Scott Crossing Civic League, Benny T. Smith of the Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council, Rev. C. D. Colbert of the Georgia Avenue-Pryor Street Civic League, Rev. Robert Barnes of the Highpoint Civic League, William Merritt of the Joyland-Carver Homes Civic League, C. G. Ezzard of the Mechanicsville Civic League, and Edgar Hillman of the Lemuel Civic League.

Specifically, they accused the EOA of letting "nonprofessionals interview professionals," of losing applications for aid, of not following through in some cases after conducting the preliminary interviews, and of job discrimination against Negroes.

4/3/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES

REGIONAL COUNCIL ADDS ARCHITECT

Southern Integration Group Gets City Planning Aide

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 2—Southerners who have followed the work of the Southern Regional Council in its 22-year campaign for improved race relations were surprised recently when it added an architect to its staff of human relations counselors.

Somehow this did not fit with the image of an organization that has devoted much of its effort toward paving the way for peaceful acceptance of racial integration.

The council quickly explained that it was becoming concerned over the tendency of Southern cities to develop "Northern style ghettos" for Negroes. So, it was dispatching an architect around the South to argue, with alternate plans, that low income Federal housing and other projects should be dispersed throughout a city.

With this sort of approach, the council is taking a position of leadership among human relations and civil rights organizations in adjusting to the "new phase" of race relations in the South.

Foundations Give Help

It is being aided in the adjustment by national foundations that once were reluctant to finance race relations programs. And largely as a result of the new foundation aid, the organization's annual budget is being revised upward this week to $125,000 — or about four times the amount of las year's expenditures.

"We're on the new frontier of race relations," said Paul Anthony, director of the council, which was organized in 1944 by such Southerners as Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina and Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution. "Until recently the problem was how do you keep law and order while transferring eight or nine Negro students to a white school.

Now, however, the problem as the council sees it is one of unemployment, preventing ghettos, improving the administration of justice and the caliber of prisons, and seeing that the drive towards integration does not lag.

The council is becoming increasingly interested in cooperatives and when, for example, a group of unemployed Negro women in Selma, Ala., recently formed a quilting cooperative the council arranged for technical assistance in production and marketing.

It is also:

¶Trying to mobilize women in the South to inspect jails and demand prison reforms and rehabilitation programs, and is in the process of hiring a penologist to work with Southern states and cities in upgrading the caliber of their penal institutions.

¶Increasing the staffs of its network of human relations councils, which have been mainly active in urban areas, to include full-time workers to assist small towns and rural communities in adjusting to social change.

¶Establishing a team of consultants to help local organizations and governmental units in seeking Federal antipoverty assistance.

¶Organizing still another team of consultants to assist Negroes and whites in forming community action organizations for "self - improvement" in city slums and rural areas.

Since establishing the number of projects it undertakes, Mr. Anthony said, the council has found it easier to get funds from the Ford Foundation and similar organizations, but it is still searching for long term sources of revenue from within the region.

"The foundations are interested mainly in specific short range programs," said Mr. Anthony. "Not in long term assistance."

Despite it's new foundation-backed activities, however, the organization still devotes a major part of its effort to long-established interests such as it's state human relations councils, voter registration drives, and the dissemination of information to the Federal Government and to Southerners on racial problems.

From 1961 through 1963, the council helped register 700,000 Negroes in 11 states and recently started another voter registration project aimed at the more than 2 million adult Negroes still unregistered in the South.

"The new voting rights act made registration possible," said one council worker, "but it doesn't put Negroes on the registration books. It takes registration drives to do that."

6 Students From M.I.T. Go the Route on Subway

Six students from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology rode along every foot of tunnel, trestle and track of the city's 236.7-mile subway network yesterday, trying to set a record for the tour. But even though they were assisted by a computer that was supposed to devise the most expeditious routes, they came out second best.

The students, members of the Rapid Transit Club at M.I.T., rode on 77 trains, taking 25 hours, 57 minutes and 20 seconds to complete the tour. The record of 25 hours and 56 minutes was set Aug. 29, 1964 by a Geoffrey Arnold, then a 17-year-old New Jersey school boy and now a Harvard student.

Close-Up ATLANTA

Race: the Phony Issue

AC 4/4/64

Race is the shadow issue in the Sandy Springs annexation debate that nobody wants to talk about squarely.

Some of the opposition literature comes as close as anyone has to saying the word "Negro."

It says that in Atlanta, the "lowest, least educated and most irresponsible biped has the same vote as does the educated, responsible and conscientious taxpayer." It argues that higher fire insurance rates are a "small sum to pay for the freedom from bloc vote domination." It says that if Sandy Springs became a part of the city and thus obtained public parks "the same people who have rendered Atlanta's public parks virtually useless to its white citizens would soon monopolize new parks in Sandy Springs."

Yet of all the arguments raised against annexation, this is the phoniest.

In fact, the pragmatic segregationist should be heartily in favor of annexation.

His chief concern seems to be that if current population trends continue, Atlanta will be predominately Negro and will elect a Negro city government. That probably will happen—if Atlanta is restricted to its present artificial boundaries.

What's happening in Atlanta is common throughout the country. As some people prosper and move to the suburbs, the older and cheaper housing in the central city is bought by the poor, who generally are Negroes. Metropoliton Atlanta—the real city—is no more Negro than half a century ago.

It is proper and just that Negroes win seats in local government councils, but an all-Negro board of aldermen would not be representative of metropolitan Atlanta. Yet it is just such distorted representation that Atlanta is condemned to if the city limits do not reflect the composition of the whole metropolitan area. Remember, too, that decisions of the aldermen affect the whole metropolitan Atlanta economy, not the city's alone.

Intelligent, capable men and women who live in Sandy Springs could be valuable additions to city government. They can't be elected unless they are city citizens. The present mayor comes from a section added in Atlanta's last major boundary adjustment.

The antis argue that voters throughout the city would vote on Sandy Springs' aldermen if the area comes into the city. True. But so would Sandy Springs voters influence every other aldermanic race in the city.

It's not clear to me why the antis claim Negroes would travel half way across the city to visit Sandy Springs parks. And why do antis suggest the Atlanta school system would bus Negroes into Sandy Springs school from Atlanta which doesn't even have school buses? Could it be just to cloud the true issues?

BRUCE GALPHIN.

U.S. Court Dismisses Rent Case

Atlanta
AC 4/19/66

By ACHSAH NESMITH

Efforts by two Vine City tenants to get a federal court to enjoin their landlord from evicting them ended in failure Monday.

The three-judge district court dismissed the request for an injunction by Willie Williams and Sam Martin and denied their move for a declaratory judgment to invalidate a Georgia law requiring a bond to fight eviction. Williams camped in a tent after his eviction last month in protest.

The two Negro tenants claimed they were effectively deprived of their day in the Georgia courts because they could not afford to post the required bond.

Their efforts in Fulton County courts to stave off eviction failed and are currently on appeal to the state court of appeals. They contended this would take so long they would be irreparably damaged before the appeal came up.

Injunctive relief would have been in violation of comity provisions of federal law which prohibit federal courts from enjoining proceedings pending in a state court, the judges ruled. Such interference is permissible only if specifically authorized by Congress or is neces-

Continued on Page 10, Column 3

De-Annex View Hit by Manning

AC 5/6/66

ATLANTA

By ART PINE

DeKalb Commission chairman Brince H. Manning Jr. said Friday that 41st District Sen. Gene Sanders "ought to pay more attention to the problems of DeKalb County" before he seeks a referendum to consider "de-annexing" a portion of the county from the City of Atlanta.

Sanders had declared Thursday he planned to introduce a bill next year providing for such a referendum if he is reelected to the State Legislature.

"The senator should make sure everyone understands the consequences of de-annexation," Manning said, "and not just sound off with political statements."

Manning declared that "before any referendum is called, accurate facts and figures should be compiled so that the people know what they're voting for and the governmental bodies know what would be involved.

"For example," he said, "I see no possible way for us to take over the sewer and water systems in that section of Atlanta—and that's only one consideration."

Manning also questioned whether DeKalb's tax digest would be able to support any debt obligations the county would acquire if that portion of Atlanta were de-annexed.

"I don't know," he said. "But I think we ought to find out before anyone decides to call a referendum."

Sanders had said Thursday he thought about "75 per cent" of the people in the area "would vote to get out of the city" if a referendum were called.

The reason, he said, was "mounting dissatisfaction over public schools . . . Atlanta parents whose children would have to attend Bass High (in Atlanta) are willing to pay several hundred dollars a year to have their children go to school in DeKalb."

Meanwhile, Atlanta and Bass High School officials reacted strongly to Sanders' statements, and to charges by two parents in the area that Bass could "not provide college preparatory education."

Atlanta School Board member Mrs. Leroy Woodward said Sanders was "in gross error" when he said people in the area were dissatisfied with the schools.

"I've talked with dozens of people," Mrs. Woodward said, "and I haven't encountered any of that feeling. It's a shame our schools must be used for political advantage."

She also countered charges by Herbert L. Stewart, who said he asked Sanders to de-annex his property from the city last February "so my children could attend Druid Hills High School," that Bass wouldn't have been able to offer a college prep curriculum.

ATLANTA

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Saturday, May 7, 1966 3 ★

Negroes Uninvited, Met Skips Party

By MIKE DAVIES

Members of the Metropolitan Opera did not appear at an annual luncheon given in their honor Friday because the company's Negro members were not invited.

The luncheon, considered one of the top social events of the year in Atlanta and given by the Atlanta Opera Guild, was held anyway without the guests of honor at the Piedmont Driving Club.

Francis Robinson, assistant manager of the Met, said "We don't like to attend functions where all our members cannot attend."

He said that as far as he could recall the company's Negro members had not been invited to attend the luncheon in past years when it was given at the private club.

Robinson said about 10 Negroes are among the opera company's 325 members on tour.

Mrs. Claiborne Glover, president of the opera guild, said guild members had known for several months that the Met would not attend the function and that the guild had subsequently planned the luncheon around Opera Atlanta.

"We extended our usual invitation to the Met, but as our luncheon was being held in a private club, they said they could not attend," Mrs. Glover said.

She said the guild tried unsuccessfully to obtain a suitable public facility in which to hold the luncheon.

The guild was organized to foster affection for and appreciation of the opera company's annual appearance in Atlanta. Stars of both stage and management have attended the luncheon in the past.

ATLANTA 5/7/66

Staff Photo—Billy Downs

Children Block Magnolia St. with Playground Equipment

Vine City Street Blocked 7th Day in Play Protests

Vine City residents again turned the neighborhood's main thoroughfare, Magnolia Street, into a playground for two hours Friday, blocking traffic in an attempt to obtain a park and recreation center for the underprivileged Northwest area.

This marked the seventh day of the "play in," spearheaded by the Vine City Council, a resident group seeking improvements for the area. The "playground" has been set up every school day since last Friday between 3:30 and 5:30 p.m.

Capt. Morris Redding of the police Crime Prevention Bureau said he had negotiated with Hector Black, Vine City Council co-chairman, several times and had offered to find recreation space for the Negro youngsters. Redding also said he would furnish members of his unit as supervisors for the recreational activities.

and buses down Maple Street at the beginning of the roadblock. A second policeman is stationed at Vine Street beside a swing set. In the block between, some 150 Negro children play softball, football and frolic in a sandbox. Several members of the Southern Regional Council stand around as "interested observers."

The equipment was donated for the demonstration by a neighborhood church.

"I don't understand it," Williams, co-chairman of the Vine City Council, told a reporter. "The city spent $18 million to build a stadium and $500,000 to get the Braves and they won't give us a park."

The nearest public recreation facilities are in Washington Park, more than a mile away. The area's two elementary schools, council officials say, are already overcrowded and lack equipment.

The council requested a park from the city a year ago, but nothing came of it. After the demonstration began last Friday, the Atlanta Crime Prevention Bureau offered to block off a portion of Maple Street, which bisects Magnolia, for a recreational area, but the council rejected the idea.

"Maple Street is a narrow, gravel street and when it rains, it gets full of potholes and mud," said Black. "We can't use that."

Vine City representatives plan to go before the Aldermanic Board "possibly Tuesday," to ask that Magnolia Street be roped off until a park can be provided.

Staff Photo—Billy Downs

Children Block Magnolia St. with Playground Equipment

Vine City Street Blocked 7th Day in Play Protests

Vine City residents again turned the neighborhood's main thoroughfare, Magnolia Street, into a playground for two hours Friday, blocking traffic in an attempt to obtain a park and recreation center for the underprivileged Northwest area.

This marked the seventh day of the "play in," spearheaded by the Vine City Council, a resident group seeking improvements for the area. The "playground" has been set up every school day since last Friday between 3:30 and 5:30 p.m.

Capt. Morris Redding of the police Crime Prevention Bureau said he had negotiated with Hector Black, Vine City Council co-chairman, several times and had offered to find recreation space for the Negro youngsters. Redding also said he would furnish members of his unit as supervisors for the recreational activities.

WANT PERMANENCE

Black, a white honor graduate of Harvard University who lives in the area, said the Vine City Council turned down Redding's proposal because "it would be only an interim measure. It would be fine if we could get some assurance from the city that we will get the permanent facilities we want."

A white man given a ticket for impending traffic on the Northeast Expressway was on the scene Thursday taking pictures of the week-long traffic blocking demonstration. He said he planned to use the pictures in court in his own defense.

"If they stopped me for blocking traffic, why not stop these people, too?" he asked a reporter.

Redding said most of those blocking the streets were young children acting under the direction of Black and Willie Williams, aided by two white girls who said they were former members of the domestic Peace Corps, known as Vista, stationed here.

GIVEN TICKET

One girl said "a cracker" policeman gave her a ticket for blocking traffic, then officers offered to tear up the ticket if she would see that the street was cleared. The children immediately left the street, she said. But as soon as the officer tore up the ticket, the children again blocked traffic, she said. No more tickets were given.

A policeman, flanked by two table tennis tables, shunts cars and buses down Maple Street at the beginning of the roadblock. A second policeman is stationed at Vine Street beside a swing set. In the block between, some 150 Negro children play softball, football and frolic in a sandbox. Several members of the Southern Regional Council stand around as "interested observers."

The equipment was donated for the demonstration by a neighborhood church.

"I don't understand it," Williams, co-chairman of the Vine City Council, told a reporter. "The city spent $18 million to build a stadium and $500,000 to get the Braves and they won't give us a park."

The nearest public recreation facilities are in Washington Park, more than a mile away. The area's two elementary schools, council officials say, are already overcrowded and lack equipment.

The council requested a park from the city a year ago, but nothing came of it. After the demonstration began last Friday, the Atlanta Crime Prevention Bureau offered to block off a portion of Maple Street, which bisects Magnolia, for a recreational area, but the council rejected the idea.

"Maple Street is a narrow, gravel street and when it rains, it gets full of potholes and mud," said Black. "We can't use that."

Vine City representatives plan to go before the Aldermanic Board "possibly Tuesday," to ask that Magnolia Street be roped off until a park can be provided.

Annexing To Draw Big Vote

ATLANTA
AC 3/9/66

By MARION GAINES

An election day turnout of perhaps 80 to 85 per cent of the registered voters is expected Wednesday when the Sandy

First of two articles.

Springs and Adamsville areas hold referendums on whether to come into the City of Atlanta.

Admittedly, such a turnout would be high for an annexation referendum.

But, as one veteran voting official said, "The interest up there (in Sandy Springs) is so great, I believe that many people will go to the polls."

Only those registered voters who reside in the Sandy Springs and Adamsville sections will be eligible to cast ballots. That was spelled out in the referendum bill which finally was passed, after much controversy, by the 1966 General Assembly.

The Wednesday voting will mark the first effort in 14 years

Continued on Page 6, Column 2

Big Sandy Springs Vote Expected on Annexation

Continued from Page 1

by the City of Atlanta to expand its territorial limits by any great amount.

The last great expansion came in 1952 under the Plan of Improvement and brought into the city the Buckhead and Northside sections.

The push for annexation of Sandy Springs is spearheaded by central city leaders through a working Team for Tomorrow. The anti-annexation forces are led by the Save Sandy Springs organization.

Three days before the voting, it was the considered guess of experienced referendum observers that the anti-annexation forces are likely to come out on top.

The antis have derided Atlanta as "a melting pot" and said that the city would improve Sandy Springs in the same manner it did Kirkwood, which was annexed some decades ago. (Kirkwood is one of Atlanta's transitional neighborhoods where Negroes have been supplanting whites).

The pro - annexation forces have argued that Atlanta needs the leadership potential of Sandy Springs and that Sandy Springs needs Atlanta for many reasons.

Higher zoning standards, better police and fire protection, improved water and sanitation services also have been cited by the pros as among the gains which will accure to Sandy Sandy Springs residents.

The legislation setting up the referendum provides that if Sandy Springs votes to come into the city, elections will be held to give Sandy Springs two representatives on the Atlanta Board of Aldermen and one on the Atlanta school board.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 98 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

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Atlanta

The Rector Had Had Enough

Out in Sandy Springs, the Rev. Don Harrison received one of those anonymous anti-annexation tracts.

It was the last straw for Mr. Harrison. He could no longer remain silent. In the bulletin of St. Dunstan's Episcopal Church yesterday, he explained why.

"I became rather angry," he wrote, "at the subtle attempts to distort facts.

"An example is in the section on schools in which it is stated that the Fulton County schools provide the services of psychologists and psychometrists. The implication is that Atlanta does not provide such services. The truth is, however, that Atlanta provides many such specialists, and the few in Fulton County are usually city employes.

". . . the issues of annexation ought to be passed or defeated on the basis of an honest presentation of the facts. Some parties opposed to annexation maintain that they are afraid participation in the city will lower their 'good government' and corruption will be the result.

"I would suggest to these persons that innuendo and distortion of fact is not a very desirable basis for continuing their present 'good' government."

The rector said he personally approves of joining the city.

For everyone, he wrote, there are two major areas of concern. The first is economic. Each citizen should figure for himself—"and not to be told by opinionated persons"—what annexation would mean in terms of taxes, services, insurance and water rates, schools, etc.

The second area "which unfortunately has received far too little thought or mention," is moral responsibility.

"Honest and equitable government is desired by the vast majority, but such a state will not spring full blown from the head of Zeus. It can be achieved only by the vigorous participation of honest and equitable people.

"The city provides the framework in which suburbanites earn their living and receive other benefits, such as attracting sports events, educators, artists, etc.

"We have a responsibility, *and a moral one at that,* to return to the source of our economics and pleasure a portion of our income, energies and leadership. Anything else is moral irresponsibility."

To which we add only "Amen."

Sandy Springs Defeats Annexation to Atlanta; Boulder Park Okays It

ATLANTA
AC 5/12/66

City's Bid Defeated by Hefty 2 to 1

By MARION GAINES

Sandy Springs residents voted overwhelmingly against coming into the City of Atlanta Wednesday by a margin of better than 2 to 1.

The community of Boulder Park at Adamsville, however, voted to attach itself to the city by a count of 198 to 151.

In Sandy Springs the vote was 5,173 against annexation and 2,504 for it. That was the story in all eight precincts and the absentee ballots as well.

NOT UNEXPECTED

It was not an unexpected setback for Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and the Team for Tomorrow leaders who had campaigned for two months trying to woo Sandy Springs into the city.

All of the pre-referendum polls had indicated that Sandy Springs would not—and that Adamsville would—vote in favor of annexation.

The final tally in Sandy Springs showed that 67

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All of the pre-referendum polls had indicated that Sandy Springs would not—and that Adamsville would—vote in favor of annexation.

The final tally in Sandy Springs showed that 67 per cent of those who voted cast their ballots against annexation and 33 per cent voted for it.

The total turnout was 7,677 out of a total of about 12,600 registered voters in Sandy Springs.

Leaders of the Save Sandy Springs Association, which had campaigned vigorously against annexation, were naturally jubilant.

Burt DeRieux, who was one of Save Sandy Springs' big guns in the speechmaking department, declared that "we do not believe this is a rejection of our good friends, the citizens of Atlanta."

"But we do believe that it is a rejection of their city government," he continued. "We also hope that Mayor Allen is a man of his word and will leave us alone unless and until we move for annexation."

ACCEPTS DEFEAT

Mayor Allen accepted the defeat with a smile and expressed "delight that the citizens of Boulder Park voted to come into the city."

"I can promise the citizens of Boulder Park that we will begin to furnish them city services at city prices just as soon as they officially join the city next January," said the mayor.

Of the Sandy Springs fight, he said that "the fact that we came from what was a 4-or-5 to 1 position against us in the beginning to a 2 to 1 position later on is an indication that the foundation has been laid for a successful approach in the future."

"In the meantime, the city will assure the people of Sandy Sprnigs that we will continue to furnish the same high grade of services that we have in the past," said Allen. "There will be no lessening of our efforts to improve on these services and

Continued on Page 10, Column 2

Annexation Both Loses And Wins

Continued from Page 1

furnish them at the lowest possible cost."

Mayor Allen said he wanted to express "the city's gratitude for the fine and consistent presentation that was made of its case to bring in Sandy Springs by the leadership and workers of the Team for Tomorrow."

"This group of dedicated Atlantans waged what we knew was an uphill fight from the beginning and made material improvement every day of the campaign," he said.

"We are grateful to the Legislature for providing the opportunity to let the people of Sandy Springs vote on this matter," the mayor added.

Howard Starke, chairman of the Team for Tomorrow, called the outcome "unfortunate, and I'm personally disappointed."

"But Sandy Springs continues to be a part of Metropolitan Atlanta," he said, "and I hope it will have another opportunity to become part of what I feel is the greatest city in the South."

BIG TURNOUT

DeRieux said the anti-annexationists were "very pleased that the largest percentage of voters turned out for this referendum in the history of the area. The full sentiment of this area has been expressed overwhelmingly against annexation."

He said there was "a lot of talk" at the Save Sandy Springs headquarters Wednesday night about continuing the organization "in the future to study and promote the community, civic and governmental development of Sandy Springs primarily; but also of this entire area."

TRAIL FROM START

The pro-annexation forces trailed from the very first of the vote-counting. The Fulton County Courthouse box was the first tabulated and it came out 20 to 16 against annexation.

Then came Precinct 16A at the Morgan Falls School and the die was cast. The tally there was 164 to 28 against Sandy Springs becoming part of Atlanta.

Besides the courthouse precinct, the pro-annexationists came closest to winning in the count of absentees and Precinct 16G (Liberty Guinn School).

They lost the absentees, however, by a total count of 203 to 100. And they lost Precinct 16G by a 140-vote margin, the tally being 667 against and 527 for.

In the Boulder Park area, which has an estimated 600 registered voters, the turnout was light. This was expected since there had never appeared any doubt the Adamsville community would vote to join the city.

The turnout was so light in Precinct 24A (Utoy Springs School) that only five persons voted—four for annexation and one against, and the courthouse box was zero for and two against. The big vote came in Precinct 27 (the "400" Club) where the count was 193 for and 147 against.

LAW ENFORCEM

ACLU Urges Citizen Board To Review Police 'Abuses'

ATLANTA 5/16/66 AC

By BILL SHIPP

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia issued Sunday a long report alleging numerous instances of misconduct by the Atlanta police. It proposed the creation of a civilian review board to handle complaints against the police.

Such a board would be empowered to award a maximum fine of $500 plus "provable out of pocket expenses" to any person it found injured by police "misconduct."

Richard Freeman, chairman of the aldermanic police committee, labeled the ACLU's proposal for a civilian review board "a lot of baloney."

"If the ACLU has anything to do with it, then I don't want to be associated with it," Freeman said.

"I'm getting sick and tired of the ACLU seeking cheap publicity," he said. "I think the ACLU could serve a better purpose by helping us solve problems."

The ACLU was especially critical of police methods in cases involving Negroes or poverty-stricken white persons. The study included a chapter on alleged police strong-arm activities and gave the names of several persons who said they had been mistreated.

Alderman Freeman also said he was "sick and tired" of hearing about police brutality.

"I hear very little about citizens' brutality toward policemen," he said. Freeman said, however, that some police brutality does exist, and when it comes to his attention he sees that it is fully investigated.

"Instead of going to the newspapers, I think it would have been well if the ACLU had come to me as chairman of the police committee and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins about this," Freeman said. One of Freeman's law partners is Hugh

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

CITIZEN BOARD

Review of Police Sought by ACLU

Continued from Page 1

Gibert, president of the Georgia ACLU.

The ACLU report, entitled, "Police Procedures in Atlanta," quoted from a study on the Watts riot which said:

". . . Despite claims by city officials that there are avenues open to file complaints, the community has little faith that claims of police malpractice will receive a fair hearing. . . . No matter where complaints are registered, they are forwarded to the police department for investigation. Police officers are charged with investigating the actions of other police officers."

The Georgia ACLU report said: "The findings apply with equal force to the Negro community in Atlanta."

RESEARCHED BY 4

The report, compiled by four researchers and edited by Florence B. Robin, executive director of the Georgia ACLU, said:

". . . we must point out that the Atlanta Police Department does not operate in a vacuum. Is attitudes and activities stem from the customs, the traditions and the goals of the general community and its leadership. Virtually nothing, for example, has been done to deal with the problems of social deviants in a constructive, coordinated way by city authorities and community leaders. It is not surprising then, that the police employ illegal round-up techniques against alcoholics, homosexuals and prostitutes. These techniques are entirely consistent with community indifference to these groups."

The report said public hearings established by the police department in December 1965 "beaten insensible by a police officer while handcuffed."

2. An officer opened fire on a suspect when it "appeared" that he had a stone in his hand.

3. Officers attempting to arrest a man for speeding shot him because he was trying to kick them.

4. A Negro woman heard a noise late one night, went to investigate and found two policemen standing in her home. She said they had no warrant and had broken the lock on her door. She said they were searching for someone who was not there.

OTHER CASES TARGETS

The report also was critical of police handling of cases involving alcoholics, prostitutes and homosexuals.

In a section on confessions and the police's obligation to inform a suspect of his rights, the ACLU quoted an unidentified Atlanta police lieutenant.

"You bet I object to having a lawyer around when the police interview a prisoner. Those guys will do anything to protect the bums we get in here. That's because a lawyer has to make a buck, just like everybody else. It's getting so you can hardly get a confession any more."

The review board proposed by the ACLU would be similar to one recently created in New York which has stirred widespread criticism and controversy.

The ACLU said many "dedicated" men were members of the Atlanta police department and it realized that the department faces the same problems encountered by any big city police force — shortage of manpower, rising population and the resultant increase in crime.

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The report said public hearings established by the police department in December 1965 failed to get much response because:

1. Many persons had never heard of the hearings.

2. Those who had "did not believe the police would listen to their complaints impartially, so attendance would be a waste of time."

STAGED INTERVIEWS

The ACLU said it got those views from a series of 88 interviews, 50 of which were conducted in Negro neighborhoods.

The report asserted that Atlanta police usually were courteous to "a , white-collar, middle class individual . . ."

"But when the encounter is between a poor white, or a Negro — poor or not — the rules of courtesy, arrest, search and seizure are violated with monotonous regularity," the report said.

The ACLU gave several examples as reported by persons who said they were mistreated. One statement came from Mrs. Eunice Cooper, an executive with the Medicare program.

The report quoted Mrs. Cooper:

"I overparked my car, and it was towed away and impounded. I went down to police headquarters to pay the impounding fee and to get it back. I asked the officer how long it would take, since I was due at a meeting and was very anxious to get there on time. 'Well,' he said, 'it looks like we got ourselves a real smart nigger,' then he began to call me other names, impugning my character and morals.

APPLIED PRESSURE

"The policeman twisted my arm behind my back and put his other arm around my neck and applied hard pressure . . . While he was choking me, another policeman jumped over the counter and helped the first one drag me down to the ground.

"They threw me into the Negro women's detention room and charged me with disorderly conduct. Luckily, on acquaintance who had accompanied me to Police Headquarters saw what was happening, so I was able to get bail."

The report also alleged:

1. A Negro truck-driver was arrest a man for speeding shot him because he was trying to kick them.

4. A Negro woman heard a noise late one night, went to investigate and found two policemen standing in her home. She said they had no warrant and had broken the lock on her door. She said they were searching for someone who was not there.

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ATLANTA AC 6/3/66

Freeman, Moore Clash at ACLU Meeting

By MICHAEL DAVIS

Atlanta Alderman Richard Freeman clashed with Negro attorey Howard Moore Thursday night at the annual meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Moore, who has represented the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in a number of legal actions, charged that Atlanta police methods were similar to "the policy of the United States in Viet Nam."

Freeman took sharp issue with Moore's statement and said the Atlanta Police Department acted as judiciously as possible in all the cases it handled.

Capt. Morris Redding of the Atlanta Crime Prevention Squad told Moore that a committee had been set up to hear grievances, but that few complaints have been heard as a result of the more than 500,000 arrests made in the city in the last year.

Moore brought up the case of Eunice Cooper in which it has been alleged that she was manhandled by police officers when she went to police headquarters to recover her car, which had ben impounded for being parked illegally.

Freeman told Moore that he had reviewed the records in the case and that after an investigation by the aldermanic police committee had found the charges to be "incredulous."

Charges of police brutality erupted later in the meeting from Hector Black of the Vine City Council and from other members of civil rights organizations.

Freeman, Redding and Police Supt. Fred Beerman said they would investigate all cases that had merit.

Requests that a civilian review board be appointed to investigate and possibly override actions of the police department were said by Freeman to be unwise at this time. He said any such body should be elected by the people if it is to serve all the people.

The first Georgia ACLU Civil Liberties Award went this year to attorney Walter Jones of Albany.

God Is Dead?

WASHINGTON (AP) — To counteract the "God-Is-Dead movement," editor James O. Duncan of the Capital Baptists suggests editorially the launching of a "Devil-Is-Alive movement."

Wages Highest On Pacific Coast

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Go West for higher paychecks.

In the United States wages are highest in the Pacific Coast states, followed in descending order by the Midwest, the Middle Atlantic states, New England and the South.

ATLANTA AC 5/28/66

Bias Led To Attack, Tate Says

Atlanta Board of Education member Horace Tate charged Friday that "racial prejudice" is at the root of questions raised about the legality of his election.

Dr. Tate became the second Negro member of the board by defeating incumbent Seventh Ward member Glenn Frick in last fall's primary.

He qualified without a fee as a result of Fulton Superior Court Judge Durwood Pye's ruling that the city could not legally ask one. Frick paid before the decision.

A higher court later overruled Judge Pye.

Tate charged Friday that his seat was now being contested because his enemies felt they had nothing to lose since the city approved a $21.5 million school bond issue Tuesday.

He said that former Atlanta Board of Education President Oby Brewer Jr. had not questioned the legality of Tate's election earlier because it would have led to organized opposition by Negroes to the bond issue.

ATLANTA
6/6/61

Pennsylvania Grads Hear Allen Praise Rights Laws

Special to The Constitution

HUNTINGDON, Pa. — Enactment of national civil rights legislation was described here Sunday by Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. as one of six "landmarks of American liberty" of the past 100 years.

Ivan Allen Jr.

Mayor Allen was the commencement speaker at graduation exercises of Juniata College.

Besides civil rights legislation, the "landmarks" were listed by Mayor Allen as:

1. Abolition of human slavery; 2. Abolishment of child labor, which he called a "disguised but very cruel and very real" type of slavery; 3. Legalization of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively; 4. Legalization of women's right to vote; 5. Social Security legislation.

He recalled that each of these movements had encountered violent opposition but that after each was achieved "the predictors of doom were forced to eat their words."

The duty of voting goes with the rights of citizenship, said the Southern political leader, adding:

"It is most encouraging to all of us who believe in freedom — and most discouraging to all enemies of freedom — that more and more Americans, year by year, are accepting this responsibility of voting."

The number of Americans voting in presidential elections has increased more than five times during the 50 years from 1910-1960 when the nation's population was doubling, he said.

"These figures show that Americans are determined to stay free," he said.

Mayor Allen told the graduates:

"This year of your graduation marks the completion of a century of progress in our nation unmatched by any other nation since time began.

"You also are entering upon a second century of potential progress that blazes with challenges to achievements which will far eclipse all the attainments of the past century, brilliant as those have been."

B'ham News 4/11/66

'Guidelines' Road Bumpy, But Progress Made

(Mr. Peart is a member of The Birmingham News editorial page staff.)

ATLANTA

THE U. S. OFFICE of Education acknowledges it erred by overemphasizing the flexibility of the 1966 public school desegregation guidelines.

The frustrating result: Politicians, with an eye cocked at the voters, insisted they had gained major concessions from the federay agency. Consequently, local school districts, in many instances, have refused to accept the new desegregation standards.

Actually, the guidelines *are* flexible. They aren't a set of rigid regulations that can't be bent and which must be effected immediately.

But the degree of flexibility is conditioned on progress, the speed with which local districts are moving to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Office of Education realizes that a certain set of circumstances just won't apply in every situation. There are different patterns of "progress" in different areas, but for the OE, progress is the key.

DAVID SEELEY, HEAD of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities for the Office of Education, made those points during a day-long seminar sponsored by the Southern Education Reporting Service in Atlanta last week-end.

Seeley told the seminar that the 1966 guidelines are "basically no different in theory from last year's guidelines." The 1965 guidelines, however, didn't require a "performance test." The ones issued this year do.

But, Seeley said, the politicians and many editorial writers attacked the new set of standards as illegal.

"As a result," he told the group of newsmen, who represented the 17 Southern and border states, "many schools are sitting back and seeing what the Office of Education will do. Even the moderate Southerners (who didn't seriously question the 1965 guidelines) are beginning to think they are unlawful."

He said such an unrealistic attitude was "disastrous—because the schools must comply." According to Seeley, the new guidelines contained no surprises for educators.

THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION'S strategy—issuing the regulations in March so schoolmen could make them effective this fall—backfired.

"The majority took no action," Seeley said, "when action was needed. The time lost will never be regained. The damage has been done."

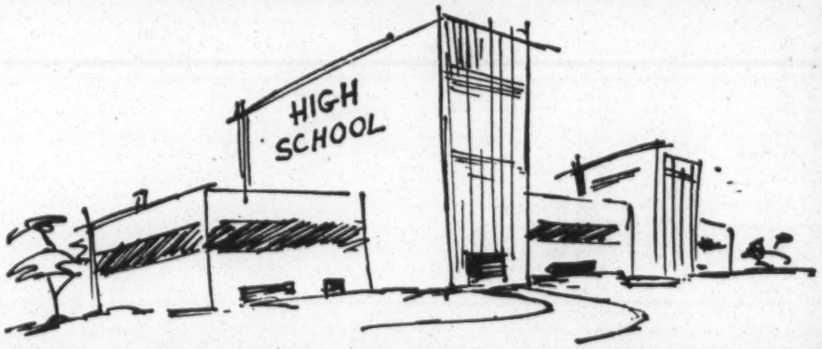
Seeley said that Alabama sits at the bottom of the compliance totem poll. And Allen Alexander, Office of Education information officer who accompanied Seeley to Atlanta, agreed with a newsman that Alabama is the "most prickly thorn of them all."

Gov. George C. Wallace, of course, has urged Alabama educators not to sign the controversial compliance form, claiming that it's illegal. Now the governor reportedly will travel into some local areas to try to put pressure for non-compliance on local school boards.

"WE ARE TRYING to administer a law," Seeley said, "and the law says there can't be a dual (segregated) system. And Congress says if we don't have one system, then there will be no (federal) funds."

The OE official is aware of the de facto school desegregation in many Northern areas. But the law in its present form doesn't permit the federal agency to "grapple with that problem." He feels that "Northern school segregation is in many ways more severe, more harmful than that of the South."

Seeley made this comment in a recent speech: "Whatever the cause for the condition, the fact of the matter is that these schools are serving to perpetuate a brand of segregation which lacks even some of the mitigating factors of the paternalistic system of the South, and it is coupled with such a complex of welfarism, defeatism and alienation, that if it is



not solved it will be the undoing of our society. It is certainly a more clear and present danger than any enemy beyond our borders."

In his address, Seeley said "schools are the key to racial segregation in America." The schools, he said, will "either help to bring about the desegregation of our society or they will serve as an instrument to preserve segregation."

THE U. S. OFFICE of Education is enveloped in problems. Seeley notes that the office has engaged in "little long-range planning because, unfortunately, we are always on the battlefronts."

The civil rights groups pressing for accelerated desegregation complain the OE is dragging its feet, that it isn't "putting the heat on" the local school districts.

The segregaionists contend the OE "is sitting down with Snick."

"But all we are trying to do," Seeley said, "is to follow the guidelines."

THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION'S task is touchy. Unquestionably, it has made—and even compounded—mistakes as it has implemented both the 1954 Supreme Court decision and 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But the office has made some headway, too, just as many local school districts have moved responsibly to meet the requirement of biracial classrooms.

Despite occasional jolts, progress has been made—for the most part quietly. The latter—in a quiet, calm, atmosphere conducive to learning—is a considerable educational asset.—WILLIAM PEART.

Close-Up

ATLANTA 1/12/66

Vine City and Black Power

Vine City is fast becoming a sociologist's dream, for here in a six-by-four-block slum area in the heart of Atlanta one can study all the forces at work in the power politics of the civil rights movement.

But for anyone concerned with the plight of the poor people living there, Vine City is becoming a nightmare.

Up until about three weeks ago these people had a lot going for them. Following street-blocking "play-in" demonstrations the city moved in and, with federal help, built and staffed two playgrounds for children who had no place to play before except in the streets.

Then Mayor Ivan Allen announced a crash program of street repairs, improved sanitation services and better housing code enforcement there and in other slum areas. Other groups, including many United Appeal agencies, made plans to move in with financial help.

But when the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, fresh from its "Black Power" march in Mississippi, moved back into Vine City after a long absence, the area became a "no-man's land" for many organizations that were helping or getting ready to help.

Latest target of SNCC in Vine City is Hector Black, whom militant SNCC workers in the Atlanta Project try to ridicule as a "White Jesus." Hector Black is the guiding force behind the Vine City Council, a group that has been in the forefront of a campaign to bring attention to needs of the area. He came to Vine City under auspices of a Quaker group and has made a lot of enemies within and without the civil rights movement—and a lot of friends.

Just recently Mr. Black received a $4,700 government antipoverty grant for tutoring Vine City youngsters. This immediately brought protests from the Vine City Improvement Association which has been getting support from SNCC black-power advocates to oppose the Vine City Council.

And, over on the extreme right wing—again considering only the forces now at work in Vine City — is Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

All this leaves Hector Black in center aisle, and he and his organization are catching it from both sides. His motives are being challenged; he is being called pink and even darker shades of red, as well as "White Jesus."

But this Harvard educated self-styled slum fighter continues to work with his few white and Negro volunteers in Vine City. He is a thorn in the side of the slum lords and of some city officials who resent the pressures that result in crash improvement programs even in areas as long neglected as Vine City.

Which all brings us back to the forgotten people in Vine City—the people who live there. Some of them have taken sides in the power struggle, but most are still very much confused. SNCC sound trucks tour the streets on hot nights spewing racial hatred and "black power" slogans.

Many responsible groups that could go into Vine City and provide leadership to counteract this venom have decided to stay out. One of their leaders said his group would spend no more money there until "the confusion" is cleared up.

This must be music to the ears of SNCC workers in Vine City who say "Watts" in tones almost reverent.—JIM RANKIN.

ATLANTA

Negroes Demanding Play Lot Clog Street with Game Here

By MICHAEL DAVIS

More than 40 Negro teen-agers protesting a lack of recreational facilities in the Mechanicsville area blocked traffic on Pryor Street SW for 30 minutes Tuesday night by playing football in the street.

Buses and automobiles at the corner of Hendrix Avenue and Pryor Street SW were forced to a halt from 7:15 to 7:45 p.m. until an elected official of Economic Opportunity Atlanta persuaded the demonstrators to leave.

Edward Moody, who identified himself to Atlanta police Capt. A. C. Bryant as a member of the Mechanicsville Civic League, promised another demonstration Wednesday night.

Moody said he was leading the protest because Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and other city officials had reneged on promises to provide adequate recreational facilities for the neighborhood.

Bryant asked Moody to take the problem to city officials Wednesday morning.

"I know you need a place to play," said Bryant, "but there is nothing I can do about it right now. The street is certainly no place for a football game."

Moody, demanding "immediate action," refused.

"We want a playground," he shouted. "The school yard (Pryor Street School) is full of rocks and broken glass and we got just as good a chance of getting hurt there as we do in the street," he said.

"I know you don't want to block buses and traffic," said Bryant. "Why don't you clear the streets now and let's get this thing settled later?"

Meanwhile, Louis E. Peters, an elected representative to the Neighborhood Advisory Council Committee (NACC), an arm of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta, walked to the center of the crowd and said, "This ain't the way I do things. I want you people to break this thing up now. This doesn't solve the problem. You all know that Moody is leading you wrong."

Peters walked through the crowd speaking to the teen-agers individually, urging them to return to their homes.

As the crowd started to disperse, Moody said, "We'll be back tomorrow and this time we'll stay."

More than 200 persons watched the demonstration, according to estimates by police and newsmen.

Negro Summit's Leaders Deplore Use of Violence

ATLANTA

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee representatives—passing out posters reading "Who's Afraid of Black Power?" and "Stop Police Brutality"—showed up here Friday for an Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference.

There, the summit coalition of Negro community leaders and the Atlanta NAACP pledged "our strong cooperation with all the forces of law and order."

The Rev. Samuel W. Williams, NAACP president, had a few SNCC hecklers at a televised press conference at Friendship Baptist Church where he read a formal "Affirmation Atlanta" signed by 18 persons including Negro representatives to the Georgia Legislature, presidents of area Negro colleges, and business leaders.

The minister also presented, on behalf of the NAACP, a statement headed "Violence Is Not the Way!"

Both statements expressed concern over unrest in the Negro community.

"The events occurring in our city a few nights ago when a

Continued on Page 11, Column 4

Negroes Deplore Violence As SNICK Hecklers Fizzle

Continued from Page 1

few people interfered with an officer of the law in the routine execution of his duty has caused some alarm and deep concern," the NAACP statement noted. " . . . Negro people have been and still are victims of injustices and wrongs. We are just as determined as any to work continuously and with vigor to eliminate any and all injustice in this city. We do not believe, however, that one wrong can be made right by committing another wrong. The way of violence, no matter by whom perpetrated, is wrong and creates more problems than it solves.

". . . There is a way to protest. The framework is set out in the Constitution. All people should work to see that it is preserved and honored, that all who live under it live by it. Violence or inciting to riot does neither of these."

The summit "Affirmation" cited "with pride the substantial progress . . . in many areas of our social, civil and economic life particularly in the last five years."

"For the first time," it declared, "many of us feel that we not only are a part of the city, but that we have deep and significant stakes in its welfare and in its progress."

ADVANCES NEEDED

Admitting there are "still areas in which we need to make more significant advances," the summit declaration expressed disturbance over "elements in the city which do not have the total welfare of the groups which they appear to represent."

"These individuals, we are afraid," the statement added, "believe that progress can be made through disturbing the best rather than working with other wholesome elements in our population to keep Atlanta headed in the right direction.

"We want all good citizens to know that while we deplore certain shortcomings still to be found in our social, economic and civil life that we do not feel that violence or the breaking of laws will be very helpful to achieve the complete human equality for which we work and for which we will continue to diligently strive to achieve.

"We pledge our strong cooperation with all the forces of law and order and that Atlanta will become a completely open city which we desire where every man regardless of his social, racial or economic status will have completely those opportunities for the good life which any other citizen may achieve."

STATEMENT SIGNERS

The summit statement was signed by the Rev. Mr. Williams, Atlanta alderman Q. V. Williamson, Sen. Leroy Johnson, Reps. William Alexander, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, John Grier, John T. Hood, NAACP executive secretary B. T. Smith, Dr. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the civil rights leader, AME Methodist Bishop E. L. Hickman, NAACP representative Mrs. Eunice Cooper, Morris Brown College President Dr. John A. Middleton, Moorehouse College President Dr. Benjamin Mays, Atlanta University President Dr. Rufus E. Clement, also a member of the Atlanta Board of Education, Spellman College President Dr. A. E. Manley, Interdenominational Theological Center President Dr. Harry V. Richardson, the Rev. M. R. Dinkins, and Charles Hart.

During the press conference the Rev. Mr. Williams several times told SNCC representatives who tried to engage him in debate that "this conference was not called for that purpose." SNCC representatives attempted to discuss an incident at the Atlanta Stadium involving Mrs. Hank Aaron, headlined in current issue of The Atlanta Inquirer.

SNCC workers passed out their own statement at the summit meeting. This statement recorded alleged "roughing up" and jail beatings of Negroes in March and April.

"Who will be next?" their statement ended. "We must join together to stop police brutality."

The summit and NAACP statements referred to an incident involving several hundred Negroes and a policeman Tuesday. Negroes had swarmed around the officer when he started to write a traffic citation for a Negro motorist. The officer was rescued by other policemen.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

HATE, CHAOS RULE ATLANTA

'You Should've Seen It, Man ...It Was a Bad Scene'

By BILL WINN

A riot is a frightening experience. Everything is chaos, violence and hatred. People don't shout; they shriek, they cackle.

"Lady," an officer was saying, "Lady, we're on your side."

"I can't help it," she shrieked. "You sent me down that street and they broke out all the windows in my car. How am I going to get home? It's your fault."

"Lady," said the officer, his voice rising, "Lady, I told you . . ."

Shots crackle down the street. White reporters stick to the center of the street and watch lines of sullen black faces staring at them.

GLASS IS EVERYWHERE. The acrid smoke of a tear gas grenade hangs in the air, an invisible cloak that chokes and stings with incredible effectiveness.

Police attempt to charge a crowd only to encounter a wall of their own tear gas. It spins the men around like puppets. They fall back, temporarily blinded. From out of the darkness a mocking Negro laugh reaches the gasping policemen.

"My babies are in there," screams a Negro woman. Her face is streaked with tears from the gas. "My children are in that house."

Several men attempt to fight their way through the gas to reach the children. They can't make it. A Negro man climbs onto the roof and enters an open window.

"I don't think there are any kids in that house," one man says.

Suddenly, a man lurches out of the door. He is carrying a tiny child. Three more children and an old lady are brought out. They are all rushed to the hospital in an ambulance.

"It's gonna get dark man," says a young Negro. "It's gonna get dark. Watch out." He keeps his voice low so that police can't hear him. His friends can hear and they smile.

"Get them out of here," hollers a policeman. "Move back, move back!" A cordon of Negroes gives ground grudgingly.

SUDDENLY, there is the flat twang of a rifle shot. In the darkness it is hard to see what is going on, but the police rush toward a man near a white car. They arrest him and then spread out through an apartment development, their flashlight beams finding pair after pair of frightened but defiant eyes.

"Did that guy actually fire that gun?" a reporter asks. "Yeah, somebody threw a bottle and he just hauled off and shot. I think he hit a garbage can."

A car, its windows shattered, can be seen turned upside down on the pavement like a turtle on its back.

"Mayor Allen, his face splotched from the street lamp and the blue police lights, firmly stands behind the police force:

"The only brutality here has been against the policemen," he is saying. "They were provoked beyond all degree . . . I can't tell you what an effort we made."

POLICE SUDDENLY realize that a Negro man standing quietly in a crowd is wearing a pistol. They level their shotguns on him.

"Take his gun away and empty it," says the Mayor. "Give it back to him and tell him to go home."

Guns bristle everywhere. Carloads of police ride up and down the darkened streets, Guns sticking out of every window.

"Thank God for tear gas," says one officer. "If we hadn't of had that gas we would have been in real trouble. I mean it."

"They were throwing paving tile," says another policeman. "My God, somebody could have gotten killed."

"They would go into that store and buy soft drinks, chug-a-lug them, and then throw them at us," said a plain-clothes detective.

"You should've seen it, man . . . it was a bad scene."

NOW THE DOC IS SICK

EAST HORSLEY, England, Sept. 7 (UPI)—Dr. Anthony Watson has decided that the arrival at his office of two men who asked to be treated for sore fingers they had picked with roses was his cue to emigrate to Australia.

"The abuse of the Health Service (socialized medicine) has reached a point where people passing my office think up a complaint and pop in to waste my time," said Watson.

Art Professor Dies

NEWPORT, R. I., Sept. 7 (UPI)—Bernard Heyl, professor emeritus of art at Wellesley College, died at Newport Hospital Tuesday after suffering a heart attack. He was 61.

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ATLANTA

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Vol. 84, No. 166 | P.O. Box 4689 | Atlanta, Ga., 30302, Wednesday Evening, September 7, 1966 | 94 Pages — 5 Sections | ★★★★ | Ten Cents

73 JAILED IN NIGHT OF RIOTING; CHILDREN HURL ROCKS AT 2 CARS

Jenkins, Allen Blame SNCC

2 City Officials Vow to Take Firm Steps Against Outbreaks

By ORVILLE GAINES and RALEIGH BRYANS

Mayor Ivan Allen and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins Wednesday charged that Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) members were directly responsible for Tuesday's rioting near Atlanta Stadium.

In separate press conferences, the two officials promised that the city will deal firmly with further outbreaks of rioting, using whatever methods are necessary to control them.

"Mr. Carmichael will be met wherever he comes, under whatever conditions he seeks to impose," the mayor said. SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael was reportedly among those urging the rioters along.

The mayor said the disorders were "the result of a deliberate attempt by certain members of SNCC to create an incident of this very nature." He promised that those members will be dealt with under the law if they committed any crime during the rioting.

CHIEF JENKINS, in an angry mood, said SNCC has gotten into the hands of "irresponsible and hoodlum leaders" and that its rank and file consists "mostly

onstrated their opposition to violence and will give law and order good support. "Regrettably," he said, "there is a small group that advocates and provokes violence."

According to the chief, the police department has been aware for some time of a small group of people in Atlanta who stir up trouble, whatever the cause.

"Snick clearly demonstrated here in 1963 that is had gotten into the hands of irresponsible and hoodlum leaders," he said.

THE CHIEF referred to the time in which there was some violence during or following

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Staff Photo—Ken Patterson

RESULT OF MOLOTOV COCKTAIL

This was the early-morning scene at Sexton Brothers Tire Co. at 717 Ashby St. NW after a fire gutted the structure. Fire department officials said a gasoline-filled bottle was hurled over the fence and into a window of the structure after the outbreak of racial violence near Atlanta Stadium Tuesday. Flames swept through the huge warehouse and sales offices, gutting the building. The fire department, undermanned because of a strike, was plagued with a number of false alarms and five other fires. No injuries were reported in this particular fire, according to officials.

Summit Negroes Call Meet Here

Heavily armed police Wednesday afternoon blocked off the Capitol Ave.-Ormond St. intersection where Tuesday's riot occurred. Several persons were arrested, including one with a "black power" emblem pasted across his chest. Police kept the area clear after reports were received that members of SNCC were en route there.

By TOM DUNKIN

Atlanta police armed with shotguns, submachine guns and tear gas patrolled an area near Atlanta Stadium Wednesday where hundreds of Negroes rioted Tuesday.

The six-block wide area, stretching from the stadium southward on Capitol Avenue for eight blocks, seemed mostly normal, but police refused to dismiss the possibility of a second day of violence.

SNCC "nonviolent" only in name under leadership of Stokley Carmichael, reporter Wayne Kelley says in news analysis—Page 4.

Additional coverage of riot on Page 2, 8, 13 and 17.

Although there were predictions of more trouble, tensions appeared at least temporarily eased following a neighborhood meeting in the area Wednesday afternoon. Principal speakers were Alderman Q. V. Williamson, representing Mayor Allen, and Rep. John Hood.

A COMMITTEE of 10 members was selected with the assignment of drawing up a list of grievances to be submitted to Mayor Allen. The committee met at the Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., Wednesday afternoon.

At noon, Negro children began throwing rocks at whites passing by in two cars and a truck. The rocks hit the vehicles but the passengers were untouched. The incident ended quickly, before police officers reached the scene.

The police force, already undermanned, has been further incapacitated by a five-day-old firemen's strike that has resulted in 89 policemen being ordered to duty at city fire sta-

Pop Bottles, Bricks Fly

MARKETS AT A GLANCE

Raiders Sever

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CHIEF JENKINS, in an angry mood, said SNCC has gotten into the hands of "irresponsible and hoodlum leaders" and that its rank and file consists "mostly of criminals, hoodlums and outlaws of all types."

The chief continued, "it (SNCC) is now the Non-Student Violent Committee. And we must and will deal with it accordingly."

WARNING that the police department uses only "live ammunition," the chief made it clear that the force presently is strengthening its organization and equipment to meet whatever demands are made upon it in the future.

"We've had quite a supply of riot equipment, including an armored car, on hand for years. Last night was the first time we've had to use it—and I hope it's the last. But it's ready to go. The ammunition and tear gas we had to use last night is being replaced now," the chief said.

Chief Jenkins pointed out that the great majority of both white and Negro citizens have demonstrated their opposition to violence and will give law and order good support. "Regrettably," he said, "there is a small group that advocates and provokes violence."

According to the chief, the police department has been aware for some time of a small group of people in Atlanta who stir up trouble, whatever the cause.

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The police force, already undermanned, has been further incapacitated by a five-day-old firemen's strike that has resulted in 89 policemen being ordered to duty at city fire stations. The entire remaining force was put on duty Tuesday.

IN THE Southwest Atlanta area where the violence occurred, children went unperturbed to school Wednesday morning. City prisoners were cleaning up the broken glass and debris and the streets were quiet.

Around midnight Tuesday, half the 750-man police force was relieved and told to return to duty Wednesday at noon for another 12-hour shift. Normally the men work three eight-hour shifts.

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, an organization composed of top-stratum Negro leaders, announced it would meet in special session Wednesday afternoon to explore ways of averting further difficulty. The organization asked Mayor Allen to attend its meeting and the mayor said he planned to be there.

At dawn Wednesday, 73 per-

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Pop Bottles, Bricks Fly In Troubled Area Here

Allen, Negro Ministers Plead As Crowd Near 1,000 Mills

By PAUL HEMPHILL

The glass and the bricks and the spent shells lay over the street like a ragged blanket, and when the lights of a patrol car swept over the street the bits of glass would catch the light and sparkle like diamonds.

A light late-summer breeze was tripping through the trees, making their leaves dance around the lights, which hang over the center of the street that takes you out of the slums and into the heart of the city. It was quiet and pleasant now.

Paul Hemphill

It was 8:30, and now the people had gone into their crowded frame houses and were peering through the windows and they could see the cops standing around in loose groups with their white helmets on their heads and their rifles cradled in their arms and, yes, it was much better now.

John Hood, a Negro member of the Georgia House of Representatives, stood under a spreading tree on the corner of Capitol Avenue and Little Street. The building to his back was the Capitol Avenue Elementary School, and a spotlight played on the cop in the white shirt, and the gun he held, as he perched on top of the school and scanned the street below him. It had been a long day.

John Hood wore a white dress shirt with a tie and no coat, and the sweat rolled down his face as he stood there and talked to the people gathered around him.

Somebody said, "When did you get here?"

"About 1:30," he said. "Right

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MARKETS AT A GLANCE

NEW YORK, Sept. 7 (AP).

STOCKS — Lower; moderate trading.

TOTAL SALES—Stocks, 5,530,000; bonds, $11,600,000. American stocks 1,1330,000; American bonds, $440,000.

COTTON—Higher.

CHICAGO:

WHEAT—Mostly easier; profit cashing.

CORN—Weak; profit cashing.

OATS—Slightly firmer; scattered buying.

SOYBEANS—Mixed; September weak.

HOGS—50 to 75 cents lower; top $25.

CATTLE — Steady to strong; top $27.75.

Raiders Sever Hanoi Rail Link

Cong Continues Terror Attacks As Election Day Draws Near

SAIGON, Sept. 7 (AP)—American fighter-bombers again chopped up the two North Vietnamese rail lines between Hanoi and Communist China, the U.S. military command reported Wednesday.

In simultaneous blows at the vital supply links, Air Force F105 Thunderchiefs pounded the northwest line 102 miles from Hanoi Tuesday while others bombed the northeast line 55 miles from the capital.

Ground fighting slowed to scattered small actions, but reports of Viet Cong terrorism aimed at disrupting the national elections Sunday came from several sections of the country.

U.S. Air Force, Navy and Marine pilots flew 136 multiplane missions against North Viet Nam Tuesday, 20 short of their record. They hit oil depots, supply areas, a missile site and barges as well as the major rail lines.

The pilots bombed and strafed a 15-car train on the northeast line, destroying five box cars and damaging 10 and cutting the line in three places, the spokesman said.

On the northwest or Red River route, other Thunderchief pilots reported knocking out a bridge and ripping up the rails in three places.

Pilots reported bomb hits on three fuel dumps and said they damaged or destroyed 24 buildings, 16 bridges, 45 cargo barges, 13 junks and three antiaircraft sites. Navy fliers from the aircraft carrier Intrepid reported knocking out a surface-to-air missile site eight miles southwest of the coastal city of Vinh.

The U.S. command in a de-

Turn to Page 16, Column 5

Demos Remain Temperate On Black Power, Use of Force

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Georgia candidates for governor Wednesday had a local color angle on black power as an issue in the Democratic primary. But all the contenders expressed their opposition to use of force in civil rights matters, in varying degrees of fervor, and the comments generally were temperate.

Headquarters of one candidate issued a strongly phrased denunciation of Tuesday's rioting — and a declaration on what should be done about it—and then sent telegrams to news media asserting the statement should not be used. A later comment was milder in tone.

Praise of handling of the situation by Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen came from Hoke O'Kelley. "I'm glad that the mayor showed up so well," he said. "The fact that he's meeting his obligations courageously and intelligently makes it all worth while."

IN A POLITICAL way, candidate Lester Maddox offhand would be figured the man to benefit the most from racial disorders. He learned what was going on in Atlanta Tuesday while campaigning in Madison.

Individual stories on Democratic gubernatorial candidates on Page 2.

"The cities have compromised themselves repeatedly," he said. "That's what causes these things."

But later in the day he praised Atlanta police for their efforts to put down the riot and commended Negroes who took no part in the explosive situation.

"I denounce black power, racial violence, insurrection and civil anarchy," said Ellis Arnall. "I condemn lawlessness and irresponsible extremists of both races wherever they may be . . . The shameful action by Stokeley Carmichael and those members of the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee who precipitated civil disturbance and bloodshed . . . was revolting and irresponsible."

He added: "The responsible citizens of both races, white and Negro, want peace, harmony and tranquility. We uphold our

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STREET SCENES

Two young men, unable to back small car into Carnegie Way space, picking it up and shoving it in.

Little girl and little boy playing "Funeral" in Garden Hills. He is lying down while she sings, "It Had To Be You . . ."

Gas truck rolling along South Expressway, unaware that two plastic horseshoes given away by rival company are stuck on back.

Warmth Due On Thursday

Thursday will be fair to partly cloudy and warm in Georgia, with high temperatures ranging from 83 to 88 degrees in the north, and from 86 to 91 in the south.

Temperatures will remain mild Thursday night. Lows will be between 56 and 64 degrees in North Georgia, between 64 and 68 in South Georgia.

Atlanta will have fair weather, and an afternoon high of 86, and a Thursday night low of 62.

..LATE..NEWS..

House Okays Wage Bill

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 (AP)—The House gave approval Wednesday to a bill that would increase the present $1.25 an hour minimum wage to $1.60 in 1968 and bring 8 million new workers under minimum wage protection.

Food Prices Ease Slightly

NEW YORK, Sept. 7 (AP)—Wholesale food prices eased slightly this week for the second week in a row, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., reported Wednesday. The total price of one pound each of 31 foodstuffs was $6.94, compared with $6.99 last week and $6.36 last year.

Chinese Hits U.S., Russia

WARSAW, Poland, Sept. 7 (AP)—Breaking an 11-year policy of public silence, Red Chinese ambassador Wang Kuo-Chuan came out of a conference with U.S. Ambassador John A. Gronouski Wednesday with a charge that the United States and Russia "are singing a duet" in an attempt to create the impression of a U.S.-Red Chinese reconciliation.

Floor Collapses; 6 Hurt

BOSTON, Sept. 7 (AP)—Six workmen were injured Wednesday in the collapse of rough flooring at one center plaza, a private office building under construction at the government center. Police Capt. John J. MacDonald said the accident occurred when the rough flooring gave way during lunch hour. Some of the men were dropped 20 feet from the first floor to the basement.

British Union Backs Wilson

BLACKPOOL, England, Sept. 7 (UPI)—The powerful Trades Union Congress (TUC), which represents nearly 9 million British workers, voted Wednesday to cooperate voluntarily with the Labor government's economy-rescuing wage-price freeze. The vote was 4.9 million to 3.8 million.

PINEY WOODS PETE Says:

DEAR MISTER EDITOR:

Our news services entertain as well as inform. One tells of an incident showing how skittish Russians can be. Off the Oregon coast a couple of American tuna fishermen came alongside a Russian craft. After preliminaries, a deal was struck to trade some American beer in the new snap-tab opener cans and cigarettes for Russian cigarettes and dolls.

When a Russian pulled the tab on the first can of American beer it began to hiss like a booby trap bomb. When they saw it didn't explode, the Russians lapped up the product of the American brewers' art.

By the way, I always thought a brewmaster was a skilled workmen, but hardly an artist. Maybe we'll be hearing of a one-man beer art show one of these days.

Yours truly,
PINEY WOODS PETE.

Defendants in Riot Cases Fined in Municipal Court

Atlanta Municipal Court Judge T. C. Little began meting out fines Wednesday against persons arrested during Tuesday's riot.

Of those appearing before him at a morning session, the judge gave seven fines of $27 or 25 days each for creating a disturbance. Another defendant was bound over to Fulton Criminal Court under a $500 bond each on charges of assault and battery and assault with a deadly weapon, and four others were assessed 30-day suspended sentences for disorderly conduct.

The judge also fined a 13th person $15 on a drunk charge.

A Negro witness at the hearing told Judge Little that police were "running around grabbing people like rabbits."

THE WITNESS said, "I agree that some of them needed to be arrested. But the majority didn't. Most of those arrested were put into jail just for making smart remarks to police. It was not a riot. It was just a show."

Judge Little interrupted the witness and said that it was "rather an expensive show, when cars are overturned and people get hurt with rocks and bricks."

An arresting officer testified that police used patience for two hours, trying to talk the crowd into dispersing. "We begged and pleaded for them to move off the streets. Instead they started throwing objects and on one occasion shook the mayor off the

Turn to Page 16, Column 4

Children Hurl Rocks at Cars

Continued from Page 1

sons had been jailed and 16 had received hospital treatment for injuries suffered in the disorder. Most of the injured were struck by bottles, stones and bricks hurled by Negro residents of the Southwest Atlanta area. A number of them were motorists injured when bricks and rocks were hurled through windows of their cars as they drove through the area.

Crowds of Negroes formed Tuesday afternoon after 25-year-old Harold Louis Prather was shot in the hip and side as he tried to avoid arrest on an auto theft charge.

The shooting occurred at 1:18 p.m. A crowd of protesting Negroes began to gather and by 4:20 p.m., the point at which the disturbance turned into a riot, hundreds were milling in the street at Capitol Avenue and Ormond Street SE.

The crowds remained calm until officers said members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) whipped them into a frenzy with "black power" chants and denunciations of policemen.

Among the SNCC personnel on hand as the unruly mobs formed was chairman Stokely Carmichael, who disappeared when the outbreak of stone and bottle tossing began.

Another SNCC member involved, police said, was William Ware. He was jailed on a charge of inciting a riot and creating a disturbance. Ware was being held on bonds totaling $10,050.

Mayor Ivan Allen, who earlier had urged the crowds ranging from an estimated 800 to 1,000 Negroes to accompany him to the Atlanta Stadium parking lot nearby for an orderly discussion, later ordered police to clear the streets.

MAYOR ALLEN also refused to withdraw police as recommended by a number of Negro ministers. Amid threats from the throngs, Mayor Allen told the Negro assembly that police would remain in the area until calm was restored.

Most injuries and damage to motor vehicles occurred from 6 to 10 p.m. After that, the

him he had a warrant for his arrest, the officers reported.

Prather leaped from the car and ran. Harris ordered him to stop several times, then fired three times, with two of the shots striking Prather in the left side and hip, police reported.

Prather continued running until he collapsed on the front steps of his home at 39 Ormond St. SE, the officers said.

A crowd estimated at about 200 persons formed around the officers and wounded man, but police were able to remove Prather to a hospital with no problem from the assemblage.

WITNESSES to the shooting of Prather, including his half-brother, Emmit Boyd, 26, and two men in the car, Willie Frank Alfred, 43, of 77 Ormond St. and Tom Bush, 40, of 1041 Washington St., said they heard Harris tell Prather he was under arrest and shout several times for him to halt, investigators reported.

After milling about for a while the crowds grew in size, but order was maintained until the sudden outbreak of thrown bricks, bottles and stones.

The crowd was kept relatively under control until five minutes before 6 o'clock, when a barrage of bottles, stones and bricks was hurled from Ormond Street just west of Capitol. A car in that block was overturned, and policemen began advancing and firing pistols into the air.

OTHER OFFICERS fired tear gas into the crowds, and ordered the people back. Several persons in the group of demonstrators were injured by thrown objects, including a young Negro boy who was struck in the eye by an open pocket knife hurled from the throngs being forced back along Ormond. The child was rushed to the hospital in a police paddy wagon.

Mayor Allen, advancing with police and wiping his eyes with a handkerchief from exposure to the tear gas, ordered the officers to "clear it up. Move them out of here."

Police Capt. O. W. Jordan, also wiping his eyes from the tear gas, ordered patrolmen to block off the area for three

Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall

ATLANTA MAYOR IVAN ALLEN (CIRCLE) ATTEMPTS TO CALM CROWD
Mayor Met Tense Situation Head-on, Trying to Talk With Crowd and Being Shouted Down

drawn from the area. This group included Rev. J. T. Bickers, Rev. Clyde Williams, Rev. Hunter and state Reps. John Hood and J. D. Grier.

Most vocal of the group was the Rev. Mr. Williams, who insisted "these people own their houses and businesses here. They're not going to burn them down."

Mayor Allen and police officials disagreed. One officer said "there wouldn't be a plate glass window left if we pulled out." Another reported the only looting noted was of a soft drink truck driving along Fraser Street. Slowed by the crowds "it looked like a swarm of ants over it" as members of the crowd snatched bottles from crates on the truck, the officer said.

A number of police cruisers in the area were seen with smashed windows and windshields and dents from the rock and brick barrages. Only two had been reported so badly damaged they had to be towed to a garage, a police wrecker service spokesman said in the early evening.

AT 7:50 P.M. police were notified by radio that a detachment of state troopers, numbering about 300 men, were standing by at the stadium, fully equipped for riot control. At

was treated for face cuts from a thrown rock and detective R. A. Davis received injuries from an exploding tear gas grenade.

All four officers were released after emergency treatment.

A hospital official said a woman and five children also came to the emergency room complaining of having suffered tear gas exposure. An examining physician reported no injuries and they were not treated.

The sporadic disturbances resulted in the entire police department being rescheduled for two 12-hour daily tours of duty. One shift was placed on duty from midnight Tuesday to Wednesday noon, and the other scheduled to work from noon until the following midnight "until further notice."

POLICE CHIEF Herbert Jenkins said Mayor Allen authorized him to set the police work week at 66 hours, with personnel to be paid overtime for all time above their normal 44 hours weekly.

The personnel problem was aggravated due to 89 officers having been detached for duty with the fire department due to the firemen's strike. At least one of the officers on fire department duty was on duty at the riot scene. This was Capt

mer Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd was holding a press conference. For future records of Georgia political history, it can be observed by observers he was not aware the rioting was under way—but he commented: "When I get to be governor, there won't be enough room in the state for me and SNCC. A lot of them will end up in jail."

State Sen. Jimmy Carter was not immediately available for comment.

RAIDERS

Continued from Page 1

layed report announced the loss of a Navy F8 Crusader Monday night. The carrier plane was shot down 50 miles south of Hanoi and the pilot is missing. It was the 362nd plane announced lost over the north and the second shot down that day.

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In the largest, Vietnamese Rangers killed 50 Viet Cong while taking light casualties only eight miles northeast of Saigon, a spokesman said.

In another action 48 miles

Bricks, Bottles Fly In Troubled Area

Continued from Page 1

after the shooting."

"What *really* happened?"

HOOD pulled a folded sheet of paper from his shirt pocket. "Here's the police report."

"What did you do?"

"I went to see his mother. Then I went to see him at the hospital. Then I came back. When I got back there were a lot of people milling around. The sound truck was here by then."

Someone out of the crowd asked, "What were they saying?"

"They were giving their version of what happened."

"Who was 'they'?"

"I don't know. I just can't say."

"Was it the SNCC truck?"

"I don't know that. It was a truck similar to the one they use."

"What effect did that have on the crowd?"

John Hood bit it off. "I think the whole thing could have been avoided if the truck hadn't come in here," he said.

And at that instant the empty beer bottle came flying out of the darkness up the street, and it was answered by a police revolver, and on Tuesday night in a Negro slum called Summerhill, everybody knew that the worst was yet to come.

THE LID became unscrewed on what is delicately called "the racial situation," and it began the same way most of the riots in far-away places like Watts and Hough and Harlem have begun.

A white policeman had his warrant. He found his man, in this case a 24-year-old Negro with a record already behind him, and told him to stop. The Negro ran. The policeman shot him. A crowd gathered. The crowd yelled "police brutality."

Violent young Negroes stirred the pot. And by 5:30 in the afternoon, four hours after the shooting, the city which has held its breath and tried to right the wrongs of the centuries, began finding out what Watts and hate and mistrust and passion and irrational thinking are all about.

Mayor Ivan Allen had been winding up a session with the

ple here have run wild and torn up property. This is not true. This is the best way for you to be heard."

The crowd became nasty. A young Negro with bushy hair, wearing a faded blue sweatshirt and glasses, grabbed the megaphone and yelled, "The mayor told the preacher to say a prayer."

"Yaaahhhhh."

"But this ain't no place for prayers."

"Yaaahhhhh."

"Atlanta is a cracker town. It's no different from Watts. The mayor walks around on plush carpets and wears $500 suits and eats big steaks, while we eat pig foots and chitlins."

"Yaaahhhh."

AND THAT WAS all it took. A Negro fireman who is on strike tried to talk but they would not let him. They began rocking the patrol car and the mayor had to jump off or be thrown off. The mayor began walking again, asking everybody to go home and cool off, but they were in no mood for that.

"I have told y'all if five of these people will come and talk about this, we will do it."

"We're ready to talk right here, mayor."

"All right, let's clear the streets."

"Get your po-leece off our streets, mayor."

"Everybody. Go to your homes."

"You take that po-leece off the force that shot that boy."

"Let's go home. Come on, let's go home."

"You're picking on us."

"Nobody's picking on you."

From somewhere out of the crowd, a brick came hurtling into the air. Then a pop bottle. And a plank.

And another brick, which hit a young white patrolman named R. L. Braswell behind the ear. More than two dozen shots were fired into the air above Capitol Avenue by police.

THE CALL went out for tear gas. Negroes were dragged and thrown into paddy wagons.

by tear gas came out of the houses along Capitol Avenue. A white Falcon sedan lay on its side in a gutter, all the windows broken out.

But the little story which was the biggest, the one which probably told as much as any other about this long day and night, took place on the front porch steps of one of the two-story frame houses lining Capitol Avenue.

MAYOR ALLEN had asked several prominent Negro ministers to come and see what they could do about calming the people down, and after dark an orderly contingent came striding down the sidewalk wearing nice suits and ties and looking as calm as anything anybody had seen all through the day.

Rev. William Holmes Borders led the way. They walked up to the front porch, where nearly two dozen Negroes stood and craned their necks, and all tried to talk at the same time. Empty beer cans littered the yard.

"All right, all right," the Rev. Mr. Borders said. "Now let's be calm and talk about this thing."

A teen-ager in a dirty T-shirt and blue jeans said, "We want him back."

"Who?"

"That boy they come up here and took right out of the house."

"All right, we'll get him. Now, what else?"

One of the others said, "There was four in all."

"Yeah, and three of 'em was women."

"Can you give me their names?" the Rev. Mr. Borders said. "Give me their names and we'll get them out of jail for you."

"And we want you to get them po-leeces out of here."

"I'll talk to them about that, too."

"And we want our freedom."

"What do you mean by 'freedom'?"

"Uh . . ."

"Jobs? Education?"

"That's right."

"We'll see about that, too. Now what you've got to do is calm down."

"Get the po-leeces out of here, Reverend."

"If we ask the police to go to the outskirts of this area, you will be orderly?" said the Rev. Mr. Borders.

"Yes."

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MAYOR ALLEN also refused to withdraw police as recommended by a number of Negro ministers. Amid threats from the throngs, Mayor Allen told the Negro assembly that police would remain in the area until calm was restored.

Most injuries and damage to motor vehicles occurred from 6 to 10 p.m. After that, the streets were quiet and patrolled by policemen in cars equipped with shotguns, rifles and submachineguns.

But an outbreak of fire alarms followed, including two in which Molotov cocktails were used. Fire department officials said a gasoline-filled bottle was hurled through a window of the Sexton Brothers Tire Co. at 717 Ashby St. NW. Flames quickly swept through the huge warehouse and sales offices, gutting the building and contents.

The loss was expected to run into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

An undermanned fire department, bolstered by 89 Atlanta policemen assigned to duty with them, was plagued throughout the night with a number of false alarms and five other fires.

AMONG THEM was the fire bombing of a one-story frame house at 150 Dahlgren St. SE. The home, occupied by Thomas McDowell, caught fire from the incendiary device tossed on the roof, but the fire was quickly brought under control, a fire department spokesman said.

These were the only two blazes specifically listed as arson by fire officials. But others of "a suspicious nature" included a fire in a vacant building at Glen Iris Drive and Forrest Avenue; a blazing pile of scrap lumber at Englewood and Boulevard Drive NE, and a pile of crossties found burning at Grant Street and the railroad, fire officials said.

Another fire, which destroyed a one-story frame building at 1449 Simpson Road, NW, was caused by an electrical short circuit, Battalion Chief H. H. Wright reported.

The fires occurred between 11 p.m. and 3 a.m.

Seventeen automobiles had been reported damaged in the rioting, including a number of police cars with smashed windsheilds and windows.

No looting was reported during the night, but two market owners had plate glass windows shattered by bricks which witnesses said were hurled by young Negroes.

These incidents were at Buehler's Market, 1021 Georgia Ave. SE, and Sol Shafer Grocery, 1992 Boulevard Drive NE.

THE INCIDENT which triggered the rioting began shortly after 1 p.m. Tuesday. Detective R. H. Kerr and patrolman Lamar Harris reported they attempted to take Harold Louis Prather into custody on an auto theft charge.

They saw a car driven by Prather stop for a traffic light at Ormond and Capitol, and Harris called Prather and told

ly under control until five minutes before 6 o'clock, when a barrage of bottles, stones and bricks was hurled from Ormond Street just west of Capitol. A car in that block was overturned, and policemen began advancing and firing pistols into the air.

OTHER OFFICERS fired tear gas into the crowds, and ordered the people back. Several persons in the group of demonstrators were injured by thrown objects, including a young Negro boy who was struck in the eye by an open pocket knife hurled from the throngs being forced back along Ormond. The child was rushed to the hospital in a police paddy wagon.

Mayor Allen, advancing with police and wiping his eyes with a handkerchief from exposure to the tear gas, ordered the officers to "clear it up. Move them out of here."

Police Capt. O. W. Jordan, also wiping his eyes from the tear gas, ordered patrolmen to block off the area for three blocks on each side of Capitol Avenue. This confined the activity to an area eight blocks deep and six blocks wide, along Capitol from Glen Street on the north to Vanira Avenue southward.

Several protesting young men were hustled into patrol wagons at Ormond and Capitol immediately after the tear gas barrage. Two young women on Ormond just east of Capitol shouted obscenities at policemen as they ordered the people from the street and sidewalk into their homes.

Both women were arrested a few minutes later when they hurled concrete block chunks through the windows and windshield of a police car parked nearby.

ARRESTS were sporadic at first, although a total of 63 persons had been taken to jail by 11 p.m. Among the arrested was William Ware, a SNCC member who reportedly is responsible for police department public hearings last December on his charges of "police brutality" while in jail.

Ware also initiated a campaign last month in Vine City to raise $35,000 appeal bonds for 12 SNCC pickets arrested and convicted after a brawl with police at the Army Induction Center in Atlanta.

Two cars passing through the area, one eastbound on Ormond and another going west, driven by white occupants, had smashed windshields and rear windows. The driver of one had blood on his face.

Among Negro ministers who sought to calm the situation around 7 p.m. were Rev. William Holmes Borders and Rev. Robert Hunter.

"We want to get what you want," the Rev. Mr. Borders told one protesting youth, "but you'll have to tell us what it is."

The youth, who identified himself as Bobby Upshaw, said he wanted a relative who had been arrested released, and three other persons who he said were not guilty of any wrongdoing freed. Upshaw said he was not a member of any organization.

AS DARKNESS approached around 7:30 one young Negro shouted, "You'd better get these police out of here before 9 o'clock."

Just before 8 p.m. Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Council arrived and suggested to Mayor Allen that the crowd of protesting people be moved to the Atlanta Stadium and their complaints heard there.

Other Negro leaders who crowded around Mayor Allen just outside the Capitol Avenue Elementary School argued that all policemen should be with-

They're not going to burn them down."

Mayor Allen and police officials disagreed. One officer said "there wouldn't be a plate glass window left if we pulled out." Another reported the only looting noted was of a soft drink truck driving along Fraser Street. Slowed by the crowds "it looked like a swarm of ants over it" as members of the crowd snatched bottles from crates on the truck, the officer said.

A number of police cruisers in the area were seen with smashed windows and windshields and dents from the rock and brick barrages. Only two had been reported so badly damaged they had to be towed to a garage, a police wrecker service spokesman said in the early evening.

AT 7:50 P.M. police were notified by radio that a detachment of state troopers, numbering about 300 men, were standing by at the stadium, fully equipped for riot control. At that time a police official estimated about 750 policemen were in the riot area.

After hearing the suggestions of the Negro ministers and the two representatives, Mayor Allen told them "we will remain here during the night."

A few minutes later one shot rang out and a patrolman said he fired into the air when a beer bottle was thrown into the street from apartments at 783 Capitol Ave. The bottle shattered in the street without hitting anyone.

The list of injured treated at hospitals numbered 16 persons. A number of policemen were struck by various items thrown but did not leave the scene for treatment.

THE INJURED were:

Eighteen-month-old Bobby D. Richards Jr., of 307 Woodward Ave. SE. The child was treated at South Fulton Hospital for glass cuts received when the windshield of his father's car was smashed by a brick at Vanira Avenue and Capitol Avenue.

—Montine Scarborough, 64, of 609 Cherokee Ave. SE, head injury from being hit by a brick on Capitol Avenue.

—Dorothy Hart Price, 24, of 733 Capitol Ave., body cut from being hit by brick.

—Robert Lee Moore, 36, of 307 Woodward Ave. SE, admitted to Grady Hospital with broken jaw from being hit by a brick.

—Mozelle Ridley Ellison, 20, of 34 Ormond St. SE, tear gas in eyes.

—Ernestine Smith, 14, of 932 Fern St., tear gas.

—Eloise Harriett Pitts, 22, of 783 Capitol Ave., tear gas.

—Donnie Harris, 6, of 11 Ormond St., tear gas.

—Curtis Lindley Jr., 5, 11 Ormond St., tear gas.

—Laura Jane Chandler, 14, of 11 Ormond St., tear gas.

—Roosevelt Williams, 17, of 976 Washington St., SE, facial injuries from thrown object.

—Joe Lamar Thaxton, 17, of 373 Augusta Ave. SE, face cuts from a thrown rock.

FOUR POLICEMEN, including two injured in a traffic accident as they rushed to aid fellow officers. Patrolman C. J. Spicer suffered arm, leg and shoulder injuries, and detective C. O. Hestley received arm and back injuries in the collision.

Investigating officers said a car occupied by detectives Hestley and B. L. Barron was struck from the rear by officer Spicer's car as the detective car braked to avoid a street sweeper when an oncoming vehicle failed to yield right of way to the police vehicles. The detective car was catapulted into a street sweeper by the collision with patrolman Spicer's car.

Patrolman Charles Brownlee

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The personnel problem was aggravated due to 89 officers having been detached for duty with the fire department due to the firemen's strike. At least one of the officers on fire department duty was on duty at the riot scene. This was Capt E. O. Mullen, whose normal duty is in the license bureau.

BLAME

Continued from Page 1

sit-ins at restaurants.

"Yesterday and last night (Tuesday)," the Chief said, in referring to the riot, "is a day we'd like to forget. I'm sure we've gained strength and knowledge from it. The Atlanta Police Department proved to me that, as I've often said, it compares with the best of any police department anywhere."

At a conference with superior officers Wednesday morning the chief was informed that several of those arrested during the riot already were wanted by the department for various crimes. He also was told that the city remained relatively calm during the early morning hours with no trouble of significance being reported.

Officers have been instructed to inspect all riot equipment and replenish whatever is needed to meet further trouble.

FINES

Continued from Page 1

top of a car and tried to stomp him. We feel like the whole thing was stirred up by outsiders . . ."

A court clerk said records of the police department show that 33 persons arrested during the riot on disturbance charges chose to post $15 cash collateral bonds each rather than appear in court for a hearing.

Twenty-seven others are scheduled for hearings later Wednesday and Thursday.

DEMOS

Continued from Page 1

courageous Mayor Ivan Allen and our city officials."

ALBANY publisher James Gray commented: "Black power has exploded in Atlanta. Anger is the obvious reaction but sorrow is the true result. Stokely Carmichael and his followers posed the threat to the nation on the Meet the Press television program three weeks ago but liberal apologists chose to excuse their jungle talk. There is no excuse . . .

The candidate said the question "no longer is one of civil rights—it is a matter of lives."

He asked, "When is the world of the so-called liberal politicians, who have sold their souls to the racial bloc vote, going to wake up?"

At about the time the disorders were beginning here, for-

me and SNCC. A lot of them will end up in jail."

State Sen. Jimmy Carter was not immediately available for comment.

RAIDERS

Continued from Page 1

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In the largest, Vietnamese Rangers killed 50 Viet Cong while taking light casualties only eight miles northeast of Saigon, a spokesman said.

In another action 48 miles southwest of Saigon, Vietnamese infantrymen reported killing 16 Viet Cong and capturing 28, while their own casualties were reported very light. In a third encounter 56 miles southwest of Saigon, Vietnamese troops reported killing eight and sustaining no casualties of their own.

U.S. forces in South Viet Nam swelled to about 305,000 men with the landing of 1,600 troops of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment from three American transport ships at Vung Tau, 45 miles southeast of Saigon. A 400-man advance party arrived several days ago and the rest of the 4,500-man regiment will be put ashore by Sunday.

Under command of Dallas-born Col. William W. Cobb, 49, the power-packed regiment from Ft. Meade, Md., is equipped with about 1,000 vehicles, including the first of a type of heavily armed and fortified personnel carriers modified for use in guerrilla warfare. The regiment's prime mission will be road-clearing.

New terror bombings and intelligence reports pointed to a buildup of Communist violence in the final four days before South Viet Nam's election of a 117-member constitutional assembly Sunday.

A rash of bombings in the Saigon area and in the northern city of Hue injured 16 persons in the past 48 hours. Officials said a captured Viet Cong document ordered attacks on vital election personnel and "all others who are forcing our people to vote."

Premier Nguyen Cao Ky told newsmen the success of his first tentative step toward democratic rule could not be measured by the size of the vote. But he said his government would consider a 60-70 per cent turnout of the nearly five million eligible voters satisfactory.

In an incident not linked with the election, the Viet Cong ambushed a drill platoon at the South Vietnamese Thu Duc military school seven miles northeast of Saigon Tuesday.

A Vietnamese spokesman said government casualties were light and Viet Cong losses were not known.

U.S. B52 bombers struck a suspected Viet Cong troop concentration and headquarters 75 miles north of Saigon in Phuoc Long Province on the Cambodian border today.

The U.S. command said American Marines making a follow-up sweep of a battle Monday found 47 enemy bodies to raise the total of enemy killed in the engagement to 73. The fighting took place 18 miles southwest of Danang when Leathernecks of the 9th Marine Regiment clashed with an entrenched enemy force of 500 to 600 men.

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Violent young Negroes stirred the pot. And by 5:30 in the afternoon, four hours after the shooting, the city which has held its breath and tried to right the wrongs of the centuries, began finding out what Watts and hate and mistrust and passion and irrational thinking are all about.

Mayor Ivan Allen had been winding up a session with the Board of Aldermen, trying to solve a walkout of 500 city firemen, when he heard what was developing.

He had walked up and down the streets trying to talk to the crowd of nearly 1,000 Negroes, but he had gotten nowhere. He had climbed atop a police car with Capt. Morris G. Redding, head of Atlanta's Crime Prevention Bureau, and tried to talk from there through a brown megaphone.

THE CROWD still would not listen. Finally the mayor handed the megaphone to a Negro clergyman, Rev. Robert Hunter of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Hunter, in his white collar and black coat, was supposed to stop it.

"The press," he screamed, "has made it seem that the peo-

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"Everybody. Go to your homes."

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And another brick, which hit a young white patrolman named R. L. Braswell behind the ear. More than two dozen shots were fired into the air above Capitol Avenue by police.

THE CALL went out for tear gas. Negroes were dragged and thrown into paddy wagons. Bricks and bottles flew, and people ran in all directions, and the air was filled with screams and shouts and shooting, and anyone who was there got a taste of what it is like to be caught in the middle of a firefight in the jungles of Viet Nam.

Later, everybody would have his story to tell. A Negro policeman caught another Negro wearing a .38 caliber pistol, unloaded it, lectured him and let him go.

A newsman rushed into a house and asked to use the telephone and was given a towel and Vaseline for his reddend eyes, burning from tear gas. People passing through the area, on their way home, poked their heads out of friends' houses and asked if they could stay on the streets long enough to make it home.

The cries of children affected

"Can you give me their names?" the Rev. Mr. Borders said. "Give me their names and we'll get them out of jail for you."

"And we want you to get them po-leeces out of here."

"I'll talk to them about that, too."

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"What do you mean by 'freedom'?"

"Uh . . ."

"Jobs? Education?"

"That's right."

"We'll see about that, too. Now what you've got to do is calm down."

"Get the po-leeces out of here, Reverend."

"If we ask the police to go to the outskirts of this area, you will be orderly?" said the Rev. Mr. Borders.

"Yes."

THEN IT went to pieces, all of it. A tall Negro, an older man with bushy hair, began raising his voice: "Business is business. I work with white men every day and I get along. But when they start fooling around with my brothers, that's it. I don't care anymore. Long as his skin's the same as mine, he's my brother."

"Yeah. Hey, man, they shot that cat in the back. Right in the back."

"I tell you," the older one yelled, "if they don't get 'em out of here by 9 I'm gonna get me some stuff."

"That's right."

Me, too. Right in the back, man."

The Negro ministers, their shoulders slumped, walked away from the porch. They had not been able to reason with their own. That was the trouble Tuesday in Summerhill. Nobody could reason with anybody. The only thing anybody could understand was bricks and tear gas.

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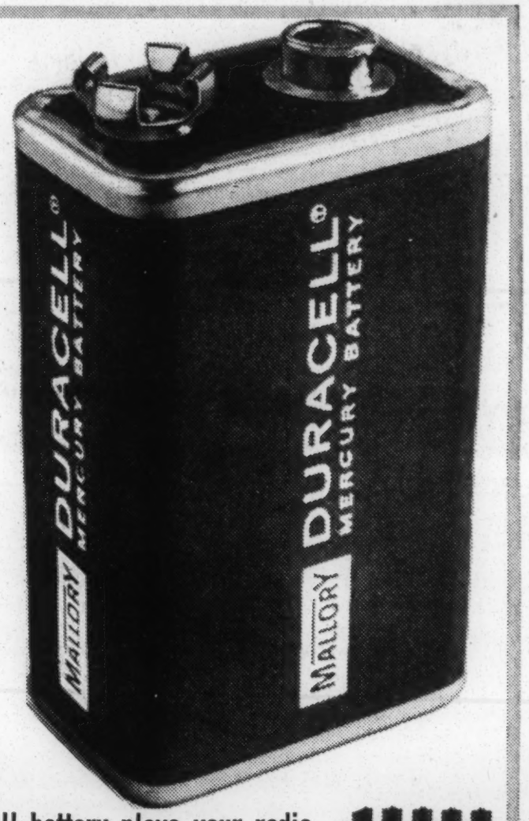

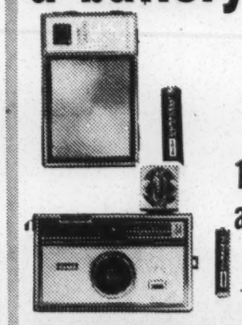

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ATLANTA

City Officials Show Anger; but Criticism by Negro Leaders Is Tempered

9/8/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Sept. 7—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, chief advocate of black power, countered new heights of hostility from its home town today as a result of the Negro riot yesterday.

Most criticism came from white officials and politicians. A few Negro leaders voiced cautiously worded criticism, but others, while not defending the student committee, emphasized that a potential for racial explosion had existed in the neighborhood for some time.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins promised stern action to keep the committee from inciting trouble.

"It is now the Nonstudent Violent Committee," Chief Jenkins said as he announced that the police force was strengthening its riot control organization. "We must and will deal with it accordingly," he said.

Stokely Carmichael, the 25-

Continued on Page 36, Column 1

S.N.C.C. ASSAILED FOR ATLANTA RIOT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

year-old chairman of the committee, who made famous the cry for black power, was singled out for intense condemnation. He was on the scene twice during yesterday's disturbance.

Mayor is Angry

Mayor Allen, clearly angered, said:

"Mr. Carmichael will be met wherever he comes, under whatever conditions he seeks to impose."

Several candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor in next Wednesday's primary joined in the denunciation

Ellis Arnall, the most liberal candidate and the election favorite, called the student committee's action "shameful." He said, "I denounce black power, racial violence, insurrection and civil anarchy."

Several Atlanta Negro leaders deplored the rioting. A few offered cautiously worded criticisms of the student committee, but most avoided challenging the organization directly.

A spokesman for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference said, "We condemn the violence." But he refused to comment on the student committee beyond noting that it had filled a leadership vacuum in the area where the riot occurred.

The Rev. Roy Williams, vice president of the Summerhill Civic League in the riot area, was less restrained.

"Before Snick [the committee] arrived we had them under control," he said. "They whipped them up with hate."

Student committee officials avoided reporters and could not be reached for comment.

The Atlanta city administration has never been friendly toward the militant civil rights organization, which has had its headquarters here since it was organized in 1960. The official attitude has become even more hostile as the committee policy has turned toward black power and away from nonviolence in recent months.

Committee members led by Mr. Carmichael were active in a crowd of Negroes that threatened a white policeman after the arrest of a committee member on a traffic charge Aug. 3. A Traffic Court judge disposed of that delicate case by fining the member $30.

A few days later, several committee members took part [illegible] by a group of

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A few days later, several committee members took part in an attempt by a group of antiwar demonstrators to force their way into a Army induction center here.

Facing a different judge, one demonstrator was held for grand jury action on an insurrection charge, which carries a maximum penalty of death. Two others were sentenced to 90 days in jail.

William Ware, the student committee's Atlanta project director, was charged with inciting to riot and creating a disturbance yesterday. He entered the riot area with a sound truck and denounced the police. His bond was set at $10,050 and he remained in jail today.

During the disturbance, hundreds of Negroes attacked the police with stones, sticks and bottles. The violence was touched off when a detective shot and wounded a fleeing Negro he was trying to arrest on a charge of car theft. Members of the student committee milled through the crowd that gathered and some used a loud speaker to denounce the "racist police."

16 Are Injured

Sixteen persons were injured, several cars were damaged and between 60 and 70 persons were arrested during the rioting, which occurred on Capitol Avenue two blocks from Atlanta's new $18-million stadium.

A large police force patrolled the area today. About 10 persons were arrested in the afternoon when they refused to break up a street corner rally.

A Molotov cocktail was thrown into a building in another Negro area about two miles away early this morning. The building, housing a tire company, was heavily damaged.

Four less serious fires, which officials considered possible cases of arson, were reported. Fire fighting was hindered because about 500 firemen are on strike.

The riot area, on the edge of a community known as Summerhill, is considered fertile ground for racial trouble.

Mr. Williams said:

"I have told our city politicians we were sitting on a powder keg. The conditions here are some of the worst in Atlanta."

The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., recently studied the area and said that the chances of an outbreak were "good." The council noted poor housing, dislike of the police, few recreation facilities and skepticism toward the city's promises of help.

The student committee has worked in the area several months.

ATLANTA

Text of Summit Statement Condemning Violence Here

Here's the text of the statement issued Wednesday by the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference concerning Tuesday's racial turmoil. The conference is composed of representatives of major civil rights groups here. The statement:

Atlanta is not by far a perfect city. Yet it is too good to be destroyed by simple-minded bigots. Our work must be to build the city, not to wreck it.

We believe in demonstrations and in protests. But we are unalterably opposed to violence. So we ask our citizens all over the city to refrain from cooperating with those who would make you the tools and victims of violence. Violence is not the way to rectify the wrongs done Negro people for centuries. If we Negroes are going to resort to the techniques of violence and brutalities, so long used against us, then we are no better than they who have so abused us.

The thoughtful and responsible Negro citizens of Atlanta deplore and oppose the use of violence and condemn those who incite disorder. It was unfortunate that an officer, in the pursuit of his duty, shot a man, but that incident was no sufficient ground for anyone or organization to go into a community and incite the people. It is shameful that this irresponsible action resulted in injury to innocent children and it did nothing to correct or to solve any of the problems which the community faces. We call upon all the residents of the Summer Hill area and other sections of the city to assume responsibility and not to allow any individual to use them as pawns in any evil plot they may have to injure the city.

We accept responsibility for not having done all which we might have done to improve our city, to correct legitimate grievances, and to give all citizens sufficient reason to have pride. We therefore commit ourselves to greater effort NOW to make Atlanta a city which all people can appreciate, support and hold in high esteem.

King Condemns Rioting Here And Its Causes

Martin Luther King Jr., who left Atlanta Tuesday and flew to Chicago, issued this statement through his office:

"The riot in Atlanta followed the tragic and futile pattern of violence which has loomed over so many of our nation's cities. A riot can be justified neither on moral or practical grounds, however just the grievances of the rioters.

"It is still my firm conviction that a riot is socially destructive and self-defeating. On the other hand, while condemning riots it is just as important to condemn the conditions which bring riots into being."

He 'Bills' Snick For Wrecked Car

A 22-year-old Jonesboro man, who set out to pick up his wife at work late Tuesday, said Wednesday he wanted Snick chairman Stokley Carmichael to pay for his automobile.

Warren Rustin of 112 Heidi Lane, Jonesboro, said he was driving along Capitol Avenue Tuesday afternoon when a policeman suddenly directed him to turn on to Ormond Street SE.

Stokley Carmichael

Just as he turned, Rustin said, "I saw them bust a police car window just ahead of me. Then they turned on me. And just like that, they knocked every one of my car windows out.

"Then they started beating on me and hitting me with things," Rustin said. "I didn't think I was going to get out of there alive."

Rustin said he finally scampered out of his car, the "little kids started beating on me with their fists. I never saw nything like it."

He said policemen warded off his atackers, but his 1961 Falcon was left in ruins.

Rustin figures Stokley Carmichael should help him pay for it. He said he tried to find Carmichael Wednesday, but had no luck.

So he called Sen. Herman Talmadge. He said the senator sympathized with him.

100 Negro Students Rap SNCC

A group of 100 Atlanta Negro high school students declared Wednesday:

"We feel that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has now proved by Tuesday's exhibition that it is anything but non-violent, and that their organization is anything but non-violent, and that their organization has little interest in the peace and safety of the city as a whole."

The students' opinion was expressed in an "open letter" written as a result of Tuesday night's riot in southeast Atlanta. The letter was signed by about 100 students.

It said, "It is time for responsible Negro students to speak out, for we fear we have already waited too long. . . .

"Unfortunately, for the entire city, we are too often the quiet side of Negro Atlanta. Instead of us, it is the small group of irresponsible Negro students whose voices are heard the loudest."

The students said, "Understand that our criticism is not only of SNCC. We stand apart from any group or scheme that turns to selfish extremes or narrow-minded attacks against basic laws which hurt the general populace. This is our position."

They Earn 4 Cents

JAIPUR, India — Satish C. Aggarwal, president of the state Jana Sangh political group, says a survey has shown the average daily income of nearly 65 per cent of the people in Rajasthan state is 20 paise (4 cents).

Taxation Now an Art

JERUSALEM (AP) — Painters and sculptors in Safed, an Israeli town in Galilee, have long been exempt from municipal taxes, but the government has decided they are now affluent enough to make a contribution. Their payments will be their art work, which will be used to beautify town offices. About 40 artists live there.

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**

2 of Snick Held To Jury in Riot

Continued from Page 1

ing auto theft were not permitted to talk on the loud speaker, Perry said. He said they knew the man was only shot and wounded.

Chief Judge Robert E. Jones said he, Judge Ed Brock and Judge Sparks had agreed that persons found guilty of having participated in the disturbance would be held for the grand jury under $1,000 bonds each on charges of riot.

Earlier in the day, judges hearing the cases had assessed penalties ranging from suspended sentences and $22 to $250 fines and 60 days in the city prison farm.

Judge T. C. Little assessed fines of $27 or 25 days against an estimated dozen who appeared at the morning court session. Judges Brock and Sparks promptly began handing out $250 fines and 60-day prison terms at the outset of the afternoon sessions.

Faye Bellamy, 28, and Monroe Sharp, 26, both of 2222 Telhurst Drive, requested continuances of charges against them to Sept. 15. Judge Brock agreed to continue the cases of disturbance, cursing and throwing rocks, but he hiked the appearance bonds of both from $150 to $1,000.

Miss Bellamy later was placed under $1,000 bond to Fulton Criminal Court on charges of assault and battery after she allegedly struck Bailiff J. C. Meintger on the head while being brought to the courtroom.

Jones said the court sessions would continue into the night.

Police said 73 persons were arrested Tuesday and 10 others were arrested Wednesday.

The remaining cases will be heard Thursday.

Texas to Reveal Findings Today On Mass Killer

AUSTIN, Tex. (UPI)—Gov. John Connally will announce Thursday the findings of a blue-

The committee began its work Aug. 8. Not only did they study Whitman's brain to find some possible clue to his actions, but thoroughly investigated his background. Doctors discovered that Whitman's brain contained a small tumor.

ribbon study group of pathologists and psychologists who have studied the brain of mass-murderer Charles Whitman.

Whitman shot and killed 14 persons and wounded 28 others from a sniper's lair atop the University of Texas tower last Aug. 1 after first killing his wife and mother.

16, 20, 21

ANTA CONSTITUTION

For 99 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

ATLANTA, GA., 30302, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1966 — 78 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS ★★★★★ Ten Cents

Fair

HOURLY TEMPERATURES

4 a.m. 66	Noon 79	8 p.m. 77
5 a.m. 65	1 p.m. 82	9 p.m. 74
6 a.m. 64	2 p.m. 83	10 p.m. 72
7 a.m. 68	3 p.m. 83	11 p.m. 73
8 a.m. 70	4 p.m. 83	12 M 71
9 a.m. 72	5 p.m. 83	* 1 a.m. 69
10 a.m. 75	6 p.m. 82	* 2 a.m. 68
11 a.m. 77	7 p.m. 79	* Unofficial

Snick March Squelched,

ATLANTA

10 Seized at Riot Scene

AC 9/8/66

2 Bound To Jury In Violence

By KEELER McCARTNEY

Two men identified by police as among the instigators of a riot which shook southeast Atlanta and injured at least 15 persons Wednesday were ordered held under $5,000 bonds each for the Fulton County Grand Jury on charges of inciting to riot.

They were William Ware of 142 Vine St., head of the local chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Bobby Vance Walton, 20, of 556 Houston St. NE, identified as a SNCC member.

Municipal Judge Robert Sparks also placed both Ware and Walton under $1,000 bonds each on charges of disorderly conduct. Those charges were checked until Sept. 15 on the motion of Howard Moore, attorney for the two.

TELLS OF SOUND TRUCK

Negro Sgt. C. J. Perry said he arrested Ware and Walton at around 3:45 p.m. Tuesday at

Fair and Mild On 2-Day Bill

It will be fair in Atlanta Thursday and Friday, with mild nights and warm afternoons, according to the U.S. Weather Bureau.

Temperatures both days are due to range between 62 and 84. The range Wednesday was 64-85.

The state also will have fair weather except for isolated showers along the Southern border. Georgia forecast by zones is on Page 48.

Allen Gets Humphrey Applause

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey joined scores of Atlantans and Georgians Wednesday in congratulating Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. for the stand he took late Tuesday as Negroes rioted up and down Capitol Avenue.

Meeting In Church Disrupted

By BILL SHIPP

A police riot squad quickly broke up a Snick-sponsored street demonstration Wednesday afternoon at the scene of Tuesday's riot in southeast Atlanta.

Ten persons were arrested for failing to disperse during Wednesday's brief furor at Capitol Avenue and Ormond Street SE.

The street march which circled round and round the intersection was organized by members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

HAND OUT PAMPHLETS

A few minutes before, SNCC workers disrupted a church meeting in the area and handed out "Black Power" literature.

The meeting was called by government anti-poverty workers to allow residents to "let off steam," stemming from Tuesday's riot in which 72 persons were arrested and 15 injured.

Reaction in the Negro community against the rioters

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TELLS OF SOUND TRUCK

Negro Sgt. C. J. Perry said he arrested Ware and Walton at around 3:45 p.m. Tuesday at Capital Avenue and Ormond Street as they operated a sound truck in the area where police had shot and wounded an auto theft suspect.

About 20 to 25 persons were standing on the sidewalk when the sound truck arrived, Perry told the court. He said Ware began operating a loudspeaker shouting that police had murdered a man and also shouting police brutality.

Perry said he attempted to stop Ware and Ware looked at his nameplate and then shouted through the loud speaker: "Sergeant Perry tells me I'll have to leave, but first I want to tell you about the man that was murdered."

200 GATHERED

By this time, Perry said, 200 persons had gathered. He added they "were pushing . . . shoving and milling around. One of them tried to snatch my gun."

Perry said he took Ware to the patrol wagon and the crowd stormed the wagon, attempting to break the lock and turn the wagon over. He said some lay down in front of the wagon. Ware, he said, was on the inside, kicking at the door.

Under cross - examination, Perry said Ware was in the area at around 2:30 p.m. — soon after the shooting of Harold Louis Prather, 25 — and left, saying: "I'll be back."

Perry said after Ware was arrested, Walton got on the loudspeaker, yelling "black power" and urging people who wanted to tell about the "murder" to come forth. He said one woman got on the microphone and said Prather was murdered in handcuffs because he ran a red light.

UNDER ARREST

Three persons who actually were in a car with Prather when he jumped out and ran after an officer informed him he was under arrest on a warrant charg-

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

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The Vice President reached Allen at WSB Radio and Television, where the mayor was being interviewed, and told him:

"If there is a hero on the domestic scene today, it's Ivan Allen of Atlanta. I don't know of any mayor who has done more in the field of human relations and community progress than you have. That wonderful city of yours has been a beacon light to a lot of us."

POLICE LAUDED

Humphrey, who said, "I used to be a mayor of a city myself," also commended Atlanta's police department.

"That police department of yours was careful, restrained and effective. I want you to congratulate them for the outstanding professional manner in which they conducted themselves."

Allen replied, "It's a great city, sir, and I hope there will be no further repetition of this event and I'm grateful for your interest."

Humphrey said President Lyndon B. Johnson joined him in his congratulations.

The mayor went to the riot scene Tuesday afternoon to try to get the rioters to "sit down and talk with me." As he walked and talked, stones and bottles flew around him. He was jostled off the top of a police car as he tried to reason with the rioters.

Atlantans and people from all over the state called and wired Allen Wednesday commending him for his courage and the determined stand he took during the violence.

TYPICAL MESSAGE

One wire received by the mayor was typical of more than 40 he received:

"Although I was not a supporter of yours in two races for mayor, I am convinced by your

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Meeting In Church Disrupted

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Related stories are on Pages 6, 7, 8 and 56.

mounted Wednesday as the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, composed mostly of Negro leaders and commanding much support, came out strongly against Snick.

STAND DESTROYED

And Wednesday night a Snick storage stand and contribution center at Magnolia and Graves streets in Vine City was torn down, stacked in a neat pile and burned. Destroyed were stacks of literature advocating black power, ending the war in Viet Nam, charging police brutality, and black panther signs.

Police Sgt. Claude Dixon, who has been assigned to the troubled Vine City area since it first became a Snick stronghold, said it began this way:

During a door-to-door canvass Wednesday in Vine City, the Rev. W. C. Williams, pastor of St. John's Church in Summer Hill, and Episcopal Minister J. H. Costen, asked Vine City residents to list their complaints.

DON'T WANT THEM

A crowd gathered and a Vine City resident told the Rev. Mr. Williams, "There ain't been nothing but trouble since they (Snick) has been here. We don't want them here. Let's burn them out."

The ministers and Dixon suggested that a petition be circulated for residents to sign, asking the group to leave Vine City, instead of resorting to violence.

A carpenter spoke up and said, "I thought 'black power' meant something. It does. It means trouble. We don't want shotguns and tear gas here. We want them out."

BURNING OCCURS

The burning occurred later, Dixon said.

Shortly before midnight Wednesday numerous instances of vandalism and minor violence was reported in the Summer Hill riot area.

Several fights between Negroes were reported. Vandals broke the window out of a business establishment in the area. There were also reports of gun shots and firecrackers being set off.

Policemen who got a breather in the early part of the evening once again unsheathed their

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

Snick March Squelched, 10 Seized

Continued from Page 1

shotguns and other special duty equipment to keep the brush fire incidents from erupting into further violence.

CHARGE BY MAYOR

Meanwhile, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., who tried to calm the angry Negroes during Tuesday's troubles, charged Wednesday that SNCC was directly responsible for the rioting.

"If Stokely Carmichael (national chairman of SNCC) is looking for a battleground, he created one last night, and he'll be met in whatever situation he cares to create," the mayor said.

Carmichael, who was in the riot-torn area for a short time Tuesday, was not in sight there Wednesday. He had reservations for a Wednesday afternoon flight to New York, but didn't show up. His whereabouts was not known Wednesday night.

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, representing the top civil rights groups in the city, issued a statement calling on "citizens all over the city to refrain from cooperating with those who would make you the tools and victims of violence."

VIOLENCE NOT WAY

"Violence is not the way to rectify the wrongs done Negro people for centuries," said the statement, read by the Rev. Samuel Williams at a meeting at the Friendship Baptist Church.

"It is shameful that this irresponsible action (the riot) resulted in injury to innocent children and it did nothing to correct or to solve any of the problems which the community faces. We call upon all the residents of the Summer Hill area and other sections of the city to assure responsibility and not allow any individual to use them as pawns in any evil plot that they may have to injure the city," the statement said.

Mayor Allen appeared at the meeting before the statement was issued. He told the group that outsiders, not Atlanta Negroes, were responsible for the riot.

NO INCIDENTS

Allen left and 14 SNCC members showed up a short time later, but there were no incidents.

Tuesday's incident was touched off after a policeman shot and wounded a Negro car theft suspect at Ormond and Capitol. SNCC workers moved into the area shortly after the shooting.

Before the Summit Conference agreed on its statement, Wednesday, several Negro leaders

pamphlets which stated:

"It is white cops who shoot black men in the back. It is Mayor Allen who lets white cops pull guns on black women and yell nigger, nigger. It is the black Uncle Toms who help the police and Mayor Allen just because he has a nice white smile."

The SNCC men recruited marchers and they walked around the intersection about four times. One bottle sailed through the air.

Then suddenly the police were there. Paddy wagons and an armored truck disgorged dozens of riot-quelling officers. Motorcycle men blocked off the streets.

The officers charged into the milling group and ordered participants to disperse. Anybody who resisted went to jail. It was over in seconds.

Mayor Allen showed up a few minutes later, surveyed the scene and left without comment.

Organizers of Wednesday's march got into a bluish green station wagon and drove away while police grabbed their followers.

The SNCC members got the march started after they walked in on a meeting of Summer Hill residents at the Bethel Baptist Church on Fraser Street, SE, some 12 blocks from the riot-scene.

The tense meeting was organized by Johnny Popwell Jr., 28, recreation director in the area for Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., the city's anti-poverty agency. Popwell said the meeting was called to organize committees to present area grievances to the mayor and Board of Aldermen.

Atlanta Negro Alderman Q. V. Williamson and Rep. John Hood addressed the meeting and said they would see that the mayor and aldermen listened to the community's troubles.

Both men were shouted down at least once each.

Popwell fought a running verbal battle with shouting Black Power advocates who urged the 80 to 100 persons to leave the church.

The group rose and started out of the building three times. Each time Popwell got them to return to their seats.

A committee of 14 was formed, and teams of twos were dispatched to go from house to house to listen to community grievances.

(Paid Political Advertisement)

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Tuesday's incident was touched off after a policeman shot and wounded a Negro car theft suspect at Ormond and Capitol. SNCC workers moved into the area shortly after the shooting.

Before the Summit Conference agreed on its statement, Wednesday, several Negro leaders vehemently charged that Carmichael was responsible for the rioting.

"The first thing we've got to do is stop the insurrection," said the Rev. William Holmes Borders, longtime civil rights leader. "One man is giving us hell. We've got to stop him before he stops us."

"Our main concern here is Stokely Carmichael. Whether or not we have a riot is up to him," said the Rev. Otis Smith, who suggested the committee contact the SNCC leader.

GOES ON RADIO

Carmichael, who was unavailable for comment all day Wednesday, finally said in a taped interview over Negro radio station WAOK Wednesday night:

"While that act itself may or may not have been justifiable, what is being said is that too many times those acts have been committed in a black community," Carmichael said, apparently referring to the shooting of the car theft suspect.

"It is clear to me that in all those rebellions nobody was chanting, 'We like Snick' or 'We love Snick,' but in fact they were chanting against the Police department, which has been brutal in its treatment of black people," he said.

ALL IS QUIET

All was relatively quiet in the riot area at 10 p.m. Wednesday. Traffic moved easily along Capitol Avenue. Sidewalks were almost deserted. A number of police vehicles were stationed at the intersection of Capitol and Ormond. A large police reserve force stood by a few blocks away in the Atlanta Stadium parking lot.

Wednesday about a dozen SNCC workers appeared at the riot scene just as school was out and scores of teen-agers began crossing the area.

The SNCC members handed out "Black Panther" stickers with the motto "We're the Greatest." They also gave out

ATLANTA
AC 9/9/66

No One Group to Blame For Riot, Council Holds

An Atlanta civil rights group declared Thursday that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was not responsible for triggering a riot Tuesday in southeast Atlanta.

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta Inc. charged that "no one group, including SNCC, can be held responsible for the disturbances in Atlanta and that the basic responsibility lies with Atlanta's lack of concern over miserable conditions in the slum areas."

City officials have blamed SNCC with causing the riot after SNCC workers aroused the neighborhood over the shooting of a car theft suspect by a policeman.

"The Atlanta community — Negro and white — will be making a sad mistake if it writes off Tuesday's disturbances in the South Side as a plot of outside agitators, to be dealt with by replenishing the police department's supply of tear gas," the council said.

The council blamed the trouble on slums, unemployment, poor schools and racial segregation.

Carmichael Arrested On Riot Charges in Raid on Snick Office

ATLANTA

AC 9/9/66

Bond Is Set at $11,000; Hearing Will Be Today

By KEELER McCARTNEY and BILL SHIPP

Black-power advocate Stokely Carmichael was arrested Thursday night on warrants charging inciting to riot and disorderly conduct-disturbance.

Carmichael, 25, was taken into custody about 11 p.m. by a group of officers who raided the headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) at 360 Nelson St. SW, Detective Supt. Clinton Chafin said.

Chafin said the warrants were issued in connection with the riot Tuesday in the Summerhill section of Atlanta in which at least 15 persons were injured. The entire Atlanta police force was called in to restore order.

BONDS TOTAL $11,000

The warrants, issued by Chief Municipal Court Judge R. E. Jones, carried bonds totaling $11,000.

Carmichael was scheduled for a hearing at 8:30 a.m. Friday in Municipal Court.

Attorney Howard Moore, who has represented Snick in legal matters, was at Snick headquarters at the time of the arrest and accompanied Carmichael to jail.

Julian Bond resigns from Snick. Page 6.

A group of photographers identified by police as Snick members snapped pictures at the jail along with news photographers.

OTHERS HELD

The warrants against Carmichael specified $10,000 bond on charges of inciting to riot and $1,000 on the disorderly conduct charge.

Local Snick chapter leader William Ware of 142 Vine St. SW and an assistant, Bobby Vance Walton of 556 Houston St. NE, have been ordered held under $5,000 bond each for the Fulton County Grand Jury [illegible] of inciting to riot.

A number of other persons arrested in connection with the Summerhill riot also have been ordered held for grand jury action on charges of riot, which is a misdemeanor.

NOT WELCOME

Earlier Thursday, residents of the riot area made it plain Snick was unwelcome. And across town in Vine City, once considered a Snick stronghold, a petition was circulated to oust the group's headquarters from the neighborhood.

Carmichael and other Snick workers denounced Atlanta police and Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. in the Summerhill area Thursday.

Ten policemen followed Carmichael as he went from door to door in the Summerhill area, telling residents he did not attempt to start a riot and was not

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

Carmichael Jailed On Rioting Charge

Continued from Page 1

responsible for the riot taking place.

Carmichael, whom city officials have blamed with provoking the riot, announced he is "not afraid of any white man or any white policeman" and does "not intend to run from anyone."

Most of the residents shrugged off Carmichael's protestations.

While Carmichael and his men worked the area, residents of Summerhill set up an organization and handed out placards reading "Good Neighbor Club."

Robert McDaniel, 32, chairman of the Good Neighbor Club committee, said residents of Summerhill were posting the signs on their houses to show that they intended to work constructively to improve their community and would not cooperate in fomenting violence.

Dozens of houses along Capitol Avenue SE displayed the Good Neighbor posters over their doors. Some residents wore "Good Neighbor" badges as a symbol of their feeling about Tuesday's riot.

Wearing "black power" badges, Snick workers during the Thursday afternoon rush hour moved into the downtown area and handed out leaflets giving their version of the riot.

The leaflets charged that Summerhill residents were "sick and tired of seeing white cops mess over black men and women, as they have been doing for over 300 years. The crowd knew that Harold Prather was only one of thousands of black men and women in Atlanta who have been brutalized and shoved around by white cops and their bosses."

The leaflets referred to the shooting last Tuesday of Prather, a car theft suspect, by a policeman. Officers said Prather tried to flee, and when he failed to obey an order to stop, he was shot and wounded.

One Snick leaflet handed out downtown was headed a "statement from Stokely Carmichael" and branded Mayor Allen a "racist" and termed Atlanta police "corrupt."

The leaflet said: "The revolt was — and is — against the bestiality of a racist mayor and his corrupt police department . . . Racist Allen has said that SNCC has run out of the black community. We are here. Here, baby! We will stay and shall keep on fighting racism."

The downtown Snick workers, operating along Marietta Street, refused to give the leaflets to anyone except Negroes.

Mayor Allen, meanwhile, met Thursday afternoon with Police Chief Herbert Jenkins and City Attorney Henry Bowden.

The mayor announced later that he had directed Bowden and Jenkins "to initiate immediate action against any and all persons responsible for the disorders which took place in south Atlanta Tuesday evening.

"They are directed to use every facility and legal authority of the City of Atlanta and the State of Georgia necessary to apprehend, arrest and prosecute to the fullest extent of the law any person involved in the unlawful creation of this incident."

"Let there be no misunderstanding about our intentions in the apprehension of these lawbreakers," he said.

Back in the Summerhill area, Carmichael declared: "The racist mayor and the white racist papers said we started a riot and ran. We did not start it and we will not run away."

Later Carmichael announced he would "leave the scene to the white policemen because we do not believe in having black people revolt to get hurt."

Over in Vine City some bearded Snick workers stood glumly around a pile of charred lumber that had been a stand for soliciting aid for Snick and for disseminating black power literature. The Snick stand was burned to the ground Wednesday night.

The word was out in Vine City Thursday that Snick and its Atlanta project headquarters would soon be out of the area.

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•

LIVE OUT OF ATLANTA?

SNICK LOSES ATLANTA

A Black Backlash, And a Sign of Hope

AC 9/1/66

By EUGENE PATTERSON

THE CANDIDATES for governor issued the expected denunciations of SNCC for staging its riot in Atlanta Tuesday. (James Gray issued two; he cancelled the first one and replaced it with a watered-down one on second stab.) Ellis Arnall's statement was a pretty good example of what the politicians said.

Arnall assailed SNCC and its black power lawlessness as "irresponsible," "shameful," "despicable," "revolting," "an insult to responsible Negroes as well as to responsible white citizens," and promised he would as governor "uphold the law . . . fight any group of extremists . . . strengthen law enforcement . . . and story mollycoddling criminals and thieves."

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

The candidates' statements probably made them and some white voters feel better. They didn't bother SNCC; that anarchic crowd hopes its actions will help elect hotheaded racist governors because that makes it much easier for SNCC to pick fights, start riots and burn towns.

The real news of the week wasn't covered in the stereotyped words of the politicians, or the predictable fuming of whites; that was old stuff. The new development came in the Negro community.

* * *

ACROSS THE WHOLE spectrum of that community — working class, middle class, old leaders, young students—a Negro backlash against SNCC's extremism showed up. This was something new and important indeed.

Mayor Ivan Allen, more than anyone, would deserve the credit if this Negro revulsion against violence were to take root in Atlanta and flower across the country, beginning the end of SNCC's influence. For Allen stood up to the new violence that is being loosed on American cities and he used the weapon of nonviolence that SNCC had discarded, and he prevailed.

The major deployed police force, or course, in overwhelming strength. But the heavily armed police did not shoot anybody. Between them and the violent, rock-throwing Negro mob stood the mayor, demanding nonviolence by his unarmed example. In a sense he shamed his city into peace.

(What would he have said to the mob from the top of the police car, if the rioters hadn't toppled him off as he tried to speak? "I don't really know what I'd have said," Allen said later, "except the Lord's Prayer.")

* * *

ATLANTA'S NEGRO community, including some in the mob itself, had to take a long, hard look at SNCC after the mayor so dramatized the uselessness and wrongness of its violence.

Statements condemning riot and disorder began coming from all Negro sectors—the comprehensive Summit Leadership Conference, student groups, an association formed in the riot area itself in defiance of SNCC disruption, and others. In the Vine City slum, where SNCC had moved in this summer and agitated constantly, open grumbling occurred and talk began about expelling SNCC from the neighborhood before it brought in more trouble. On Wednesday night a SNCC contribution center and storage stand in Vine City was dismantled, stacked up and burned. It was quite a switch on the old black power slogan of "Burn, Baby, Burn."

Was a Negro rebellion really taking form against SNCC. Time will tell that. But Negro resentment was manifest last week. A typical letter from a Negro man said:

* * *

"I HAVE NEVER written a letter to the newspaper before. But I cannot contain my feelings any longer. As an American, a Negro, and a citizen of Atlanta up to his neck doing his God-given best to raise three children to be law-abiding, productive members of society, I have come to the firm conclusion we cannot afford the luxury of Stokely Carmichael in our midst any longer. Every Negro that I talk to has the same conviction. I served in the Army. Why shouldn't they? My wife lost her only brother in the service of our country, and her uncle has just returned from Viet Nam. I see no reason why they (the SNCC people) should not be made to take a bath, shave and then go into the Army

"All police are not bad. By the same token all Negroes are not willing to riot."

There was a backlash in Atlanta this week, all right—a black one. And in it were signs of hope.

Carmichael Gets Support In Vine City

AC 9/11/66

ATLANTA

By United Press International

Black power leader Stokely Carmichael relaxed in jail Saturday reading a copy of "Kidnapped" and picked up important grass roots support from an organization in a slum area that officials fear is ripe for riot.

The organization, the Vine City Council, contended that neither Carmichael nor his Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were responsible for Tuesday's Negro riot in a slum called Summerhill.

Carmichael was charged with inciting a riot Thursday night and jailed. He refused to make $10,000 bond and said he would remain in jail as a "political prisoner."

Attorney Howard Moore has filed a federal suit seeking to have the charges against Carmichael dropped.

The Vine City Council said Saturday that it has received "reliable information that all the disturbances and riots are politically inspired."

THE COUNCIL said if there is a riot in Vine City, a 6,000-acre slum, "it will be caused by people who have turned their backs on communities like Vine City, not on SNCC or Stokely Carmichael.

"The same conditions existed before SNCC or Stokely Carmichael came," the statement said. "They will exist after they leave."

The council urged Mayor Ivan Allen to stop condemning SNCC and point the blame at "responsible persons who have turned their backs for so long."

Since the riot, middle class Negroes and Negro city Councilman Q. V. Williamson have encouraged Vine City residents' to oust SNCC's sub-headquarters in the neighborhood.

The council's endorsement may negate these attempts as it is the strongest organization in the community. There have been several minor incidents in the community and one near melee involving 400 persons was broken up by police and moderate Negroes.

The incident was turned into an anti-black power rally and SNCC's subheadquarters was burned down.

Moore said the SNCC Chairman Carmichael was taking it easy in Fulton County Jail reading Robert Louis Stevenson's "Kidnapped," and several publications about the Negro struggle in Africa.

1 Killed, Policeman Shot In Violence in Negro Sector

ATLANTA

AC 9/11/66

By TOM DUNKIN and MICHAEL DAVIS

Gunfire and violence erupted Saturday night here in a predominately Negro neighborhood after one person was killed and a policeman and one other person were shot.

Sgt. M. J. Spears, 42, was reported in good condition at Grady Hospital following treatment of a gunshot wound received at the 400 block of Boulevard NE. Hubert Vorner, 16, was dead on arrival at the hospital and Roy Milton Wright was in satisfactory condition.

Early Sunday morning, police units still patroled the area to contain the situation.

A WITNESS SAID the incident broke out between white persons and Negro teen-agers.

Mrs. Harvey Bummingham, who lives in an apartment house on the block, said she heard four shots and residents were told two Negroes had been shot.

She said this was followed later by more gunfire.

Rocks and bottle throwing broke out near midnight and police continued to try to bring order.

"The thing is not over. Everytime the police turn their backs, they throw bricks — boom, boom, boom. You can hear them in the apartment," Mrs. Bummingham said.

Police arrested about 12 persons in the area.

Estimates of the number of persons on the street at the height of the disturbance ranged from 50 to 400.

Hosea Williams, chief aide to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Junis Griffin, public relations director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Ben Clarke, an SCLC field worker, were arrested at 11:25 p.m. at the corner of Boulevard and Angier Avenue NE. The exact charge was not available.

Sgt. Claude Dixon fired in the air and arrested three men when rocks were thrown at him at Parkway Drive and Angier.

THERE WAS sporadic gunfire along Angier Avenue, which runs at right angle to Boulevard.

Two Negro bystanders were shot from a passing car in the 400 block of Boulevard. The car reportedly was driven by a white woman and it contained two white men.

Crowds began forming. Sgt. Spears was shot in the general area while answering the call on the shooting of the teenagers.

One white motorist passing by a road block said a woman in his car was injured. Boulevard was blocked off from Georgia Baptist Hospital to Ponce de Leon.

All Atlanta downtown officers were put on emergency notice.

THE RIOT broke out when the city thought things had settled

Turn to Page 22, Column 7

POLICEMAN WOUNDED

Continued from Page 1

since a riot in the Summerhill section Tuesday.

The area of the outburst, witnesses said, was well lighted. The windows of several businesses in the 500 block of Boulevard were broken.

Mayor Ivan Allen was on the scene along with police superior officers. Riot equipment, including shotguns, tear gas and helmets, were dispensed from an Atlanta police armored car.

Two witnesses, Eddie Foote, 20, 1616 Shaw Stt. SE, and Eonald Warbington, 11, 431 Boulevard, said they were standing in a coin laundry across the street from the shooting at 420 Boulevard when a blue automobile, southbound on Boulevard, stopped.

A woman was driving and a man seated on the right side asked, "What did you say, boy?" of two Negro youths standing on the sidewalk, the witnesses said.

HE OPENED FIRE when one of the youths walked toward the car, the witnesses added. Sgt. Spears, driving north on Boulevard, was on the scene about 30 seconds after the first shot was fired, the witnesses said.

The car from which the shots were fired turned around, came back and the gunman fired again, wounding Sgt. Spears, the witnesses said.

Sgt. Spears fired several shots through the rear window of the car as it sped northward on Boulevard, the witnesses said.

Foote, one of the witnesses, said he felt the rioting began because the ambulance picked up the wounded officer and left the two wounded youths.

ABOUT 10 MEMBERS of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee approached Mayor Allen at Boulevard and Forrest Avenue.

Mayor Allen was in the center of the street with policemen.

"See. They are killing us one by one. We are tired of killing," said one.

Mayor Allen walked over.

"Can you stop the killing, mayor?"

Police Alert In Riot Area

ATLANTA

AJ 9/12/66

Routine Patrolling Marks Activities Along Boulevard

By DON WINTER

Atlanta police were routinely patrolling the area where the weekend riots occurred on Boulevard NE Monday afternoon, although they were ready to "make necessary arrests, and if they need help, call for help," Chief Herbert T. Jenkins said.

Police are on the alert for any new outbreaks of racial violence, the chief said, but "how can you predict these things?"

The main precaution taken has been in effect for more than a week—a 50 per cent increase in the number of policemen on the department's beats.

Since the firemen went on strike two weekends ago, and the Summerhill neighborhood spawned a riot last Tuesday,

Mayor Allen urged to call Negro and white leaders together for first-hand picture of slum problems — Page 6.

Chief Jenkins has had his 750 men working two shifts instead of the normal three.

In effect the 12-hour workday means half again as many policemen cruising the city as on regular schedule.

These extra forces are not concentrated in the Boulevard area, the chief said (although the city's armored car and other riot equipment is near Boulevard), but can be summoned quickly.

POLICEMEN in the Boulevard neighborhood and in the city's other potential trouble spots have been instructed to call for all the assistance they need in carrying out their duties, Chief Jenkins said.

As an aftermath of the racial

Turn to Page 10, Column 5

Racial Riot Area Opened to Traffic

Continued from Page 1

riots which struck Boulevard both Saturday and Sunday nights, residents Monday were cleaning the shattered glass and other debris which littered the streets and sidewalks.

Meanwhile, some 90 persons who were arrested during the disorders on Saturday and Sunday nights began appearing in Municipal Court Monday.

The 58 persons arrested Saturday night and the 32 arrested Sunday night were charged with offenses ranging from arson to violations of the beer and wine ordinances.

All had been engaged in the turmoil which kept hundreds of policemen in the area between Georgia Baptist Hospital and Ponce de Leon Avenue checking mobs that gathered Saturday night — and regrouped Sunday — in protest of the slaying of a Negro teen-ager.

Herbert Vorner, 16, was killed and Roy Wright, 16, injured by shots fired by a white man whom, witnesses said, thought a crowd of Negroes Vorner and Wright had been standing with spoke to a white woman in his car.

The assailant had not been identified Monday morning.

After shooting into the crowd Saturday, the man fled down Boulevard. A policeman investigating the shooting was hit by either a bullet or brick coming from the crowd, and riots erupted.

THEY CONTINUED Sunday night, as rioters set afire at least two stores, exploded a gasoline bomb under a police armored car, and broke windows deliberately at one store.

Broken glass and other litter was strewn along Boulevard after being hurled at police dispersing the crowds Sunday night. Some of it came from broken windows of cars in the area. There were no definite reports of any other damage Monday morning.

The Sunday riots did not result in any injuries serious enough for hospital treatment, although several policemen were hit by flying bricks and stones.

Saturday night 20 persons had been treated at Grady, including the wounded Negro youth and police Sgt. Marvin J. Spears, who had investigated the shooting. Others treated in-

officers started making arrests.

A grocery on Angier Avenue NE, off Boulevard, was set afire by gasoline fire bombs and rocks were lobbed through its windows. Firemen putting out the blaze were hampered by surrounding crowds.

Then Mayor Allen arrived at the corner of Forrest and Boulevard and the crowds shifted to that location. They milled around him as he tried to make them go home.

Farther to the north a group of youths were gathered on the corner of Boulevard and North Avenue, shouting "black power" and heaving bricks and

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Saturday night 20 persons had been treated at Grady, including the wounded Negro youth and police Sgt. Marvin J. Spears, who had investigated the shooting. Others treated included passersby cut by glass or rocks, and James W. Giltmier, a WSB-TV newsman who suffered a fractured skull and face and chest injuries when hit in the head by a brick. Giltmier is now at Emory University Hospital.

MAYOR Ivan Allen appeared at the scene, as he did at last Tuesday's riots south of Atlanta Stadium, before the crowds were dispersed Saturday night. He also was on the scene Sunday night.

Sunday afternoon the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and neighborhood leaders called a meeting at the Fort Street Methodist Church, south of the riot area, to protest the slaying.

SCLC official Hosea Williams, who had been arrested Saturday night for failure to obey an officer's command to move on, spoke to the meeting, counseling nonviolent demonstrations to prod the city to action on this and other matters.

However, members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were present, and soon led a number of people from the church.

A little later crowds had formed between Forrest Avenue and North Avenue on Boulevard, and police had arrived to break them up.

Many policemen had been in the neighborhood all day Sunday. They joined with the new arrivals in dispersing the jeering, rock and brick throwing crowds.

SOON DISORDER had spread on both sides of Boulevard and

vard and the crowds shifted to that location. They milled around him as he tried to make them go home.

Farther to the north a group of youths were gathered on the corner of Boulevard and North Avenue, shouting "black power" and heaving bricks and

ATLANTA

Biracial Slum Talk Proposed to Allen

AJ 9/12/66

By RALEIGH BRYANS

Mayor Ivan Allen was being urged Monday to call a meeting at which spokesmen of all local Negro slums would give the city's top white leadership — aldermen, businessmen and others—a "first-hand" picture of slum conditions and Negro complaints.

The request, which was relayed to the mayor by Vice Mayor Sam Massell, originated with members of an organization called the Mechanicsville-Summerhill Improvement Committee.

Mrs. Alice Nixon, chairman of the committee, and a small delegation that included Fulton Rep. John Hood, met with Mr. Massell Monday to discuss conditions in the Mechanicsville and Summerhill communities.

MR. MASSELL said the request for the meeting was the "main" thing advanced by Mrs. Nixon and her colleagues, though specific suggestions were made regarding law enforcement, school absenteeism, job training, housing and recreation.

He said the proposed meeting would include "professionals" from local agencies dealing in human relations so that these could offer possible solutions to problems detailed by the slum-area representatives.

"The idea would be that people from the slums would give first-hand descriptions of conditions and the problems these provoke, and the professionals would give any recommendations they might have for solving the problems," said the vice mayor.

Those proposing the meeting feel that it is a sound way to go about calming tensions which they feel were at the root of riots in Negro slums last week, Mr. Massell said.

Mayor Allen, meanwhile, received a delegation of Negroes that included Hosea Williams, aide to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; Fulton Rep. J. D. Grier, pastor of the Fort Street Memorial Methodist Church; George Dodd, an official of Economic Opportunity - Atlanta, Inc., the local antipoverty agency, and David McNair, who is with the Atlanta Housing Authority.

THIS get-together was one that evolved from a brief conversation Mr. Williams and Rep. Grier had Sunday with the mayor when Mr. Allen came to Rep. Grier's church and made his award announcement.

Mr. Williams, Rep. Grier and others in the delegation met with the mayor in the mayor's office behind closed doors.

The mayor was scheduled to meet sometime Monday with such key local Negro leaders as Rev. Sam Williams, Fulton Sen. Leroy Johnson and Jesse Hill. These presumably would

Won't Ask March, Negro Leader Says

By RALEIGH BRYANS

A top Atlanta Negro leader said Monday that the Negro leadership here isn't asking "and doesn't expect to ask" Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to stage mass protest demonstrations in Atlanta.

In affirming this position, Rev. Sam Williams, cochairman of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, took a strong verbal slap at Hosea Williams, one of Dr. King's aides, who had declared Sunday that recent riots had convinced him Atlanta must be made the targets of such demonstrations.

The Rev. Mr. Williams called Hosea Williams a "hired hand" in Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and said the second Mr. Williams was in no position to speak either for Dr. King or for local Atlanta Negroes.

THE SUMMIT LEADER said it is SCLC policy that the organization will not go into any community to stage demonstrations unless the organization is specifically invited in by local Negro and civil rights leaders.

"We have made no such request," he said.

He said additionally that he happens to be a member of the executive committee of SCLC and a vice president as well, and that he had been in personal touch with Dr. King since the latter arrived in Atlanta Monday morning.

Hosea Williams had made his remark about the possibility of SCLC-sponsored demonstrations at a press conference here Sunday.

ATLANTA

Crowd Ignores Plea From Mayor Allen

By BILL WINN

Screaming, jeering Negroes hurled Molotov cocktails and bricks at police Sunday night along Boulevard Avenue in the third day of racial violence in Atlanta in less than a week.

Several homes and businesses were set afire and damaged in more than five hours of rioting as hundreds of Negroes protested the Saturday killing of a 16-year-old Negro youth by an unknown white assailant.

Police finally restored calm to the area around 2:30 a.m. Monday.

More than 250 policemen, armed with riot guns, attempted to quell the riot which broke out on Boulevard between Ponce de Leon and the Georgia Baptist Hospital. The same area was rocked by violence Saturday night following the shooting of the young Negro.

Several police vehicles were struck by fire bombs and angry mobs surrounded police vehicles in Sunday's rioting.

ATLANTA Mayor Ivan Allen walked up and down Boulevard imploring the crowds to disperse and go home. No one did.

At one point, Rev. Clyde Williams, a Negro minister from Mechanicsville, led a march of rioters up and down the street. The crowd shouted, "We want Stokely Carmichael" and "We want peace."

Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is in jail charged with inciting a riot last Tuesday night in the Summerhill area

"Why is Carmichael in jail?" Negroes screamed at Mayor Allen "Who are you going to blame for tonight's rioting — Calvin Craig and the Ku Klux Klan?"

Mayor Allen, grim faced and calm, repeated his request that everyone go home

"Can we go home with you?" one Negro girl asked

"Maybe he ain't got cab fare," a youth said.

THE CROWD milled about Mayor Allen, who stayed in the area until relative quiet was restored late in the night

Police made many arrests, including several Negro teenagers. Most were charged with throwing bricks and bottles

Earlier in the evening, a grocery store on Angier Avenue NE was repeatedly struck by firebombs. At least three other buildings were set afire. Shortly before 2 a.m. Monday, Raymond's TV at 632 Boulevard was set ablaze. Police said the fire was started by a Molotov cocktail set in the rear of the building. Two arrests were made in connection with the fire.

Despite repeated requests from Negroes, Mayor Allen refused to send police out of the area.

"Get the cops out of here and we'll all go home," said William J. Farrell, who identified himself as a social worker and minister.

"You tell your people to go home," said the mayor.

"Get the 'roaches' out," the Negroes shouted.

AT ONE point, as he stalked up and down the street, bottles and bricks came within a few feet of Mayor Allen. Pop bottles exploded among reporters and police who walked up and down Boulevard.

No major injuries were reported, although one newsman was struck on the leg.

Late in the evening, some of the crowd marched to the Fort Street Memorial Church and sat down on the steps. Several ministers, Negro and white, attempted to calm them.

The shooting of the Negro youth which triggered Saturday night's rioting occurred on Boulevard in front of a number of apartment complexes which line the street.

Herbert Vorner, 16, was shot dead, and his companion, Roy Wright, also 16, was shot in the back and the side. The latter is reported in good condition at Grady Hospital.

POLICE are looking for a white man who was reportedly driving a black and white 1959 Chevrolet. An eye-witness told police the man stopped the car, spoke to the two Negro boys, and then opened fire. The car left the area at a high rate of speed after the shooting.

Police Sgt. Marvin J. Spears was struck in the head as he was attempting to question witnesses after the shooting Saturday. He was struck by either a bullet or a brick.

A WSB newsman, James W. Gilmier, 32, was seriously injured in the incident on Saturday. He suffered a fractured skull and face and chest injuries from thrown bricks and rocks.

Sunday, Mayor Allen told residents of the area he was offering a $10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person responsible for Saturday's shooting.

"That ain't going to bring back that little boy," screamed several members of the crowd. "We don't want to be shot down like dogs."

Although many Negro leaders were on the scene Sunday, none of the more volatile civil rights leaders were seen in the riot.

Hosea Williams, a top aide in Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was jailed Saturday night when he failed to respond to a Negro policeman's order to move on.

Junius Griffin, another official of SCLC, was also arrested Saturday.

Mr. Williams was released from jail Sunday afternoon and he said that he was asking Dr. King to return to Atlanta and lead civil rights demonstrations.

Another SCLC aide, field secretary Ben Clark, also arrested Saturday, said he was beaten in an elevator at the city jail. He said he was kicked and clubbed by a policeman.

A large crowd of spectators and area residents gathered at a gasoline station on the corner of Boulevard and Forrest Avenue late Sunday night. Police gradually dispersed the crowd and the area was quiet again by 3 a.m. Monday.

Atlanta, After 2d Riot, Offers $10,000 for Clues to Negro's Killer

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Sept. 11—White and Negro leaders moved today to avert further rioting by Negroes angered over the slaying of a Negro youth last night.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., looking weary from staying at the riot scene until early this morning, appeared at a mass meeting of Negroes this afternoon to announce that the city was offering a $10,000 reward for information on the youth's killer.

Representatives of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference entered the troubled area and discussed the possibility of a massive, nonviolent civil rights movement in Atlanta.

The police presed a search for the white man who shot to death 16-year-old Hubert Vorner shortly after 10:30 last night. Another youth was wounded.

20 Injured, 58 Arrested

More than 20 persons were injured and 58 were arrested when angry Negroes poured into the street and hurled bricks and bottles after the shooting.

The shooting and subsequent rioting occurred on Boulevard, a busy four-lane thoroughfare that bisects a predominantly Negro neighborhood near downtown Atlanta.

A white policeman was wounded by gunfire last night, and a white television reporter suffered a fractured skull, after an angry crowd of Negroes gathered following the shooting.

Members of the crowd broke several store windows and attacked whites with bricks, bottles and fists several times during the night. The violence continued sporadically until after 2 A.M. Dozens of angry Negroes continued to mill in the street at daybreak.

This was the second outbreak of racial violence here in the last week. Fifteen persons were injured and about 70 were arrested in a Negro riot Tuesday.

Hosea Williams, director of voter registration and political education for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said he would recommend to Dr. King tomorrow that the conference conduct a nonviolent campaign of marches and demonstrations here. Dr. King was out of the city today.

A Question Posed

"The question of the present and the future," Mr. Williams said, "is whether Negroes will be able to creatively bring about meaningful social change through instrument of nonviolence, or whether they will be driven by frustration to copy the violence of the larger society."

Mr. Williams and two other staff members of the leadership conference were arrested during the disturbance last night and charged with disorderly conduct after they argued with the police about moving on. They were freed on bond.

Vice Mayor Sam Massell said today that the police might have made a mistake in arresting Mr. Williams, one of the South's top civil rights leaders. Mr. Williams said he had gone to the scene to try to restore order.

"I question whether his arrest was one that was necessary," Mr. Massell said.

Cleveland Sellers, program secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, also was arrested for failing to move on. He was still being held today.

Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the student committee, already was in jail, charged with inciting Tuesday's riot.

The police, after interviewing several witnesses, reconstructed the incident that set off last night's violence. The witnesses gave this account:

A young white man driving with a white woman passed a small group of Negro youths standing on the sidewalk in front of a row of apartment houses.

The man stopped his car, backed up and said, "Did you say something?"

"No," replied 16-year-old Hubert Vorner.

The white man pulled a pistol, pushed the woman out onto the street and opened fire through the car window.

Young Vorner was shot in the head. He was pronounced dead on arrival at Grady Memorial Hospital.

Roy Milton Wright, 16, one of the slain boy's companions, was shot in the back. He is in satisfactory condition today.

Policeman Injured

Police Sgt. M. J. Spears, 42, was patrolling Boulevard less than 30 seconds away. He sped to the scene and shortly afterward was downed by a spent, possibly ricocheting, bullet that struck him in the back of the head. He was not seriously injured.

About 400 persons poured into the street as other policemen arrived to investigate. The Negroes threw bricks and bottles in a loud, undirected riot that lasted five to 10 minutes. The police quelled it, then withdrew except for a small force.

An hour later, another crowd gathered around a puddle of blood on the sidewalk where young Vorner had been shot.

The crowd was sullen at first, then restive, then angry and loud.

The police called in more reinforcements.

More bricks and bottles were thrown. A few shots were fired at policemen from the darkness of alleys and yards.

At 2 A.M. the crowd, then about 75 persons, began moving threateningly to the north toward the ghetto boundary. The police rushed to head them off.

The crowd broke wildly. Other Negroes left their houses and the crowd swelled. Groups formed quickly and ran back and forth on the glass-littered streets and sidewalks.

Store and car windows were smashed amid yells of triumph.

Several white newsmen found themselves trapped between marauding groups. Two newsmen fled through a side street to safety. One was taken away in a car by a friendly Negro.

James Giltmier, a reporter for WFB-TV who had covered racial violence in other parts of the South without difficulty, was overtaken by a gang of youths and struck to the ground. He underwent surgery today for what was described as "a moderately severe skull fracture."

Robert Fitch, a white photographer for the leadership conference, was beaten down by another gang. He was not seriously hurt.

The police restored order once more in about 15 minutes. The area was quiet but tense the rest of the night.

9-12-66 A.C.

It's 'Napalm in Atlanta' as Gas-Filled Jar Explodes

By BILL SHIPP

A fruit jar filled with flaming gasoline hurtled through the darkness, then exploded like napalm under a policy paddy wagon. The wagon pulled away.

For a few seconds the night rained bottles. They came from the darkness of the apartment houses. The crash of glass was preceded by cursing from the same darkness.

Store windows were scattered.

The mayor tried to talk to them, but they were in no mood to listen. Some of them chanted "peace," then they chanted "power."

It was Boulevard in Atlanta on Sunday night.

It was once a quiet thoroughfare — a good place for a hospital like Georgia Baptist.

Now it was in uproar from Georgia Baptist Hospital eight blocks north. It was a good place to get hurt — or worse.

Even though the street teemed with policemen, bottles and bricks and curses still came. Someone even spread nails at one intersection.

The melee first erupted Saturday night after two teen-agers were shot, one fatally. Then it died down, only to start up again late Sunday as groups of men and women, boys and girls roamed up and down the street, cursing the killers of the youth, cursing the police, cursing their own lots in life.

FIREBOMB THROWN

Someone threw a firebomb onto a store on Angier just off Boulevard. Windows were broken.

While firemen checked out the blaze, which out in moments, the crowd taunted them and the policemen who guarded the firemen.

A minister tried to get some of them to "march off their steam."

They marched eight blocks and back again. The minister tried to talk to them. But several of the Negroes turned his pleas for "peace" aside, took over the speaking themselves and demanded the release of Stokely Carmichael, the Black Power leader, in jail in connection with last Tuesday's melee on Capitol Avenue.

MAYOR APPEALS

Back up at a service station near Georgia Baptist Hospital, the mayor showed up and ask them to go home. But the prowling, howling mob was in no mood to go home—or to talk to Ivan Allen Jr.

"You go home and eat a big steak with mushrooms, while we has to go home and eat sardines," shrieked one young Negro woman. "Let us go home with you."

"Let Stokely Carmichael go and we'll quiet rioting. How about that, man?" shouted a Negro wearing a stocking wrapped around his head.

Occasionally the crowd pushed forward, and it looked as if Mayor Allen would drown in the sea of angry faces. Only his personal aide, Police Capt. George Royal, separated the mayor from the jeering crowd during several instances.

CHARITY CROWD

A chanting crowd of about 50 was led to the Fort Street Memorial Methodist Church on Boulevard SE shortly after 10 p.m.

State Rep. J. D. Grier, who also is pastor of the church, finally got that group to promise to go home. Some said they would be back out Monday night.

Rep. Grier said there were "agitators" in the crowd, people who "want this to keep going on."

Back up the streets more bottles were thrown at policemen and newsmen. Tear gas was fired.

Lights from television newscrews seemed to turn some of the little knots of angry Negroes into a frenzy.

William J. Farrell, a Negro social worker, asked the mayor to pull all the police out of area.

"They're not going to bed until the police get out," he said. "As long as the police watch them, they'll stay up and watch the police."

Some of the officers looked dead-tired. Many had been on duty for nearly 14 hours without relief.

Shortly before midnight, the anger begin to die down. The chanters, the cursers, the bottle and bomb throwers got tired. The excitement died down.

But the police stayed and waited and watched. And in the darkness of the apartment houses, others waited and watched.

Staff Photo—Charles Jackson

'THANK THE LORD'

Mrs. Nora Wright

Stein Steel and Supply Co.

Will Be Closed Monday

Due to the Death of

Our Beloved Founder

and Chairman of the Board

ALBERT L. STEIN

LANTA, GA., 30302, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1966 46 PAGES, 3 SECTIONS ★★★★★ Ten Cents

Fire Bombs Exploded In Boulevard Violence

ATLANTA

AC 9/12/66

Allen Posts Reward In Slaying

A fire bomb was thrown under a police paddy wagon that was taking prisoners to jail Sunday night and the vehicle was pelted with bottles as hundreds of Negroes swarmed along Boulevard near Georgia Baptist Hospital in the second successive night of violence in the area.

The Sunday night outbreak at times appeared as much a protest for the jailing of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee leader Stokely Carmichael as a protest to the killing of a Negro youth and the wounding of another by an unknown white gunman.

Reporters covering this story were Bill Shipp, Dick Hebert, Charles Moore and Michael Davis. Related stories on Pages 3, 6, 9 and 44.

Meanwhile, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. posted a $10,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the gunman.

As the police vehicle sped through the barrage of missiles, Mayor Allen repeatedly implored the crowd to "respect law and order." A number in the group shouted back, "We'll quit rioting if you'll turn Stokely Carmichael loose."

REMAINS IN JAIL

Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, remains in the Fulton County jail under $10,000 bond on charges of inciting last Tuesday's initial riot.

Atlanta police, subjected to constant danger from flying bottles, bricks and stones, fired two cannisters of tear gas into a crowd in the 600 block of Boulevard as the riot intensified Sunday night.

The violence appeared to grow after officials had permitted the Rev. Clyde Williams, pastor of a church in the Mechanicsville area hit by a melee last Tuesday, to organize a parade up and down the eight-block area on Boulevard.

CHANT 'PEACE'

The idea apparently was to allow the demonstrators to let off steam but it appeared only to spur them on. They first began chanting, "We want peace. We want peace." But they soon began to chant also, "We want power. We want power." When the group neared television cameras many in the parade began jumping around and waving their hands.

After one trip to each end of the blockaded section of Boulevard, police had to split up the march.

As police tried to move the

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Fire Bombs Connect In New Violence

Continued From Page 1

mob toward Fort Street Memorial Methodist Church, officers and newsmen were pelted by thrown bottles and missiles. As the crowd moved, Negroes broke away and took refuge between apartment houses along the route. Only 85 of more than 200 persons reached the church.

The Rev. Paul Kelley, a Hapeville Catholic priest, approached the singing group on the church steps and attempted to talk to them.

"Are they (the police) doing anything about this (the shooting)?" he asked.

"Naw," someone shouted from the steps. "All they want us to do is not to kill white folks."

Yelled another, "But we ain't!"

Armed with shotguns and an armored riot truck, police, a few minutes earlier, moved with the mob as it was led by a minister several blocks down to Boulevard Place and then back to the hospital area.

By might, police had arrested at least 22 Negroes.

Before that, stones and bricks were tossed through the plate-glass windows of at least five stores in the area and molotov cocktails were lobbed onto the rooftops of at least two stores. There were sporadic outbreaks of shooting at fire trucks summoned to extinguish the fires.

The second time the mob came to the corner of Boulevard and Forrest Avenue Northeast they found Mayor Allen, surrounded him, but refused to listen to more than a few of his sentences.

"I don't find anything that some of these people, who are burning down buildings and throwing rocks . . . are doing for you," he told the crowd.

"My record of doing what I will say I will do is pretty good."

Several times Allen beseeched the mob, "Hush up back there; let me speak."

The crowd spilled into the lot of a service station and even as Allen spoke, reporters saw one young Negro tear an Atlanta Braves sign down and other Negroes shouted the mayor down, saying, "We don't want to hear that."

"I'm asking this group to disperse quietly," Allen said. He also told of the $10,000 reward

He was either hit by a ricocheting bullet or a thrown object.

The most seriously injured person in the outbreak was James W. Giltmier, 32, a newsman for WSB-TV, who is in Emory University Hospital with a fractured skull, and face and chest injuries.

Fellow newsmen said Giltmier was hit in the head by a brick as he approached a group of about 150 Negroes.

A witness to the shooting, Ronald Barnes, told police the gunman was driving a 1959 black and white Chevrolet. Barnes said the car was moving south on Boulevard at a slow rate of speed, then suddenly stopped and backed up.

Barnes said the driver called out, "You talking to us?"

Another witness, Alex King, said, "I said 'No' and he pushed the white girl over and shot six times."

The gunman's car took off at a high rate of speed. A couple who live next to the shooting scene jumped into their car and attempted to follow. They told police they lost the Chevrolet near Houston Street NE but that it had continued at high speed south on Bouelvard.

Mayor Allen announced the $10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction at a meeting held in Fort Street Memorial Church.

In a tense, emotional appearance before about 200 persons Sunday afternoon in the church two blocks from the site of the shooting, Mayor Allen also called for an end to rioting and racial violence in Atlanta.

The melee that lasted until about 2:30 a.m. Sunday was the second here in four days. Rioting broke out last Tuesday in the wake of the police-shooting of a car theft suspect.

In the Saturday outbreak, a police help call was sounded with the wounding of Sgt. Spears and officers poured into the neighborhood, cordoning off Boulevard at Forrest and North avenues.

There was only sporadic rock and bottle throwing until about midnight when a sudden barrage of missiles rained out of the night toward police in cars and afoot.

The area quickly quieted down under the threat of shotgun-armed police and there were only scattered incidents of

Associated Press Wirephoto

SUSPECT STRUGGLES WITH POLICE AFTER SATURDAY NIGHT ARREST
Detective Supt. Clinton Chafin (L) Coordinates Police Activity

to move along. As he and others in the group were hustled into a paddy wagon, he shouted, "Police in Atlanta are just as inhuman and brutal as they are in Mississippi."

Williams was released from jail Sunday afternoon. He held a press conference to say that the two Negro outbreaks have convinced him that Atlanta must be made the target of sweeping "non-violent" civil rights campaigns similar to the ones SCLC has conducted in Alabama and Mississippi.

Standing on the corner where the melee began, Williams said he would urge Negro children to make mass marches on white schools, adding, "We'll boycott the entire city if we have to."

Allen told reporters later that the $10,000 was put up by "civic minded citizens" who wanted to remain anonymous.

After Allen left the Fort Street Church, Snick field worker Willie Ricks called the mayor "the top gun in Atlanta . . . a wolf in sheep's clothing" who had "come down here to pacify you."

"We need black power! We need black power!" Ricks shouted.

But two other speakers, officials in King's SCLC, tried to tell the Negroes they would gain nothing by violence.

"I believe in marching in the streets," said Hosea Williams, SCLC Southern program director. "Now I don't believe in violence, but I believe in marching in the streets—by the thousands."

Carmichael said from jail he will conduct religious meditations for the next 96 hours and will not be in contact with persons outside of jail.

(Paid Political Advertisement)

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The crowd spilled into the lot of a service station and even as Allen spoke, reporters saw one young Negro tear an Atlanta Braves sign down and other Negroes shouted the mayor down, saying, "We don't want to hear that."

"I'm asking this group to disperse quietly," Allen said. He also told of the $10,000 reward he has posted for any information leading to the conviction of any persons responsible for Saturday night's shooting of two teen-aged Negroes which touched off the weekend wave of violence.

Allen, in a return performance of the method he used to break up last Tuesday's riot, paced back and forth across the street, surrounded by the mob, as police tried to break its fringes into smaller groups.

One Negro shouted to him, "Why don't you lock up Calvin Craig? The Ku Klux Klan incited those people to shoot those boys last night."

Earlier, Allen was asked by a voice in the crowd, "Why is Stokely Carmichael in jail?"

"He is in jail because he is charged with inciting a riot," Allen responded.

Before Allen reached the scene, a grocery store on Angier Avenue Northeast, Whiteman's, was twice struck by firebombs Sunday night and rocks lobbed through front windows.

Some of the bottles shattered only a few feet from where the mayor stood in the middle of Boulevard. His only escorts were Police Chief Herbert Jenkins and Allen's personal aide, George Royal.

Allen maintained his composure despite Negroes running up and shouting in his face.

Herbert (Dukie) Vorner, 16, fell dead when a bullet hit him in the left eye. He was standing in a group on the curb in front of his home at 420 Boulevard Northeast.

Wounded in the back and side was Roy Wright, 16, of 142 Bell St. NE, who is in good condition at Grady Hospital.

A police sergeant, Marvin J. Spears, was wounded in the head while attempting to gather information in the hostile crowd that gathered mintues after the shooting at 10:25 p.m. Saturday, about 150 Negroes.

A witness to the shooting, Ronald Barnes, told police the gunman was driving a 1959 black and white Chevrolet. Barnes said the car was moving south on Boulevard at a slow rate of speed, then suddenly stopped and backed up.

Barnes said the driver called out, "You talking to us?"

Another witness, Alex King, said, "I said 'No' and he pushed the white girl over and shot six times."

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There was only sporadic rock and bottle throwing until about midnight when a sudden barrage of missiles rained out of the night toward police in cars and afoot.

The area quickly quieted down under the threat of shotgun-armed police and there were only scattered incidents of window-smashing. Some police reserves were released from duty about 1 p.m., but about 2 p.m. a mob of about 75 young Negroes gathered and began stoning and window smashing until police cars broke the mob into small groups who were dispersed by foot police.

Throughout Saturday evening, Mayor Allen was on the scene, attempting to ease tempers of the people in the area.

At one point, he walked up and down the nine-block area of Boulevard, going to doorways to plea, "Let's go to bed . . . let's go home . . .it's time to go to bed."

From several of the apartment houses he approached rocks and bricks earlier had rained down from upper stories onto police.

Among the 58 persons arrested were Hosea Williams and Junius Griffin, officials of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Williams, one of King's top aides, was arrested by a Negro officer when he refused an order to move along. As he and others in the group were hustled into a paddy wagon, he shouted, "Police in Atlanta are just as inhuman and brutal as they are in Mississippi."

Williams was released from jail Sunday afternoon. He held a press conference to say that the two Negro outbreaks have convinced him that Atlanta must be made the target of sweeping "non-violent" civil rights campaigns similar to the ones SCLC has conducted in Alabama and Mississippi.

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Associated Press Wirephoto

SUSPECT STRUGGLES WITH POLICE AFTER SATURDAY NIGHT ARREST

Detective Supt. Clinton Chafin (L) Coordinates Police Activity

(Paid Political Advertisement)

ATLANTA

King's Associate Bars Big Protest

9-13-66

By MARION GAINES

Massive demonstrations in Atlanta by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights forces were ruled out Monday by an Atlanta Negro leader who is a national vice president of King's group.

The Rev. Sam Williams, also a co-chairman of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, said Negro leaders here "have not requested — and do not expect to request" Dr. King to mount mass demonstrations in Atlanta.

Hosea Williams, an aide to Dr. King, had denounced the "bestiality and brutality" of Atlanta police Sunday and said he would urge all-out protests by King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Rev. Mr. Williams brushed aside Hosea Williams Monday as just "a hired hand" who "does not set SCLC policy."

CONFERENCES HELD

Both Williamses held press conferences at City Hall after leading two Negro delegations into separate conferences with Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. in a search for ways to end the racial rioting which has rocked the city three times in six days.

Mayor Allen assessed the meetings as "reasonably profitable" and expressed hope that "the calm we have now" would continue.

The mayor appeared tired and drawn from his extended on-the-scene efforts over the weekend to quell the rioting in the Boulevard - Forrest Avenue NE area which erupted Saturday night with the fatal shooting of a teen-age Negro by an unidentified white gunman.

CHIEF CONCERN

Allen met first for an hour with Hosea Williams, the Rev. J. D. Grier, a state representative, and several other Negroes. He then conferred separately for about 45 minutes with Sam Williams, Jesse Hill and Ald. Q. V. Williamson, who are co-chairmen of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference.

Sam Williams told the press that "our chief concern" was to seek "clemency " from the city for "some innocent people who were swept up and incarcerated" during last week's Summerhill riot and the Boulevard rioting over the weekend.

He said they had been assured "every consideration" would be given to the appeal for clemency.

Williams said the discussion with the mayor did not include Stokely Carmichael, militant head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Car-

Continued on Page 10, Column 4

King's Associate Bars Big Protest

Continued from Page 1

michael has been in jail since last Thursday under $11,000 bond on charges of inciting a riot and creating a disturbance.

Regarding Dr. King's leading protsets here, the Rev. Mr. Williams said that "the policy of SCLC has been, and still is, not to come into any city without first receiving a request from the leadership of that community."

He pointed out that he is an SCLC vice president and that both he and Hill are members of the policy-steting SCLC executive board.

TALKS WITH KING

The Rev. Mr. Williams said he had talked with Dr. King Monday morning. Dr. King, who returned to Atlanta for an SCLC staff meeting, did not issue any statement Monday.

Hosea Williams, who was jailed briefly during the Boulevard rioting, had said he felt Atlanta should be designated "a main target" for SCLC-led demonstrations.

Sam Williams said his group was "not opposed to protests and demonstrations, but we feel they should not be done needlessly.

"We do not see that there is any need for such a thing here this time," he said.

Hosea Williams, who spoke with the press before Sam Williams, appeared considerably subdued compared to his Sunday stance.

He said the meeting with Mayor Allen was "very productive" and that his group would now attempt to work quietly toward "a proper and effective settlement" in the Boulevard area.

ATLANTA

Fulton Is Equipping Deputies for Rioting

AC 9/18/66

Leroy Stynchcombe, Fulton County chief deputy sheriff, said Tuesday his staff is being equipped to supplement the Atlanta Police department in event of any future riots.

Stynchcombe said the office can supply a minimum of 40 deputies at any time. On the weekends, between 60 and 75 are available.

"If we are needed, we will work under the supervision of the Atlanta Police Department. My men have been instructed to report to the commanding officer in charge. You can't have two law enforcement agencies under two supervisors in a riot," Stynchcombe said.

The sheriff's office Monday placed rush orders for 100 armbands, 75 crash helmets and 75 night sticks. The deputies are generally used for court work and are not permitted with uniforms.

Also Monday, Stynchcombe received a telegram from the United Sports Club of Philadelphia, Pa., in which the release of Stokley Carmichael from jail was demanded. The telegram was signed by Dempsey Walker, president of the club.

"You are presently holding Mr. Stokley Carmichael under charges that have no basis in fact. We might add that Mr. Carmichael has black brothers and sisters here in Philadelphia and all over the United States who consider your actions as being both unlawful and unjust.

"We demand the immediate release of Mr. Carmichael. Furthermore if you persist in this action we will have no choice but to organize a more effective and direct campaign of national black people to guarantee the rights of Mr. Carmichael," the telegram said.

Stynchcombe said the telegram constituted a threat, but would be ignored. "We'll release Carmichael when he posts $10,000 bond," he said.

SDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1966 48 PAGES, 3 SECTIONS ★★★★★ Ten Cents

New Boulevard Melee Flares as Snick Grabs Control of Peace Talk

ATLANTA

Firebombs Are Hurled At Autos and Buildings

By BILL SHIPP

Firebombs, bricks and bottles rained down on vehicles along riot-torn Boulevard again Monday night after a Snick worker turned a church "peace" meeting into a screeching "black power" rally.

It was the third straight night of violence on Boulevard in the area between Forrest Avenue and North Avenue. At least four flaming Molotov cocktails were hurled at passing cars. A gallon can of fiery kerosene was rolled into the street. A line of fire stretched nearly across the street for a few seconds.

FIRE BOMB

A fire bomb was thrown on the roof of a business firm a few blocks way, but that fire was quickly put out. Police moved in fast, cleared the sidewalks and even the porches. A cold drizzly rain helped them. By midnight Boulevard was peaceful again.

Related stories are on Pages 3, 6 and 8.

Meanwhile, police questioned a suspect late Monday in connection with the fatal shooting of Herbert Varner, 16, Negro, and the wounding of another youth Saturday night near Georgia Baptist Hospital. The shootings triggered the three nights of violence.

Lt. W. K. Perry said investigators were talking with several persons, including a man well known to police. He added he did not know whether any of the persons questioned would be charged.

MASS MEETING

Monday night's violence erupted after Willie Ricks, field secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee took over a mass meeting at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, 475 Boulevard NE. The meeting had been called to calm down the tense Negro community.

Ricks grabbed a microphone and shouted hysterically: "Black power! Black power!" Many young people joined the chant. He told the group they should return to the streets. Many did. That's when the trouble began.

The new wave of street vio-

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Inside Today...

WHITES ATTACK Negro students in Mississippi. Page 2

CHICAGO PRIEST defects to Soviet Union. Page 2

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New Boulevard Melee Flares After Rally

Continued from Page 1

lence followed a series of City Hall sessions with Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. after which a top associate of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said his forces were ruling out any massive demonstrations here.

Dr. King visited the riot-torn area late Monday afternoon and talked with some of the residents about their grievances.

Later, the Rev. J. D. Grier, pastor of the Fort Street Memorial Methodist Church on Boulevard and a state representative, called a meeting of neighborhood youths at his church to organize a youth movement.

RICKS SHOWS UP

Ricks and his Snick associates showed up at that meeting and demanded that it be closed to the press.

A few minutes after that meeting broke up a crowd began gathering at Baptist Tabernacle about three blocks away. Newsmen's cars were pelted with rocks and firecrackers.

Finally the crowd went inside the church, ostensibly to hear Hosea Williams, an aide of Dr. King, talk to them about their complaints.

Instead, Ricks took charge and shouted:

"We're going to have every cracker in Atlanta on his knees . . . We're willing to pay any price."

Then Ricks began the chant for Black Power. Snick workers waved signs which read:

"Move on over or we'll move over you."

150 LED OUT

Ricks led about 150 young people from the church and out onto the sidewalk before Williams could control the meeting. The Snick workers handed out pamphlets which read:

"Fight white power."

The sheets termed Mayor Allen "the top gun in Atlanta."

Williams told the rest of his audience — about 400 — "You'd better think for yourself."

It was Williams who Sunday called for massive demonstrations in Atlanta led by Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Monday, however, a top associate of King's the Rev. Dr. Sam Williams, called Hosea Williams "a hired hand" who "does not set SCLC policy."

The fire was quickly put out.

In earlier violence during the weekend targets of the missile throwers had been mostly whites. But Monday night they turned on Negro newsmen as well as whites.

Hosea Williams and Clarke circulated in the area to try to bring calm.

Officers on foot and in cars patrolled and warned bystanders, "Let's go home. Come on, break it up. Let's go."

About three blocks north of Georgia Baptist Hospital policemen charged into two apartment houses after their cars were bombarded with bottles, bricks and chunks of concrete.

At least five were arrested during this melee. The five shouted out of the paddy wagon to a large gathering of news reporters that they had not done anything.

Dozens of newsmen from all over the country milled around the area. Police asked them to stay out of the streets, and most did.

PROBLEMS CITED

Hosea Williams, in an impromptu press conference, told reporters he didn't believe that the Negro problems on Boulevard were "so acute" that Dr. King himself would try to mount a demonstration. But he said the Boulevard Negroes "do have problems."

He said Dr. King will leave Atlanta again Tuesday for Grenada, Miss. Williams, arrested in Saturday night's initial uprising in the Boulevard area, said he was leaving Atlanta Thursday for Grenada to participate in a desegregation drive there.

He said most of the top staff of SCLC would be in Grenada by next Tuesday.

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"We deserve something in this city that the white men and so-called Negro leaders have robbed us of," Hosea Williams told the cheering church audience Monday night. Some of those who had left the church began to drift back in.

WHERE YOU WANT THEM

"We've got them where we wanted them for a long time," Williams continued. "You've dramatized the issues before the nation. You've got them where you want them. You can demand what you want."

But he warned, "If you stay in the streets they will bring in the National Guard and they'll bring in the Army and crush us to death. We must not overplay our hand."

Minutes after Williams finished speaking, bottles, rocks and cherry bombs began to fly. One group of Negroes attempted to overturn a station wagon with a CBS television crew inside.

Ben Clarke, a member of King's SCLC, talked the mob away from the car.

As the violence got worse police closed off Boulevard again from Forrest Avenue for about eight blocks north.

POLICE SPEED HELP

The officers had used only minimum force in the area up to this point. Then they sent in helmeted, shotgun - and club-carrying patrolmen to clear the sidewalks.

Bottles, some filled with flaming liquid, were hurled from dark alleys and upper stories of apartment houses. Windows of a detective car and a paddy wagon were shattered.

There were numbers of arrests.

A firebomb was tossed on the roof of a neon sign company at 400 Forrest Avenue NE, just a half block behind Georgia Baptist Hospital.

A fire truck roared into the area, and another crowd started gathering. But police moved in in force and quickly broke it up.

ATLANTA

Negro Homeowners Protest Site of New Vine City School

By DUANE RINER

A delegation of elderly Negro homeowners on the western fringe of Vine City angrily protested the selection of their area as the site of a new Vine City junior high school during an appearance Monday night before the Atlanta Board of Education.

Dr. Rufus Clement

The board, acting on a motion by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, established a three-member committee to inspect the area "and try to come up with a mutually agreeable solution to the problem." He indicated that sites within Vine City itself would be considered.

John H. Moore, a spokesman for the delegation, said residents of the area west of Sunset Street, which he said is considered the western boundary of Vine City, have maintained their homes in excellent condition and some owners are "old, retired and not able to make a loan to buy another house."

The area, he noted, recently was rezoned from apartment to residential classification "because it is well-kept."

The school board, Moore declared, "is making an error" because land for the junior high school, first within the Vine City area, is available in the vicinity of Mitchell Street, Maple and Tattnall. "Urban renewal took people out of their homes and land is just lying there wasting," he insisted.

The board could do Vine City "a great credit" and uplift the slum by choosing a site within the area from Rhodes Street to Magnolia and Vine to Sunset, Moore declared. He assured that enough land would be available to build the school.

ASSESSMENTS COMPARED

Moore presented the board a tax assessment tabulation comparing the $80,760 assessment on property within Vine City with $86,520 on the currently studied building site in the area of Dunkirk, Spencer, Griffin and Thurmond streets where the protesters reside.

"Why not give us a chance?" Moore asked. "We are appealing to you to find some other section."

Moore said he lived within Vine City for 40 years before moving to his present home on Griffin Street. The City of Atlanta, he charged, "has been shunning Vine City for all these years."

HOUSES FALLING

"I'm wondering if the City of Atlanta is afraid of Vine City landlords who have been collecting rent for 50 years while houses are falling down nearly on the sidewalk," Moore commented.

"Don't sit in City Hall and look at your map. Go and look at our section; see how our houses are well built," he implored. "You're going to let land lay waste and come over there to rob us," Moore charged.

Professing himself "very much in sympathy with Moore," Dr. Clement said he would like for the committee to join with the board's building and grounds staff and residents of Vine City in looking over the alternate sites suggested by Moore.

COMMITTEE NAMED

School board president Ed S. Cook appointed Clement and board members Fred M. Shell and Bill C. Wainwright to make the investigation.

A squabble developed within the board when Dr. Horace E. Tate, Negro educator whose seat has been challenged in Fulton Superior Court, insisted no special committee was necessary since the board already had a Buildings and Grounds Committee of which he is a member.

He attempted to withdraw his second to the motion creating the special committee and was advised that minutes showed the motion had been seconded by Wainwright.

DEFENDS RULING

"You are appointing a committee to supersede a committee already established," protested Tate. He was overruled by presiding officer Cook who commented, "My ruling is that the motion is proper and correct. You may appeal it if you wish."

ATLANTA

Couple Held Here In Negro's Killing

AC 9/5/66

By KEELER McCARTNEY and BILL SHIPP

A 42-year-old Atlantan and his wife were held Tuesday in the fatal shooting of Negro boy that set off three nights of rioting in the vicinity of Georgia Baptist Hospital.

William Haywood James of 581 Hill St. SE was held on a murder charge in the death cf Hulet Varner Jr., 16. His wife, Mrs. Edna Ruth James, 34, was placed under $2,000 bond as a material witness.

Mrs. James, wearing white shorts, clutched her purse nervously during the proceedings.

In other developments in Atlanta's racial turmoil, the Fulton County Grand Jury indicted

William H. James

Mrs. Edna James

15 Negroes, including Snick leader Stokely Carmichael, on charges of riot in connection with racial violence on Sept. 6 on Capitol Avenue SE-SW. Sol-Gen. Lewis Slaton said indictments against at least 25 other persons would be sought in connection with the Capitol Avenue uproar and the three nights of violence on Boulevard NE.

And Gov. Carl Sanders revealed he had alerted the National Guard for possible use in putting down further rioting, but a chilling rain Tuesday seemed to put a damper on tempers in the slum sections.

The James couple was ar-

Continued on Page 7, Column 4

Atlantan and Wife Are Held In Riot-Triggering Killing

Continued from Page 1

raigned late Tuesday before Municipal Judge T. C. Little. James entered a plea of not guilty and said he had not had an opportunity to consult with an attorney.

James later agreed to have the case transferred to Superior Court after Little explained that Municipal Court did not have final jurisdiction in the case.

Lt. W. K. Perry said a witness to the Saturday night killing of Varner and the wounding of his 16-year-old companion, Roy Wright, also a Negro, had positively identified James in a police lineup.

A 1959 model automobile owned by the Jameses also has been identified as the car from which the shots were fired, Perry told the court. Perry said the Jameses at first denied owning the car.

James said he had never denied owning the automobile. Mrs. James said she told Sgt. J. E. Helms that they did not own the car because she thought police were investigating an auto accident they had been involved in.

"I've never killed anyone. I wasn't even in the vicinity where the killing took place," James told the court. "I've never faced anything like this before."

James said when he was first contacted by police Monday night he was given to understand that they wanted to talk with him for a short time. He said he was not given an opportunity to call an attorney.

EXPLAINS

Perry told the court that James had been in the homicide squad room where telephones were available to him.

James, a stocky 193-pound man with an amputated little finger and a cross and flowers tattooed on his right arm, listed his occupation as carpenter and tree-trimmer.

He has a seven-page police record showing at least 20 convictions dating to 1942. When arrested he was on bond on a robbery charge filed Sept. 1. Previous arrests include such offenses as robbery, burglary, auto theft and assault and battery.

Witnesses had said the car of Varner's slayer also contained a baby but police have not yet accounted for the child. Lt. Perry said James contended he was hit on the head by a rock Thursday in the area of the shooting but wasn't in the area Saturday night when Varner was killed.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. has posted a $10,000 bond for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for killing the Negro youth.

Witnesses told police the two boys were on the sidewalk in front of 420 Boulevard NE, the apartment house where Varner resided, when a car occupied by a white man and woman drove past.

The man drove past, stopped, backed up and asked the boys if they said anything. They replied "no." Witnesses said the man pushed the woman down in the car, fired a pistol over her several times and then drove rapidly away.

The 15 Negroes, including Carmichael, were indicted by the Fulton Grand Jury on misdemeanor riot charges in connection with violence against policemen at Capitol Avenue and Ormond Street.

The jury later this week will consider indictments against 18 persons in connection with the three nights of rioting on Boulevard, Sol. Gen. Slaton said. Seven other indictments will be proposed in connection with Sept. 7 incidents at Capitol Avenue and Ormond.

Boulevard, still heavily guarded by policemen working 12-hour shifts, was quiet all day Tuesday after a night of firebombs and brick-throwing. A steady rain helped cool tensions. The street, sealed off Monday night, was reopened to traffic Tuesday.

But police waited at the ready, stationed in cars at parking lots and other strategic locations in the area, and with Chief Herbert Jenkins among them.

Several cars patrolled the area, some with helmeted officers. A paddy wagon was stationed nearby. The boarded windows of shops bore mute testimony of the rocks and homemade fire bombs that had flown through the area.

Carmichael, 25, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, remained in Fulton County jail Tuesday afternoon although his bond was reduced from $11,000 to $1,000.

ATLANTA

Tighten Riot Laws

9/23/66 AC

Allen Urges State

By MARION GAINES

A review and tightening of Georgia's anti-riot laws by the 1967 General Assembly was called for Thursday by Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.

The mayor said he would instruct the city attorney's office to confer with Fulton County legislators about revising and updating the state's riot statutes.

"Atlanta has just gone through a crisis, and when that happens you need to go back and take a look at everything involved in it," said Allen.

He was referring to four nights of Negro rioting in less than a week here earlier this month.

"We need to see if we have adequate state laws to prevent occurrences of this type," Allen said. "I am speaking from first-hand experience."

During the outbreaks on Capitol Avenue and Boulevard, Mayor Allen personally led Atlanta police efforts to quell the disturbances.

Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and several of his SNCC colleagues were indicted by the Fulton County Grand Jury on misdemeanor charges growing out of the riots.

Asked if he thought Atlanta's image as a racially progressive city had been damaged, Mayor Allen replied:

"If we had to go through it, we came out with as good a reputation as could be expected."

He noted that the national press in general was laudatory of the Atlanta Police Department "and condemned the actions of SNCC."

Heard Carmichael Urge Mob On, Negro Sergeant Testifies

ATLANTA 10/11/66

By BILL SHIPP

A Negro police sergeant testified in federal court Friday that he heard Stokely Carmichael say "baby, burn" over a loudspeaker and urge a mob to remain in the streets during the Sept. 6 riot here.

And Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said he believed, but was not positive, that he saw Carmichael leaving the riot scene while he (the mayor) was on his way there.

The testimony was heard as attorneys for Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee continued their efforts to prove Georgia's anti-riot laws are unconstitutional and that officials use them to harass SNCC workers.

Police Sgt. Claude Dixon, a member of the police force for 18 years, testified he saw a sound truck on Capitol Avenue after a crowd gathered in the streets.

He said he heard Carmichael say over the truck's loudspeaker: "They think we're going to leave the street. . . . Stay in the street."

"Baby, burn," Carmichael continued, according to Dixon.

Dixon said he knew it was Carmichael because he had talked with him on four previous occasions and had heard him twice using the truck loudspeaker.

Carmichael, seated at the plaintiff's table, shook his head and whistled under his breath when he heard Dixon's testimony. He turned to a group of reporters seated nearby and said: "You people have to set me free now."

Dixon said he obtained a warrant for Carmichael from Municipal Court Judge Bob Jones on the basis of what he had heard.

Carmichael is under $1,000 bond on a charge of riot growing out of the Sept. 6 violence at Capitol Avenue and Ormond Street SE.

Earlier, Mayor Allen told the three-judge panel hearing the case that as he was driving to the riot scene to try to calm things down he turned to his aide, George Royal, and said, "There goes Stokley Carmichael out."

He said he saw a car in which he believed Carmichael was riding, but he said "at this time I could not swear to it."

The mayor testified he saw James Forman, manager of SNCC's Atlanta office at the scene.

Allen said before the riot erupted Carmichael and several other people came to his office to protest the arrests some days earlier of SNCC workers in connection with an incident at the Atlanta Army induction center.

Capt. Morris Redding said on Sept. 8 he saw Carmichael standing in the street at Ormond and Fraser shouting:

". . . The white cops are murdering our black brothers.

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Heard Carmichael Pleas, Officer Says

Continued from Page 1

Come with me. We will take what we want."

Redding testified he saw several persons participating in the violence and rowdiness.

Fay Bellamy, a SNCC officer, used "vulgar language" and urged the crowd to pay no attention to requests to disperse, Redding testified.

Miss Bellamy, wearing an African-type toga, earlier took the stand and said she did not remember whether or not she used curse words at the riot scene.

"Sometimes I curse for no reason at all," she said.

She said she was arrested after she wanted to know why Mayor Allen had come into the riot-torn Summerhill area, and "why was he faking a smile."

Miss Bellamy said the mayor "pointed his finger at me and said: 'I'm going to get you.' "

On cross examination, she explained she knew that Allen was "faking" because "whenever someone is gritting his teeth and a smile passes across his face I know he is faking."

OTHER LEADERS

Several other SNCC leaders testified to the effect they had nothing to do with promoting the violence that flared after a white policeman shot and wounded a Negro car theft suspecet who was trying to flee.

Miss Mary Myers, 19, mother of three small children, testified that she is being held in Fulton County jail because she has been unable to raise money to make the $2,000 bond.

She said she was arrested because she "kicked and bit an officer" after he grabbed her and started "shoving my head."

Miss Myers, who said she was not a member of SNCC, said a lot of things got her excited at the riot including the memory that "on Aug. 12 a policeman shot and killed my baby's father."

Judge Elbert Tuttle of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals suggested that Sol. Gen. Lewis Slaton look into the matter of bond for Miss Myers. Slaton said he would and noted that all SNCC officials arrested in the riot have made bond. He said the county wanted to see that everyone was treated equally.

CHAFIN TESTIFIES

Supt. Clinton Chafin testified that he had received no instructions to arrest any specific person such as Carmichael.

Slaton testified he had discussed with some other officials what legal measures could be taken in the wake of a civil disturbance.

In addition to Judge Tuttle, the case is being heard by District Judges Frank Hooper and Sidney Smith.

The hearing for the preliminary injunction to restrain the enforcement of riot and disorderly conduct laws will be resumed at 9 a.m. Saturday.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

A Rebellious Southerner

Charles Longstreet Weltner

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 3—Charles Longstreet Weltner, the young Atlanta Congressman who is a foremost representative of a new style in Southern politics, has shown daring and lonely resolution since he started his political career. He showed it again when he startled even his closest aides and political allies by announcing that he would give up the Democratic nomination he won on Sept. 14 and that he would not seek re-election in November.

Man in the News

Mr. Weltner indicated he was withdrawing because he could not support Lester Maddox, an ultrasegregationist nominated for Governor in the Georgia Democratic primary runoff Wednesday. The Representative pointed out that he, like other candidates, had taken an oath to support the Democratic nominee. He said he would not run on the same ticket with Mr. Maddox because he could not "compromise with hate."

Earlier he had supported former Gov. Ellis Arnall, the moderate who was defeated by Mr. Maddox. It is not usual for Georgia Congressmen to take sides in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, but Mr. Weltner had announced his support of Mr. Arnall from the start.

A New Southern Stance

Mr. Weltner has been an arresting spokesman for a new Southern political stance since he went to Washington four years ago.

He received nationwide attention when he broke with other Southern representatives and voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and such Johnson Administration measures as Medicare and the poverty bill. His voting record is considered to have been more liberal than that of any other Georgia representative.

A trim, fast-paced lawyer who is notably free of the old-style Southern political rhetoric, he went to Congress when he was 34 years old. He had defeated Representative James C. Davis, one of the mainstays of Southern conservatism and the segregationist outlook.

One of the issues Mr. Weltner used effectively was Mr. Davis's membership, many years earlier, in the Ku Klux Klan.

Political Phenomenon

That victory alone established him as something of a

United Press International Telephoto

No "compromise with hate." (Representative Weltner after announcing withdrawal from race.)

committee is Banking and Currency. Also a member of the Committee on Un-American Activities, he was a chief figure in calling for and pressing the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan that began last October and ended in February.

Much of his attention has been directed toward youth, and there had been speculation that he was looking toward a leading role in national politics.

A national favorite among the Young Democratic Clubs. He has sought enactment of the Constitutional amendment enabling 18-year-old to vote. (They do vote in Georgia.)

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Political Phenomenon

That victory alone established him as something of a political phenomenon. He had entered the race as a little-known and poorly financed candidate.

He had to win three hard battles: a four-man primary, in which he gained a runoff; the runoff, in which he overwhelmed Davis by 14,000 votes, and a general election campaign in which he defeated a strong Republican.

Some observers thought they saw him change in the process from a somewhat awkward and even shy amateur to a hardened political professional.

Another fact also was quickly apparent: he had entered with little money, risking the loss of his limited personal assets by borrowing on his home.

He reported in 1963 that he and his wife, Betty Jean, had total assets worth $15,865.

"My own financial position hardly commends the U. S. Congress as a sure road to wealth," he said.

In 1966, he said he was still paying off his 1962 campaign debts. He refused to be a beneficiary of a Democratic National Committee booklet in which major corporations had bought advertisements for $15,000 a page. He sharply criticized the booklet as an improper means of raising campaign finances.

Mr. Weltner's chief House committee is Banking and Currency. Also a member of the Committee on Un-American Activities, he was a chief figure in calling for and pressing the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan that began last October and ended in February.

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United Press International Telephoto

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ATLANTA

Stop Atlanta Vote Stressed in Cobb

AJ+C 10/9/66

The Cobb County Chamber of Commerce has asked citizens to vote yes on seven constitutional amendments — including a "Stop Atlanta" measure — and veto a billboard amedment in November's election.

The directors of the chamber recommended that the "Billboard and Junkyard" amendment be defeated because, among other things, it would give the General Assembly power to zone property within 1,000 feet on either side of a state or federal road.

That provision would allow the legislature to zone one-third of Marietta, the chamber said.

The chamber asked that citizens all over the state vote to defeat the amendment, which it called "complex and involved . . . and somewhat misleading."

Seven amendments were recommended for voters to approve — six unanimously on the part of the chamber, and one with reservations.

THE CHAMBER felt that a local amendment setting up a zoning and planning commission for Cobb County should be passed, but that further action which the General Assembly would have to take to implement the amendment be cleared with the Cobb County Commissioners.

The Chamber declared that the amendment "was permissive in nature," and was recommended because of a report by the Chamber's zoning study commission.

RECOMMENDED with no reservations were amendments to:

—Allow consolidation of school districts across city and county lines.

—Enact the "Stop Atlanta" bill, a measure authorizing all Cobb County voters to participate in any referendum on Atlanta's future expansion into the county. The measure is currently tied up in the courts.

—Authorize the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade to participate with counties, cities and non-profit groups in tourist promotions.

—Give the General Assembly power to appropriate money to obtain federal educational funds.

—Correct a technical error in another amendment, on the same ballot, dealing with home rule.

—Allow the state to finance up to 10 per cent of local public transportation (rapid transit).

ATLANTA AC 10/11/66

2 Vine City School Sites Okayed but Group Protests

By MARGARET HURST

The Atlanta Board of Education Monday night approved sites for two schools in the Vine City neighborhood, but some 50 Vine City residents agreed at an impromptu meeting afterward to take the matter to court.

John Moore, spokesman for the residents who met after the board meeting at the Beulah Baptist Church, said everyone at the meeting was "in accord" about taking the issue to court.

The two schools in contention are the proposed Vine City Junior High on Sunset and the English Avenue Primary on Griffin Street.

A majority of the protesters were against the location of the junior high. However, Jesse Hill, co-chairman of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, said both locations will be contested.

ABOVE AVERAGE

He said both schools are being built in areas where the housing is above average. Hill said the residents from the area had hoped the Board of Education would build the schools in a rundown area of Vine City where the schools would serve a "double duty"—to replace slums as well as offer additional educational facilities.

Hill told the board: "You are passing over dilapidated fire traps and destroying homes where people have invested large sums of money."

The Negro leader said he would suggest two courses of action to residents of the area where the new schools would be built.

First, he said, he would tell them to seek a court injunction against the proposed building locations and, second, he would suggest they take their argument to the Atlanta Board of Aldermen, who have to give their approval before the projects can be started.

MORE COSTLY

Hill said the city is "asking for a protest they don't need" by trying to build the schools on the proposed sites.

Several members of the board said other proposed sites were more expensive and also would involve transplanting larger numbers of families.

The board was scheduled to consider the proposed school sites at its last meeting, but delayed action until this month so a special committee could study the situation.

SPECIAL PANEL

The committee recommended that the sites be approved.

A spokesman for the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Thomas McPherson, asked the board to consider creating a special committee to deal with questions of human

LOOKING FOR FURNITURE?
THEN DON'T MISS
LESTER MADDOX'S
PICKRICK FURNITURE

ATLANTA

12 Black Power Allies Sue Over Jail Handling

By ACHSAH NESMITH

Twelve Atlanta Negroes who contend they are "intimately identified" with both the concept of "black power" and ending the war in Viet Nam filed suit in federal court here Monday "to end cruel and unusual punishment in the city prison and jail."

U.S. District Judge Frank A. Hooper set a hearing for 2 p.m. Oct. 27 on their request for a temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction. The matter will be heard only on affidavits, according to the order requiring Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and Ralph Hulsey, administrator of the city prison stockade to show cause why they should not be so restrained.

The suit was filed for the group, 11 of whom are currently in jail, by Howard Moore, attorney and brother-in-law of Julian Bond. Bond was twice refused his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives because of statements he made about draft card burning and the war in Viet Nam.

Three of the Negroes charge they have been denied needed medical attention and one of the women contends she was placed in a windowless 7x7x4-foot "box" for refusing to serve white guards and "thereby be subjected to insults and indignities." The suit said floor of the box is covered with human offal and is lighted day and night by a single lightbulb which is never turned off.

Only Negro females are required to serve as waitresses and "all work assignments at the jail and prison are determined by the racial prejudices of the defendants Ivan Allen and Hulsey," the suit charges. "The dirtiest and most dangerous jobs and assignments are reserved solely for inmates who are Negroes and black.

"White men with exaggerated hatred for black people . . . are assigned guard jobs in the prisons," the suit charges. The guards are "aided and encouraged" to express their racial hatred and "have unfettered power to beat prisoners," revoke good time or place prisoners in the "box."

"For merely greeting each other with the phrase 'black power' Negro prisoners have been put in the box and starved," the complaint contends. The Negro plaintiffs named maintain they are segregated from all other Negro inmates and "denied normal contacts and work assignments available to other inmates."

Hulsey said he would have no comment until he had seen a copy of the suit.

Allen declined comment.

The suit was filed as a class action for "all inhabitants of Atlanta and environs presently confined in Atlanta prisons and suffering from cruel and unusual punishment that is so much a part of these institutions or who may at some future point be confined in one of the Atlanta prisons and be subjected to the established customs and practics of persecution of prisoners."

All but one of the plaintiffs is now in the city stockade. Miss Gwendolyn Robinson, the other plaintiff, is "engaged in daily picketing activities in Atlanta which opposes the drafting of Negroes for a war in Viet Nam."

The jailed plaintiffs were arrested last August after grappling with police when they attempted to storm an Army induction center while shouting "black power." They are Miss Regina Pleasant, Miss Flora Goodloe, Johnny Wilson, Donald Howard, Donald Stone, Simuel Shutz, Dwight Williams, Robert Moore, Robert Smith, Michael Simmons and Larry Fox.

Associated Press Wirephoto

PIKE SPEAKS — DURHAM, N.C.—The Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, auxiliary bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California under attack on heresy charges by other Episcopal bishops, was in Durham Monday to speak at Duke University.

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ATLANTA JAYCEES APPLAUD DR. KING

NYT 10/21/66

Recently Integrated Group Is Host to Rights Leader

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 20—The Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, an all-white organization until a week ago, had as its guest speaker today the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Although he is a native of Atlanta, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize had never addressed the group before and many in the audience had never heard him speak. One of his aides said it was his first appearance before such a group in the South. All-male and business-oriented, the Jaycees include many who are considered the future leaders of Atlanta.

He spoke of his civil rights work and urged them to recognize the necessity o fhelping "the other America," the Negro minority that lives in poverty and misery.

It is not true, he said, that time will solve the Negroes' problems. Men of goodwill must use time for constructive action,

He also attacked the idea that legislation cannot change people's hearts. He said with a grin, "The law may not make a man love me, but it can restrain him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important, also." The Jaycees laughed.

A Hostile Reaction

He said that the nation needed a guaranteed annual income for all persons to lift poor people out of their cycle of poverty. That drew the only hostile reaction during a question-answer period, especially after he added that the guaranteed annual income should be at least $4,000 a family. Several members said afterward they thought that was unrealistic.

Speaking extemporaneously, he ended with a dazzling string of literary allusions and quotations and declared, "If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition that we now face will surely fail."

Then he said that he was confident the day would someday come when all could say, "in the words of the old Negro hymn, 'free at last, free at last —thank God, we are free at last.'"

The 375 men, many obviously moved, burst into loud applause that lasted more than half a minute.

Then, a young man rose to ask the first question. "When will the civil rights groups start to work among their own people," he asked, instead of seeking help from outside agencies such as the Federal Government?"

Dr. King replied, a little wearily and with some coolness, that the civil rights organizations were promoting self-help among Negroes and that he agreed that a man should lift himself by his own bootstraps.

"But it is a cruel jest to say to a bootless man, 'lift yourself by your own bootstraps,'" he said.

The Atlanta Jaycees were desegregated last Thursday, the same day that their weekly speaker was Lester G. Maddox, the segregationist Democratic nominee for Governor.

ATLANTA

Mayor Allen Given Bill of Rights Award

AC 12/15/66

Civil Liberties Union Hears NAACP Lawyer Greenberg

By DICK HEBERT

A top civil rights lawyer said here Wednesday night he doesn't think the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the muddled Georgia governor's race portends any hard times for civil rights cases in the courtroom.

"I'm going to be arguing some cases before them this year and I expect to win them," said Greenberg, director-counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Mayor Allen

The New York-based attorney said he doesn't think "there's been any shift" in the court's thinking in spite of speculation that its 5-4 decision to let the Georgia legislature pick the next governor has alligned Justice Hugo Black with the bench's four most conservative members.

PUSH HARDER

In fact, Greenberg said, dawyers and communities should be pushing even harder for civil rights before the bench to counter the so-called "black powed—white backlash" talk.

He was here to address Georgia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union at a banquet marking the 175th birthday of the Bill of Rights.

At the dinner Mayor Ivan Allen was given a "Bill of Rights Day" award, which said that, "because he respects the rights of each of us, he has made Atlanta a better place for all of us."

Allen, accepting the award, said that he and the ACLU have not always seen "eye to eye" on "techniques and methods," and "we will continue to get in each other's hair on other occasions."

NEW ELECTION

The ACLU represented plaintiffs in the Georgia governor's suit who wanted a new election open to any candidate.

In spite of Atlanta's civil rights progress, enough hasn't been done, Greenberg said. "If you want to keep a boat on the right course going downstream, you have to move faster than the current," he said.

"If the city of Atlanta, which is in the vanguard, doesn't forge ahead, how can you expect other cities to?" Greenberg asked.

He said the city still has segregated teaching, segregated medical and dental societies and other forms of racial discrimination and segregation. He said the "citizens in the slums have seen better" and will demand better.

He said the new drive by civil rights attorneys should probe deeper than "overt" segregation into the reasons why Negro slum residents cannot better themselves. Many times the laws won't let them, he said.

CITES LAWS

He cited laws which require an employable woman on welfare to leave her children and get a job, those which throw a poor man out of his home without "due notice or a hearing" and loan sharks who extract high interest payments from slum residents and repossess goods on a moment's notice if the payments aren't met.

Greenberg also said that "if I see any silver lining in the cloud of Mr. (Lester) Maddox becoming governor of this state" it is that he will crystalize the state's segregation policies the way Alabama did under Gov. George Wallace and make it easier for lawyers to seek remedies in court.

Carmichael Trial Waits Riot Appeal

ATLANTA

AC 12/15/66

He'll Face Charges If Ruling Upholding State Act Stands

Stokely Carmichael—"black power" advocate and chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—will be tried on riot charges in Fulton Superior Court if the U.S. Supreme Court affirms Tuesday's lower court ruling that held Georgia's riot statute to be constitutional.

Carmichael and 28 others are under indictment in Fulton County on charges of riot. The charges grew out of the September riots which involved numberous arrests; thousands of dollars in property damages; a number of injuries, and one violent death.

Fulton Sol. Gen. Lewis R. Slanton said Wednesday that the state is ready to try Carmichael, but will wait until any appeal is made before setting a trial date for the SNCC official.

CITY ORDINANCE OUT

The federal court Tuesday declined to hold the riot section of the Georgia law unconstitutional although it declared unconstitutional a City of Atlanta ordinance covering disorderly conduct.

"I anticipate that they will appeal the decision, but we are ready for trial," Slaton commented.

Howard Moore, lawyer for Carmichael and the other indicted on the riot charges, said Tuesday's court decision was a "95 per cent" victory."

However, Slaton seemed only concerned about the remaining 5 per cent which he says gives him the authority to go ahead and try Carmichael for riot.

There was also talk Wednesday that Moore is likely to request a change of venue if those charged with riot do go to trial.

It was learned that Slanton is agreeable to trying them anywhere in Georgia.

Moore said:

"I am confident any fair-minded jury would acquit him (Carmichael). We actually would perfer a trial, but where could we get a fair-minded jury?"

TRIAL SCHEDULED

Fulton County also next month has scheduled for trial an unemployed tree trimmer charged with the murder of a young Negro whose death triggered the Boulevard riots in September.

Assistant Sol. Gen. George K. McPherson said that William H. James will go on trial on charges of killing Herbert Vorner this winter, possibly as early as January.

The 16-year-old Negro was shot to death Sept. 10, as he walked with a companion along Boulevard. The death triggered three days of Negro rioting.

The defendant is now serving a six-year sentence for assault to murder. This conviction was not related to the Vorner case or the fall riots.

Raymond Milton James, brother of William, is serving a five-year prison term for shooting a witness who was to testify against his brother in the Vorner case.

ATLANTA

Race Relations Commission Organizes; Gets Challenge

AC 12/16/61

Massell

Alexander

. Atlanta's new Community Relations Commission, created to help solve problems of racial strife, was officially organized Wednesday and urged to "get out there to the danger spots as quickly as possible."

The challenge came from T. M. Alexander, a member of the commission, set up recently by the Atlanta aldermanic board.

Alexander's comments came after the 20-member commission had been sworn in and was having its first business session.

Alexander and several other members expressed the hope that the commission could move swiftly to head off potential trouble in areas similar to Boulevard and Summerhill where racial incidents erupted in September.

Division of the commission into small groups which could move into these potentially explosive areas "and hear the people" was suggested by Alexander.

Vice Mayor Sam Massell Jr. declared that with formation of the commission "no longer will official concern about community relations come about only as result of crisis and emergency."

Organization of the commission, said Massell, assures that racial problems will "now rightfully take their place in City Hall as a day-to-day responsibility."

The commission, headed by attorney Irving Kaler as chairman, will operate initially on a $30,000 a year budget. This includes some $12,000 to $15,000 for an executive director.

Much of the commission's first meeting was taken up with discussion of the type of person needed for the executive director's job.

The Rev. Sam Williams, head of the commission's screening committee, said some 17 applications for the job have already been received.

Massell urged the commission to hold "mass meetings" in Atlanta neighborhoods in order to "catalog grievances" of the citizens.

He also suggested that the commission pursue an application for an Office of Economic Opportunity grant in the amount of $130,000 to establish a "fair housing center" as an adjunct Mayor Ivan Allen's campaign for more housing opportunities for the lower economic bracket.

John G. Feild, director of the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, told the commission members that they would have to decide themselves what role they wish to play in the city's racial relations.

Feild said they must decide "whether you're going to do it yourselves or see that it gets done."

The Rev. Mr. Williams was named first vice chairman of the commission; Helen Bullard, second vice chairman, and Mrs. Fred Patterson, secretary.

ATLANTA

Atlanta Area Passes 3 Cities on Way to 2 Million

AC 12/22/66

By DUANE RINER

First Milwaukee, and then the world.

That's about the way Atlanta's population growth is running, according to the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission's 1966 population and housing report.

For instance, the Atlanta metropolitan area was home to an estimated 1,211,000 persons as of last April 1. The growth rate was calculated at more than 32,000 persons per year.

Since the 1960 census, Atlanta has out-ranked Kansas City, San Diego and Seattle for a total population growth in the six-year period of some 194,000 persons. Milwaukee could be next. Atlanta now occupies the No. 21 spot among the nation's 231 metropolitan centers.

2 MILLION BY '83

The planning commission estimates that the two million population mark will be achieved in 1983.

Aside from growth statistics, there are trends.

Both white and Negro segments of the population are showing numerical gains with a present ratio in the five-county area of 77.8 per cent white and 22.2 per cent nonwhite. However, the nonwhite share of the total in the six years since the last census has declined six-tenths of 1 per cent.

SHARES TREND

Atlanta shares in the common trend in metropolitan areas across the country for nonwhites to concentrate in the central cities. Some 221,587 of the Atlanta area's nonwhite total of 268,993 residents live within the city. In fact, the nonwhite share of the total population inside the city limits has risen ffrom 38.3 per cent in 1960 to 44.4 per cent in 1966.

Illustrating Atlanta's population mobility was the influx of more than 142,000 newcomers from every state in the United States and another 6,000 from abroad in the period from 1955 to 1960, while 113,000 checked out for other parts of the country. The net migration gain during the five-year period was 29,000 from the United States, or 35,000 including those from abroad. Eighty per cent of the net gain of 29,000 from other sections of the country came from rural areas. The smaller areas of Georgia alone contributed a net growth of 14,000.

That Atlanta is a city attractive to youth was reflected in a statistic showing that 85 per cent of the net population increase was in the under-35 age range.

One-third of Atlanta's newcomers arrived from major metropolitan areas while 40 per cent of those leaving headed for big cities.

Atlanta gained population from 2 centers dispersed among 16 states in the South, Northeast, North Central states and the midwest. However, the losses seemed to be concentrated in the rapid growth states of California, Texas and Florida.

Where do the newcomers live? In the suburbs by a percentage of 61 to 39. The 61 per cent outside the Atlanta city limits were divided thusly: DeKalb County, 28 per cent; Cobb, 13 per cent; Fulton outside Atlanta, 11 per cent; Clayton, 6 per cent, Gwinnett, 3 per cent. Clayton continued to lead the metropolitan counties in growth with an annual increase of 8.1 per cent. DeKalb maintains its lead in the amount of growth with an average of 12,570 additional residents each year since 1960.

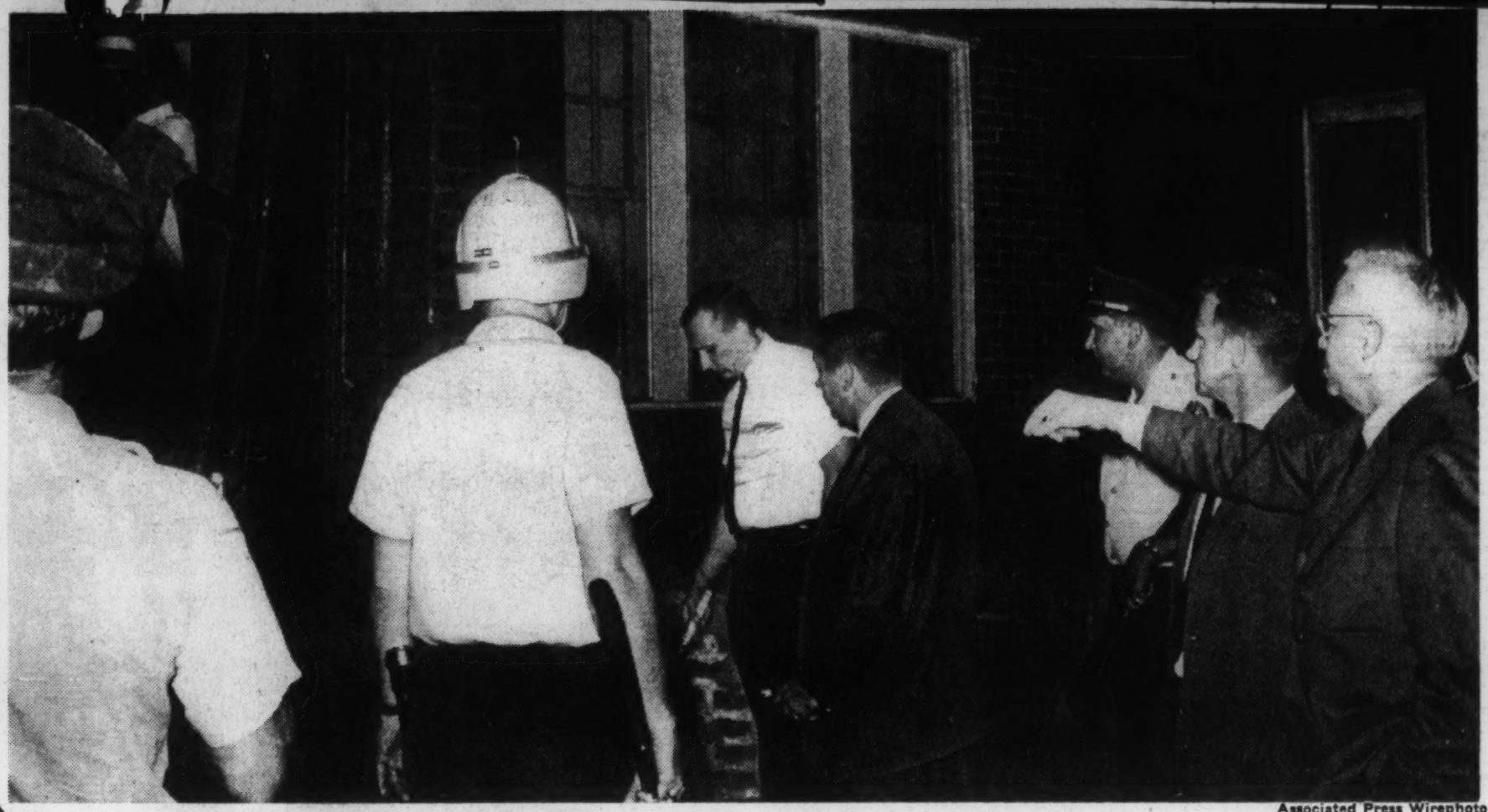
nnN arepla

The five-county area has 46 municipalities ranging from Atlanta with 499,000 persons to Chattahoochee Plantation with a population of 96.

The number of housing units has grown from 308,613 in 1960 to an estimated 397,148 this year.

And for the guys who bothered to wade through a morass of statistics, here's the kicker: 17,000 more females came to Atlanta in the six-year period than moved out. And more than one-third of them are corn-fed gals from the country between the ages of 20 and 24.

Sorry, measurements and phone numbers were not included.



Associated Press Wirephoto

Mayor Allen Leads Efforts Early Sunday to Quell Violence Just North of Georgia Baptist Hospital

Victims' Mothers Consoled by Allens

By BILL SHIPP

"We have boys of our own," said Mrs. Ivan Allen Jr. "I know how you must feel."

Mrs. Nora Vorner did not answer. She only wept.

The mayor and his wife had come on this Sunday afternoon to extend their sympathy and the sympathy of the city to the family of 16-year-old Herbert (Dukie) Vorner, who was shot to death by an unidentified assailant Saturday night.

His death and the wounding of another boy in front of the apartment house in which the Vorner family lives on Boulevard touched off Atlanta's second major racial melee in five days.

The mayor went to the scene Saturday night and early Sunday to help clear the streets and stop the violence.

Sunday afternoon he and his wife came back on their mission of sympathy.

A crowd of youngsters clustered around the apartment house entrance. No one spoke as the mayor and his group entered. They just looked. A little boy started crying

The mayor, his wife and his driver walked down a long, dark

Continued on Page 3, Column 1

Victims' Mothers Consoled

Continued from Page 1

hallway to the last apartment on the right.

Allen introduced his wife and himself to a man who opened the door.

The mayor asked for Mr. Vorner. He was not at home. Several children stood around inside.

The dead boy's 14-year-old brother, Howard, looked at Allen but did not speak. Mrs. Vorner sat next to a window, her face buried in her hands.

The mayor patted her on the back, told her he was sorry and promised that the city would try to see that justice was done. Then Mrs. Allen spoke quietly with the distraught mother.

Mrs. Vorner's weeping could be heard through the door, as the mayor and his wife left the old, worn apartment house at 420 Boulevard SE.

Next, Mr. and Mrs. Allen went to see Mrs. Nora Wright at 142 Bell St. SE. Mrs. Wright managed to smile a little.

Her son, Roy, 16, had been wounded by a shot at the same time young Vorner was killed. Mrs. Wright said she was first told her son also had been shot to death.

The mayor told her to "have faith." Mrs. Wright said she would. She said she was getting ready to go to Grady Hospital to visit her son again. She had been with him through most of the night.

Mrs. Wright, recounting the Saturday night of terror, said a woman phoned her shortly after 11 p.m.

HURRIED TO SCENE

"She was screaming in the telephone, 'Your boy has been killed!' " Mrs. Wright said. "I got over there as fast as I could. But they'd already taken him to Grady. I didn't know what to do."

When she finally got to the hospital, Mrs. Wright found her son alive, but he "had tubes all in him and he was hurting and crying."

Mrs. Wright said her son later in the night told her he was standing with one foot over his bicycle talking with Vorner when a car with a white man and white woman passed them.

Then the car came back and the man opened fire, the youth said. Vorner was struck first. Roy told his mother that he ducked and just as he did, he got hit.

Mrs. Wright said Roy had gone with another youngster to run an errand and told her he would be back in time to see the end of the football game on television.

Mrs. Wright said she did not know the Vorner youth.

"I just thank the Lord that Roy wasn't killed," she said.

ATLANTA

Bond Case 3-Judge Hearing To Run Gamut of Legalities

By KIM CHAPIN

The three-judge panel appointed by federal Judge Elbert P. Tuttle to hear the case of Julian Bond vs. the Georgia House of Representatives apparently will involve a whole fistful of legal entanglements, ranging all the way from freedom of speech, to lack of proper representation, to ex post facto legislation.

This is made clear by the petition filed on behalf of the plaintiffs, who include Mr. Bond, the representative-elect from House District 136 who was denied his seat by an overwhelming majority of the full House; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Nobel Peace Prize-winning civil rights leader who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Mrs. Arel Keyes. Dr. King and Mrs. Keyes are plaintiffs by virtue of their residence in the 136th District. The 136th District is a primarily Negro district, and all the plaintiffs are Negroes.

The defendants include six members of the House, and indirectly the full House, plus various House officials ranging from Speaker George T. Smith to David Peeples, the House doorkeeper.

Judge Tuttle is the chief judge of the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. He named Griffin B. Bell of his court and Lewis R. Morgan of the North Georgia District Court to sit with him and hear the case.

THE FACTS are fairly clear.

Mr. Bond won the Democratic party nomination on May 5, 1965, and six weeks later was elected by an overwhelming margin over Republican Malcolm J. Dean, by 2,320 votes to 487.

On Jan. 6, four days before the House was to convene, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Executive Secretary John Lewis read a prepared statement highly critical of United States' Viet Nam policy.

The statement accused the United States of deception in its claims of concern for the Vietnamese people; equated the deaths of civil rights workers with the deaths of Vietnamese peasants; accused the United States of aggression and vio- [illegible] law, and amendments, and that it "injured the class of plaintiffs here represented by depriving them of their right to representations." The equal protection clause of the 14th amendment, and the 15th and 19th amendments, were also cited.

—The oath of office is vague and void; however, Mr. Bond was ready to take the oath and yet was denied his seat.

—The refusal to seat Mr. Bond denies the plaintiffs a "Republican form of government."

—House Resolution 19 is a bill of attainer (imposing punishment by a legislative act); it is also an ex post facto law (punishment after the crime).

—The proceedings amounted to a "trial for infamous crimes without presentment or indictment by a grand jury, as guaranteed by the 5th amendment" of the U.S. Constitution.

—The proceedings denied Mr. Bond "trial by an impartial jury as guaranteed by the 6th amendment," because there was no jury and because Mr. Bond's "accusers were also his judges."

—Mr. Bond was denied his seat "because of his connection with and support of a policy of a militant civil rights organization" and hence was denied the right of free assembly, guaranteed by the 1st amendment.

The enactment of House Rule 19 denies to the plaintiffs "the protection of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment."

The same enactment denies to Mrs. Keyes "her right to vote as guaranteed to her by the 19th Amendment.

THAT IS THE bulk of the original petition, but just to add to the complexities, Mr. Bond has asked for the court to either (1) order Mr. Bond seated pending the outcome of the case, or (2) enjoin the House from continuing pending determination of the matter.

Putting aside the minor issues, there appear to be three overriding areas of dispute.

The first is the matter of free speach — namely, whether Mr. Bond has been unduly punished for speaking his mind; and to a lesser degree, whether his speech was protected and hence not subject to judicial — or legislative — censure.

The second is the matter of the people of the 136th District going without representation during the current session.

The third, and most important, is whether the judicial panel will step into the touchy area of separation of powers and further, whether it will examine the right of the judiciary to enter in legislative affairs.

THE TWO classic cases of legislative expulsion in the United States both took place shortly after the end of World War I. One involved five members of the Socialist party who were elected to the New York State House of Representatives in 1920. They were expelled from the House on the grounds that the Socialist party was opposed to World War I. The five members ran for re-election, won again and were again expelled. There the matter ended.

The other case involved Victor Berger, who was elected in 1919 to the U.S. House of Representative from Milwaukee, Between the time of his election and the time the House convened, he was convicted under the Espionage Act for speaking against the war. He was barred.

He also won re-election, and like the New York Socialists, was again barred. Later, his conviction was reversed, but Berger refused to go to court to get his House seat.

UNTIL 1962, there were no cases in which the judiciary involved itself with the legislature, and the U.S. Supreme Court in particular generally refused even to hear such cases on the grounds they were "political questions" and hence beyond court jurisdiction.

But in 1962 the Supreme Court ventured into the legislative thicket in Baker vs. Carr, the landmark case which forced state legislatures to reapportion and set up districts according to the "one man, one vote," formula.

(Just to further complicate matters, Mr. Bond's district was one created by this decision.)

Even if the panel decides to use Baker vs. Carr as a wedge to further enter what has previously been the legislative sanctuary, if it chooses to seat Mr. Bond, it will be a judicial first.

So, although nobody can anticipate the panel's decision, it appears that several options present themselves.

First, the panel could refuse to hear arguments and throw the case out of court.

Second, the panel could hear the case. Then it could decide either to seat or not seat Mr. Bond, and presumably could use any one of the 13 causes as its basis for a pre-seating decision.

Third, the court could still at any time enjoin the legislature to either temporarily seat Mr. Bond, or stop the House from meeting. In event of a latter ruling, a whole new series of legal questions would arise.

All in all, next week promises to be an interesting one.

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The statement accused the United States of deception in its claims of concern for the Vietnamese people; equated the deaths of civil rights workers with the deaths of Vietnamese peasants; accused the United States of aggression and violating international law, and came out in support of draft card burners.

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Viet Nam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

Being a public relations official for SNCC, and already in the news as the first Negro rep.-elect in Georgia since 1907, Mr. Bond was asked his views of the statement. He said that while he would not burn his draft card, he admired the courage of those who did, and in general gave his support to the statement.

That was enough for several members of the House. Seventy-five signed several petitions challenging Mr. Bond's right to take the oath, and on Jan. 10 he was asked to step aside while the oath was administered to the rest of the representatives-elect.

A COMMITTEE was announced the same day by Speaker Smith to hear the challenge. That Monday night it recommended that Mr. Bond be denied his seat. The full House agreed overwhelmingly, 184-12.

Last week the three plaintiffs filed their petition, and listed 13 causes of action against the listed defendants. In summary, the causes and charges are as follows:

The oath of office for House member reads: "I will support the Constitution of this state and of the United States, and on all questions and measures which may come before me, I will so conduct myself, as will, in my judgment, be most conducive to the interest and prosperity of this state. "This paragraph, claims the petition, is "void for vagueness" under the First and 14th amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

The above paragraph was "unconstitutionally administered against" Rep.-elect Bond.

—Rule 61 of the House reads: "Each House shall be the judge of the election, returns and qualifications of its members and shall have power to punish them for disorderly behavior or misconduct, by censure, fine, imprisonment or expulsion; but no member shall be expelled, except by a vote of two-thirds of the House to which he belongs." This, it is claimed, is likewise vague and therefore invalid.

—House Rule 61 was also unconstitutionally administered.

—House Resolution 19 is the one by which Mr. Bond was ousted. Plaintiffs claim this deprived Mr. Bond of rights guaranteed by the First and 14th

The enactment of House Rule 19 denies to the plaintiffs "the protection of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment."

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ATLANTA

Save Sandy Springs

Most of the debate about Sandy Springs so far has centered on comparing taxes and services inside and outside Atlanta. Some of the arguments have been factual, some more emotional, but cost analysis has received most of the attention.

That has been reasonable enough, for no one wants to take a major step blindly.

Too little has been said, however, about the intangible but vitally important issue of responsible government.

It is fortunate that a man of the stature of Lockheed-Georgia's W. A. (Dick) Pulver—a Sandy Springs resident—has stepped forward to focus attention on that question. As president of the largest private employer in Georgia, Mr. Pulver knows well that the economic health of the entire metropolitan area is bound together in a single cause.

A "yes" vote May 11, he declared after long consideration, "really is no choice, only an obvious necessity."

Some people, he noted, seem to think that by staying outside corporate Atlanta, they are "proclaiming one of their few remaining individualistic rights.

"To these individuals, I simply recall—as I have recalled to myself—that man must live in a social community where individuals help each other, each to his own abilities, to provide the progress, the comforts, the safeties, the services, the opportunities that benefit all collectively.

"By officially voting to take our individual stands within Atlanta and by working with the central community to which all our futures are welded regardless (as long as we choose to be residents of the Metropolitan Atlanta area), we will make the greatest progress.

"And we can, of course, build a better heritage for our children if we accept a responsibility to help shape our city's destiny . . .

"To save the Sandy Springs area and its long-range benefits for the majority of people who reside there and who want to see it develop over the years with desirable, permanent home neighborhoods, and for the good of all of us who individually and whose businesses are wedded to the future of this great Southeastern hub city, I sincerely believe we must vote 'yes' and wholeheartedly embrace Atlanta."

BACKLASH

Rights Workers Widen Chicago Housing Protest

By DONALD JANSON
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 16—Civil rights workers widened their push for equal housing opportunities today with multiple demonstrations.

Pickets marched in front of th City Hall, the Chicago Real Estate Board headquarters and a donwtown savings and loan association.

The Rev. James Bevel, program director for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said the City Hall demonstration had beeen aimed at Mayor Richard J. Daley for not demanding rigid enforcement of the city's three-year-old open housing ordinance.

He said the real estate board had been picketed because realtors had offered major opposition to open housing.

Lending Ban Offered

Spokesmen said the First Federal Savings and Loan Association in the downtown Loop had been included because such companies refuse to lend money to Negroes who seek to buy homes outside the Negro ghetto.

Civil rights strategists had decided to maintain "creative tension" in their drive despite a "peace" conference with realtors scheduled for tomorrow.

Mr. Bevel said that the meeting, arranged by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, would be just a "bull session."

Pickets March at City Hall, Real Estate Board and a Savings Association

Dr. King's organization and affiliated Chicago groups have marched in all-white neighborhoods repeatedly since mid-July. They have been met with violent resistance by whites, in some cases incited by members of the American Nazi party.

At a news conference this morning, Police Superintendent Orlando W. Wilson said that patrolmen had been resigning in increasing numbers since the demonstrations began because of the "distasteful"' work of protecting marchers.

He said city attorneys from the office of the Corporation Counsel were now accompanying policemen assigned to riot-control duty. A police spokesman said their function was to advise the policemen on the rights of citizens in order to avoid suits against the city.

Nazi Party Assailed

Superintendent Wilson said his intelligence division was investigating the American Nazi party branch here to determine whether its role in inciting counter - demonstrations was subversive.

"They are sporting for a fight," Mr. Wilson said of the Nazis.

Capt. William J. Duffy, director of the intelligence division, said in an interview later that party membership was small here.

"We have no information that they are gaining strength as a result of the racial demonstrations," he said.

Christopher Vidnjevich, 22-year-old "lieutenant" in charge of the Chicago unit of the party, said at the group's headquarters that growth had been swift since the demonstrations began.

Last Sunday, during an open-housing demonsration in the Gage Park neighborhood, members distributed 1,500 signs bearing their swastika symbol and calling for "white power."

At a rally in nearby Marquette Park immediately afterward, they urged listeners to join a "white guard" to be formed to protect their communities against "the Comminist-inspired, rampaging black scum."

Mr. Vidnjevich said 300 persons had been recruited for the "white guard" since Sunday. But he said only one, Donald Borsch, 31, was available for an interview.

Mr. Borsch, a part-time construction worker, said he joined the "white guard" today because "it's time we did some fighting back against these niggers."

"I hate 'em," he said, "because they force themselves on people who don't want 'em."

THE NEW VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE NEWSLETTER

Vol. I. No. 1 Blackstone, Virginia July, 1965

VSCRC EXPANDS IN SOUTHSIDE

The Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee is continuing to enlarge its staff and expand into more counties in Southside Virginia. There are now 20 full-time staff members who are being assisted by a number of local people working on a part-time or full-time basis with the staff. Most of the staff are from six Virginia universities and colleges; there are also two former public school teachers from Virginia and three high school students on staff. Two of the high school students are from Georgia and one is from Virginia. This week a California college student joined the staff.

VSCRC first began community organizing in Amelia and Nottoway counties early in June and expanded within a few weeks into Lunenburg, Dinwiddie, and Powhatan counties. Early in July two workers went into Brunswick county. From July 11-13, five VSCRC staff worked with Carey E. Stronach in his campaign for the Sixth Senatorial District seat against Garland Gray in the Democratic primary, July 13. Cary is a graduate instructor at the University of Virginia. Gray, a State Senator for the past twenty years, was a major leader of massive resistance and is a defender of the status quo of the 1800's. Though Stronach was defeated four-to-one, this was the first challenge to the Gray regime in more than a decade.

In Amelia, two VSCRC staff are working with SCOPE workers and a group of eight out-of-state college students and a minister from the United Presbyterian Church. VSCRC staff and SCOPE are also coordinating efforts in Lunenburg. Several law students associated with the law firm of Marsh and Tucker, legal counselors for the NAACP, have been attending the weekly staff meetings .

Ten local Southside youth attended a SNCC National Youth Conference in Washington, D.C. on June 25,26, and 27. where they participated with high school students from across the nation and from the Deep South in workshops on the role of the high school student in the Movement.

HARASSMENT, TITLE II VIOLATIONS NUMEROUS

While it is still too early to determine if any pattern of harassment and violence will develop, it does seem definite that many restaurants and other places of public accommodation are violating Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Law in Southside. Most of the Negro population here is too poor and/or too afraid to attempt to use public accommodations. This fact, rather than a change in the attitude of the segregationists who control Southside, seems to be the cause for the small number of Title II violations prior to this summer. VSCRC believes the Byrd organization is keeping a tight check on uncontrolled violence in order to evade bad publicity. There is, however, a growing tension in the area, as evidenced by the following reports, and the possibility of isolated acts of violence could easily increase.

Listed below are some of the major incidents that have taken place recently:

June 30--James Garnett, Negro worker, entered Gebhardt's Restaurant in Powhatan County and asked for a soda, but was told that he could only have it "to go." He was joined by Bob Foley, white VSCRC staff. They were refused

(continued on page 2)

REPORT OF COUNTY ACTIVITIES

Amelia--A three-room office at the Triple X Inn on Rt. #360 near Amelia Courthouse has been obtained free of charge. The office is being used by both VSCRC and SCOPE. The VSCRC workers, Bruce Smith of Lynchburg College, and Richard Muller of the University of Virginia, hope to keep the office open and work on a part-time basis after the summer. A freedom school is planned and books are now being obtained for a library. The Presbyterian group, eight college students and a minister, tutor in Amelia and Nottoway Counties in the mornings and work with the other groups the rest of the day. The county has been divided into precincts with two workers handling each precinct. On July 17, 53 Negroes registered. To limit voter registration, the county now has only one place to register and only one registration day per month.

On July 19, over one hundred farmers from Amelia, Lunenburg, and Nottoway Counties attended a meeting near Amelia Courthouse which was set up by VSCRC. Through the efforts of two of the workers who went to the Washington office of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS),

(continued on page 2)

HARASSMENT--continued
service and the manager grabbed the white worker by his hair and threw him out of the restaurant and the Negro was pushed out. The F.B.I. was notified and investigated the incident. A few days later the staff members returned with some local people and were served. However, they were followed by some whites but lost them. Later the whites went to a house where they thought the workers were staying and drove up and down the road in front of the house shouting obscenities. Around 3:00 AM the whites began driving up and down the driveway. When they got in front of the house, the Negro fired a shotgun into the air and the whites fled.

July 6--A bottle with a firecracker inside was thrown from a speeding car in front of a house and exploded. A local Negro girl who had been helping VSCRC and SCOPE canvass lived in the house with her grandfather, aunt, and uncle. Her relatives who already were not happy about her working in the Movement were so freightened that they refused to contact the sheriff or the F.B.I.

July 8--Six people, a VSCRC and SCOPE worker along with four local Negroes, entered Nelson's Drug Store in Victoria, Lunenburg County. They had to wait thirty minutes before they were waited on. The proprieter took the orders of the Negroes, but refused to serve the whites. The F.B.I. was contacted and investigated the incident. A few days later another integrated (?) group entered the restaurant and were served on paper plates while the other customers ate from the regularly used plates.

July 9--Four VSCRC staff members, Tyrone Williams, David Nolan, Benjamin Montgomery and Duke Edwards were refused service when they tried to purchase gas at Texaco station in Amelia Court House. They were then followed by two cars, one with a Mississippi State decal.

July 10--An integrated group of VSCRC and SCOPE workers, including Bruce Smith, staff member, entered Dick's Place on Rt. 360 in Amelia County. They were overcharged an average of 19¢ for each item of food and were told that these were the new prices but they had not been put on the menu. On July 14, they returned with 36 people, including a large number of Negroes, and were not overcharged.

July 12--A VSCRC staff member, David Lub s, while passing out campaign literature was picked up by the local police. He was taken to the police station but was released.

July 13--An integrated group of five VSCRC workers entered the Plainview Service Station-Restaurant in Powhatan County. As the workers including Bob Foley, James Garnett, Duke Edwards, Tyrone Williams, and Dottie Brockman, entered the place marked "White Only" a man said to the owner, "Do you wnat me to get rid of these people?" The owner, a member of the County Board of Supervisors, tad him "no". Someone brought in a bucket and the owner told everyone to go over to the colored side as they were going to clean the floor. The staff workers along with the other customers went over and were served. No mop or water was ever brought for the bucket.

July 13--Richmond social worker, Gayle Ray, and VSCRC staff member, David Lub s, were passing out campaign literature in Hopewell. A man in a pick-up truck drove up and in several angry gestures destroyed a campaign poster. At another precinct where Howard and Anne Romaine were working, a similar incident occurred with the same man. The local police were contacted immediatel but never came to investigate the scene. At many precincts the registrars failed to have a list of registered voters posted as required by Section 24-78 of the Virginia Election Laws.

July 14--A female SCOPE worker is beingfollowed in Amelia County. The sheriff has been notified. While he appears cooperative, he has been unsuccessful in identifying the driver.

COUNTY REPORTS--continued
the Virginia Director and Assistant Director of the ASCS were the main speakers at the meeting. The ASC local committees determine crop allotments and measure land. All farmers, including tenants, and share croppers, can vote in these elections for their county committee of ASCS. However, no Negroes are now serving on these omiittittees, even though Negroes make up a majority of the farmers in most of these counties. It is hoped that Negro farmers can be organized around the coming ASCS elections, this fall.

Brunswick--Three staff people have just recently moved into this county. They are staying with a white professor who teaches at St. Paul's in Lawrenceville. In addition to obtaining the temporary use of a car from a used-car dealer they hope to be able to open up an office in an abandoned parish house in Lawrenceville. Two St. Paul's students are working with them and they are hopeful of starting a vigorous movement among the Negroes on and off the campus. David Nolan, John "Coolie" Washington, and Dan Reyes are the VSCRC workers in this county.

Dinwiddie--As in most counties, people can register only two days a month. In this conty it is the second and

COUNTY REPORTS--continued
fourth Wednesday at Dinwiddie Court House. This means that some people have to drive over 15 miles to register.

In McKenney approximately 40 people showed for the third meeting of the newly formed McKenney Improvement Association. A lawyer has drawn up a petition to get some dirt roads paved which was one of the first needs around which the people organized. At the third meeting committees were fromed: education, farm, voter registration, and jobs. Many people in this area are afraid to come to meetings.

A VSCRC worker, Bob Fisher, has helped to reactivate a civic league in West Petersburg, a Negro suburb of Petersburg in Dinwiddie County. The League has decided to draw up a petition asking the school board for a title to a two-room school that will be closed at the end of the 1966-67 school year for use a community center. In West Petersburg very few homes have running water or sewage as there are no public water facilities. Also there is no garbage dump and the people are not allowed to use thePetersburg garbage dump. A group of around fifteen teenagers are canvassing in Poney Beach which is near West Petersburg. One man asked a worker not to come back to his home because too many white people were talking about his daughter being seen with the workers. The other two workers in Dinwiddie are David Lubs and Bill Leary.

Lunenburg County--An office has been opened for several weeks in the Negro community. A library is being operated in the office. The VSCRC workers in the county, Betty Cummings and Nan Grogan, and the SCOPE workers were preparing for a "Freedom Day" on Thursday, July 15, having been told by the registrar on two occassions that registration books would be open that day. However, the day before "Freedom Day" the registrar told the workers that registration would not be until the following week.

Small neighborhood meetings are being held in rural areas of the county where the people discuss their needs. People seem more willing to talk about their problems in small meetings where they are among neighbors than in large mass meetings. Some of the workers have also been attending youth 4-H club meetings throughout the county. A Freedom School has been established in Victoria. Each morning around fifteen to twenty children participate in recreation and discussions with Betty Cummings. Some local Victoria Negro families have beaten their young children who have been coming to the VSCRC-SCOPE office where the Freedom School is established.

Nottoway--Workingout of Jennings Ordinary Howard and Anne Romaine are canvassing the small communities of Burkeville and Crewe and the large rural areas surrounding them. Efforts are being made to organize people around the need for jobs, surplus food, conditions in the Veneer Plant in Burkeville, as well as the local ASCS elections. The first Monday in August is the date set by a group of farmers in the county for a county-wide farmers meeting to set up an organization. Also a small group of teenagers have attended weekly discussion meetings. A desire for a Freedom School has been expressed by several local adults in Burkeville. They are in the process of securing an abandoned church for this purpose as well as a community center. However there is a need for a staff person who could work in a Freedom School full time.

In Blackstone, Ben Montgomery and Duke Edwards are attempting to organize the kids around the issue of an inadaquate ball park. Also they have worked with "Operation Catchup" of Prince Edward County in establishing a tutorial program for those children who will be attending formerly all white schools. Plans are now being made to develop a political education class for adults in the community.

The Southside Electric Cooperative, a large REA project which serves 16 counties has been visited to determine if they are complying with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. It is hoped that some Negroes will run for the Board of Directors of the rural cooperative. Several local Negroes have shown an interest.

At a civic meeting in Crewe which was attended by around 50 people, the possibility of running a condidate for the House of Delegates from the seventh district is being discussed.

In the office, Bill Towe, Director, is doing research on the six counties where we now have workers. Office Manager, Dottie Brockman, in addition to her usual typing and filing duties is going out in the county once or twice a week to teach an illiterate.

Betsy Towe is still the only white staff member of the Burkeville Headstart Program. The Federal Government has notified the principal, Mr. Hill, that unless the staff and/or pupil assignment is further integrated they will close down operations. The VSCRC staff in Nottoway county has volunteered their services twice a week.

Powhatan--Direct action is the keynote in this Southside county. A large amount of time of the staff, Bob Foley, James Garnett, and Tyrone Williams, has been taken up with Title II violations. They are working with the local NAACP, which has a very inactive leader, in trying to determine what course of action to take.

COUNTY REPORTS--continued

The workers have canvassed a large part of the county; and a mass meeting has been held as well as several small neighborhood meetings. Also plans are being made to build shelves and catalogue books for a library since there is no public library in the county. A large number of text books have been contributed the the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee through the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committe office in Washington, D.C. The National Student Association is also sending books for Freedom Libraries in Powhatan and other counties.

communities are feeling more threatened by our presence as shown by the local police bearing down on petty traffic violations. The car expenses are mounting for gas and repairs and general maintenance (A local Nottoway County man contributed a 1956 Studebaker to VSCRC for which we paid approximately eighty dollars to get on the road). If you want to contribute to a NEW VIRGINIA please send a donation to: VSCRC, Box 292, Blackstone, Virginia.

Also anyone who would like to visit the project, plese contact us and we'd be happy to put you up for a day or so!

FINANCIAL REPORT

As of July 12 our finances had dwindled to the extent that it did not look as though we would have enough money to sustain our project through the last few weeks of summer. However our supporters in Lynchburg and Charlottesville quickly mobilized and raised one half of the amount we needed and Joan Baez sent us a check for the other half--all in one week! We still do not have the necessary funds on hand to meet emergencies and also to maintain our staff down here through next year. As our staff increases and we expand into other counties, the white

NOTICE !!

"Of all the American states, Virginia can lay claim to the most thoroughly controled by an oligarchy. Political power has been closely held by a small group of leaders who, themselves and their predecessors, have subverted democratic institutions and deprived most Virginias of a voice in their government...It is a political museum piece...By contrst Mississippi is hotbed of democracy."

From Southern Politics, V.O.Key,Jr

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VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
Box 292
Blackstone, Virginia

Vol. I Victoria, Virginia September, 1965
No 2

The New Virginia Newsletter

Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee

KKK RALLY IN VICTORIA

There was a Ku Klux Klan rally held near Victoria, Virginia, Saturday, September 4, 1965. Although news reports stated that from four to five thousand persons attended the meeting, there were actually only about a thousand. The success of the rally is undetermined at this point. It is reported that there are going to be a number of such gatherings scheduled for different localities.

The Grand Dragon of North Carolina and the Grand Dragon of Virginia spoke and tried to stir up emotions. One speaker said NAACP stood for "Niggers, Apes, Alligators, Coons and Possoms;" another said it stood for "National Association for the Advancement of the Communist Party." They blasted Negroes President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey and civil rights workers. At the conclusion of the rally men dressed in the Klan regalia lighted the sixty-five foot cross and paraded around it singing such songs as "The Old Rugged Cross" and "Kneel At the Cross."

Four white civil rights workers, two from Amelia, one from Brunswick and another affiliated with VSCRC, entered the rally. Somehow they were identified by the Klan and forced out of the meeting. They were kicked and beaten and told that only white people were allowed. One State Trooper observed one girl being shoved from the rally but did nothing about it. When it was reported to another trooper, he asked what the civil rights workers were doing there and said if they would take his advice they would go home right them.

Two carloads of Negroes and civil rights workers remained parked across the road from the entrance of the rally during the meeting. They were yelled at from time to time and constantly referred to during the speeches.

No incidences took place after the rally.

We Are Here To Stay!

FIVE staff members of the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee have decided to stay in Southside Virginia for the rest of the year to continue the work which was started this summer.

The main office has been moved from Blackstone to Victoria. Full-time workers will be in Nottoway, Lunenburg, and Brunswick Counties. They will be trying to carry on limited activities in Amelia, Dinwiddie and Powhatan Counties where there were full-time workers this summer.

Different programs during the winter will be coordinated with students on various college campuses. Two conferences have been tentatively planned for educational and recruiting purposes. From time to time there will be projects, such as a get-out-the-vote project in November. College students will be recruited to work on this type of program.

We hope that by exposing students to the Southside Project some will decide to work in the area full-time next summer. Effort will be made to work with existing civil rights groups on the campuses and to stimulate the establishment of groups on campuses where there are none.

Civil rights and academic freedom are closely related. Hopefully this will become clear to students.

Freedom Rally in Amelia

On Saturday, August 14, in Amelia County, over three hundred local Negroes gathered in the usually deserted Court House Square to celebrate the passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965. For the first time in the history of this very poor and completely rural community, people demonstrated en masse that they are not satisfied with living in a segregated society where whites occupy every county office, own nearly every major local business concern, and receive twice as much total income per year as Negroes. They demonstrated that they will no longer endure economic and social oppression.

Mr. Herbert Coulton, Director of the Virginia SCOPE civil rights projects, led the rally and generated a vigorous freedom spirit among the participants. He and some of the workers took the lead in the singing of freedom songs, with lyrics specially written by members of the Junior NAACP. The youth group had also made signs for which they wrote slogans such as "Fair School Bus Transportation--No More Two Hour Rides," "Let Negroes Use the County Ball Park Too," and "Amelia Needs Doctors and Dentists--And the Board of Supervisors Can Get Them." Mr. Coulton spoke dramatically on these topics, as well as on voting. His plea was for organized community action against Negro apathy and white oppression. The rally climaxed impressively in the forming of a giant circle around the square and the enthusiastic singing of "We Shall Overcome."

Amelia's Freedom Rally was a peaceful one, although it was reported that a hand of young whites, was cruising around the square with a shotgun in the back seat of their car. Also, a white was identified as he shoved a paper bag full of yellow jackets into a hedge next to the crowd. The sheriff was not sent for, since the man was the only one stung. A public address system boomed the proceedings to the many whites who stood outside the stores surrounding the Court House Square. A Nazi leaflet distributed through the town early that morning was read by Mr. Coulton and drew quite a response from the crowd; the leaflet urged whites to turn out and vote for George Lincoln Rockwell for governor of the state, thereby counteracting "the illiterate nigger vote."

Not only did the people voice their discontent with the oppressive racial situation in Amelia, they also proved that they are willing to do something to change things.

133 people registered to vote the day of the Freedom Rally. Thanks to the new Voting Rights Act (and a surprisingly cooperative treasurer) and the amount of poll tax required to register for the first time was only $1.50, instead of the $4.77 it had been only a week before. Also, applicants were not required to be able to fill out the complicated and confusing registration forms by themselves. Thus, Amelia was the first county in the South to take significant advantage of the Voting Rights Act enacted by our government, a government which is just beginning to really represent the people for whom it serves.

VSCRC, SCOPE and a Presbyterian group worked there this summer.

VSCRC and SCOPE workers spent much time on voter registration and political education. Political education took place through area meetings. Local elected officials and their duties, the Circuit Court Judge's power, and responsibilities, the state officials, such as, General Assembly and the Byrd Machine have been the major topics of discussions in these meetings. Other area meetings of community organization have evolved around farm problems, school desegregation and poverty.

Lunenburg Reddishes

Around 175 persons registered to vote in Lunenburg County, Saturday, August 21. This is the largest turn out this summer. Much of the impetus for registration came from a march held earlier in the month for support of the Voting Rights Bill. Due to pressure from the Negro community, the Electoral Board added the first and third Saturdays as registration days. Thursdays, the second and fourth, had been the only registration days.

O. E. O. VISITS

The fourth Congressional District, Virginia's Black Belt, ranks 405th out of the nations 435 congressional districts in annual median income. The district is 47.9% Negro, and nearly a third of the Negro families earn less than $1000 a year. There are a number of federal programs that can help the poor people in Southside, but those in power have not tried to put them into effect.

The Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee contacted Gary Lefkowitz of the Office of Economic Opportunity and asked him come to Southside. He spoke in Nottoway, Lunenburg and Brunswick counties and told of the various programs available from the war on poverty, such as adult education, community centers and day care centers for working mothers.

In Lunenburg, the NAACP sponsored a meeting to choose a board of directors for a community action project. One of the problems found almost everywhere is the unrepresentative nature of the local boards. In Brunswick County, where 60% of the people are Negro, a majority of the board is white. Nearly 60% of the people, both white and Negro earn less than $3000 a year, yet the poverty board is filled with Mayors, councilmen, supervisors, teachers and ministers--not a poor person among them.

People in Southside counties are now trying to form boards that will include people directly affected by poverty, and give them a voice in this program that hopes to better their future.

POWHATAN PICKETS COURT HOUSE

A group of 70 Powhatan County citizens marched on the monthly meeting of the County Board of Supervisors. The purpose of marching was to protest their inaction on meeting certain requests that had been presented for the past 23 months by a spokesman of the local branch of NAACP.

The four main grievances of the people were as follows: (1) Removal of the "White" and "Colored" signs on the restrooms at the Court House, (2) Establishment of a bi-racial committee in the county to work out racial problems and broblems of the Negro community, (3) Opening of county government jobs to Negroes, (4) Demand information on the county's financing of the segregated War Memorial Building.

ASCS Elections

In order to keep farm prices stable, the federal government places limitations on the amount of certain crops, like cotton and tobacco, that can be grown. The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) of the Department of Agriculture is the agency responsible for determining the crop allotments of each farmer. This is done at the local level through ASCS committees elected directly by the farmers.

In the South for many years only white farmers voted and served on these committees, and white farmers got the best allotments at the expense of the small Negro farmers. Civil rights workers in Southside have been encouraging Negro farmers to take part in ASCS elections. Lunenburg, Amelia and Nottoway have had strong efforts made.

The Department of Agriculture in order to fight discrimination in farm programs has established an advisory committee of Negroes to work for (a) equal employment opportunities in ASCS offices, (b) equal opportunity in ASCS farm programs and (c) full participation in ASCS elections both as voters and candidates.

ASCS elections will be held in Virginia in the mohth of Octobet. All farm owners, operators, tenants and sharecroppers will be eligible to participate.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

VSCRC
Box 79
Kenbridge, Virginia

The Board indicated that they would give no definite answer to the protests and made it clear to the persons attending the meeting that they would not act under any pressure from the group. They claim that they have no power to act on the protestations and continue to ignore demands from the Negro Community. When one of the white civil rights workers tried to address the Board, the Board refused to listen to him although this worker is a registered voter in Virginia.

The March and picketing took place on August 9, 1965. Following the meeting of the Board, some members of the demonstration decided to stage a sit-in in the Court House. From seven to eleven persons spent the (con'd)

POWHATAN COUNTY (CON'D)

night in the Court House. They were not bothered in any way. The newspaper coverage of the sit-in was fairly good, and it did succeed in bringing the situation to light. The participants vacated the Court House at 8:00am August 10.

Official protests have since been lodged with the Justice Department. It can be proven that Titles III and X of the Civil Rights Act are being violated.

WHY I TRANSFERRED TO A WHITE SCHOOL

The reason why I decided to go to a white school based on the condition in which the school are built and many more reason as I will write later in my report. First we will start talking about the two school (white-Victoria High and Negro-Lunenburg High). Lunenburg is in a very bad condition, the restrooms are up hill at school are very unsatisfactory because they are old fashion bathroom dug in the ground. The class rooms are divided by a piece of plywood just high enough to keep you from seeing over it. While one teacher is teaching Government on one side of the plywood other teaching math, the teacher teaching Government sound like he is you in math. Class rooms are over crowded in subject we have in school. Now at Victoria High the condition are much better. The classes are not over crowded and rooms are much cleaner. Well every thing is much more better than in a Negro school altogether. That why I chose to go to a white school.

Bobby Crane
High School Student
Lunenburg County

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Vol. I
No. 2

Victoria, Virginia
October, 1965

The New Virginia

Virginia Students'

Civil Rights Committee

NEWSLETTER

NOTTOWAY SCHOOLS DESEGREGATED

On Thursday, Sept. 2, southside Nottoway County opened schools. The opening was as peaceful and quiet as any normal school opening day of past years. But the normalcy had a history-making quality. Into the previously all-white schools entered 151 Negro children for the first time. Not only was this a first, it also was the largest number of Negro children to desegregate schools in the southside area.

This unusual situation came about through a combination of events during the first two weeks of April. On April 6, Rev. David Gordon, a Negro candidate for a Blackstone town council seat, was disqualified on a questionable technicality. And on April 13, the Nottoway School Board released the original freedom-of-choice plan as its answer to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Title VI becoming effective this year forbids racial discrimination in all programs receiving Federal funds and authorizes the withdrawal of federal money where discrimination continues. After the release of the plan the school board made no further action to inform Negro parents of the plan's full meaning.

The county Negroes were indignant at Rev. Gordon's disqualification and scoffingly skeptical of the school board's plan. The Negro community felt it was the school board's duty to desegregate the schools without equivocation and not place Negro parents' necks on a chopping block of economic and physical intimidation, in having to personally make such a choice.

Out of the frustration came a determination and a county-wide meeting on Sunday, May 2, at Springhill Baptist Church in Blackstone. From a capacity crowd under the guidance of Farmville's mighty champion and State NAACP president, Rev. Francis Griffin, also Reverends David Gordon, Robert Craghead, Green-

(continued on page 2)

STUDENT THANKSGIVING PROJECT PLANNED

VSCRC will sponsor a Thanksgiving project for college students to do volunteer work on the southside project.

The project will last from Nov. 24 - Nov. 28. Lodging, and possibly some meals, will be provided in the local community. Students provide their own transportation to southside. Students may work the entire four days or less time, if necessary.

Detailed information on the Thanksgiving project will be provided at the November conference in Lynchburg. Some tentative plans have already been made.

In Nottoway County workers are needed to canvass in Blackstone to get signatures for a petition requesting public sewage for the Negro residential areas. Help is also needed to decorate a float to be entered in the Blackstone Christmas parade by the Nottoway Civic Development Council, a Negro organization. Negroes have never before participated in the parade.

In Lunenburg County, students are needed to leaflet the county to further strengthen the selective buying campaign in Victoria against merchants who refuse to denounce the Klan and who, in some cases, actively support the Klan. Another much- needed job to be done is working with the youth in a recreation program in Victoria. The Negro citizens own a community center but it is little-used due to a lack of people to supervise recreation.

Students with specific skills are also needed. VSCRC staff member, John Washington, wants student assistance in doing some photography work. Students are also needed to assist in secretarial and accounting work.

VSCRC has seven staff members working in Amelia, Brunswick, Lunenburg and Nottoway counties. The central office is located in Victoria. Field offices are located at Blackstone, Lawrenceville, and Amelia Courthouse.

Negroes Respond To Klan With Selective Buying

Since Sept. 8, Negroes in Lunenburg County have conducted a selective buying campaign in Victoria. The demand of the Negroes is quite simple: merchants of Victoria, the site of the first Klan rally in Southside Virginia, should publically denounce the Klan and refuse to support it. The peopla refuse to spend their money at a store whose owner may contribute directly to the support of the Klan. The battle is being led by the Lunenburg Citizenship Organization, a county-wide Negro civic group that was organized in June.

At a mass meeting of Negroes, a committee of five men was elected to represent the Negro community in negotiations. This committee met with members of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce committee, headed by Robert Williams, Victoria town council member, agreed the Chamber would issue a statement denouncing the Klan. The Negro community waited for the promise to be fulfilled, waited for the white man to keep his word. They are still waiting. Instead of denouncing the Klan, the Chamber of Commerce announced that it "opposed extremism in any form," and "did not appreciate being made the middleman between groups."

At a second mass meeting, the Negroes rejected the Chamber of Commerce statement as unsatisfactory and voted to continue the selective buying campaign. Almost the entire Negro community seems to be supporting the campaign. A Negro is rarely seen on the downtown streets of Victoria. One merchant claims that his business has been reduced $400-$500 every week-end. Negro sentiment seems summed up in one of the slogans used on leaflets being distributed: "Negroes unite; don't spend a nickel to support cross-burners and race-haters!"

Klan activity in the area is very evident. One of the five "Klan klaverns" in Virginia is located in Victoria. Three crosses have been burned since the Klan began organizing. When investigating one of the burnings, local law enforcement officials cautioned the Negro land owner: "These civil rights workers could have burned this cross because you don't attend enough of their meetings." The police have offered no further explanation in solving the case.

Nottoway Schools Desegregated (con't)

hill and Miss Nancy Adams, a civil rights worker in Prince Edward County, the Nottoway County Desegregation Committee was formed. Plans were laid for a county-wide information drive on the issue. A committee leader responsible for each magisterial district was appointed. The mimeographing of a thousand fact sheets on the freedom-of-choice plan and the new Federal law were ordered.

Committee members and volunteers, armed with the fact sheets made a day and night canvass of every Negro parent from May 3 to May 21. Each parent was given a thorough explanation of the issues involved and encouraged to enroll their child in white schools. Weekly county-wide meetings were held at various churches throughout the area. On May 14, parents were sent the freedom-of-choice forms by the school board, to be signed and returned by May 21...just one week to make such a momentous decision!

The Nottoway County Desegregation Committee was satisfied of one thing, the Negro community had been well-informed of the issue. It was now the parents' decision.

Around June 1, amid rising tensions and misgivings on all sides, and the arrival of a new group of civil rights workers, the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee, the school board announced 150 Negro pupils had enrolled for previously all-white schools. The announcement was received with a calmness that has been maintained to the present time. The Committee was pleased with the results of a hard job well done. But it found its work had only really begun and moved on for a summer program, which shall be covered in another article.

written by members of the Nottoway School Desegregation Com.

(The Nottoway School Desegregation Committee has changed its name to the Nottoway Civic Development Council and is not only working in school desegregation but in many other areas. If you would like a member of this group to talk and work with you, in your county, please notify VSCRC.)

FALL CONFERENCE

sponsored by

Virginia College Council of Human Relations

assisted by

Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee

November 5, 6, and 7, 1965

Lynchburg, Virginia

Tentative Agenda

Friday:

5-7 pm — registration and housing assignments, main lobby, Hopwood Hall, Lynchburg College

8 pm — movies and filmstrips on various aspects of the civil rights movement followed by general discussion

Saturday:

morning — panel discussion: "Recent Civil Rights Activity in Southside Virginia"

aftnoon — speeches and discussion on campus reform led by members of Students for Individual Rights from Richmond Professional Institute

workshops: VCCHR on the campus
campus reform
student role in civil rights
student work in Southside Va.
campus-community organizing

night — play presented by Prince Edward County youth drama group

Sunday:

morning — speech; Rev. Robert Combs, executive director, Virginia Council of Human Relations

aftnoon — planning session:
student Thanksgiving project
urban projects
organizing poor white people
future for VCCHR and VSCRC

APPLICATION: FALL CONFERENCE

Name _____

College Address _____

Telephone _____ Sex ___ Age ___ Year in school _____

Need housing _____ Do not need housing _____

Send application to Bruce J. Smith, Box 4126, Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Virginia, (phone: VI7-7431).

Housing will be provided for those who indicate on the application that they will need housing.

Latecomers to the conference should go to main lobby of Hopwood Hall, Lynchburg College to register and receive further instructions.

Lunenburg Negroes Denied Legal Rights in Poverty Program

by Nathaniel Hawthorne

I am writing concerning the community action program that we are trying very hard to get and that we need very badly. We are being blocked by the Board of Supervisors with the way they have been running the county government for years, with a small group of rich Uncle Toms. This is the real story.

At a public meeting held on Aug. 17 which was publicized by radio announcements, distribution of leaflets throughout the county, and canvassing door-to-door of both Negroes and whites, a steering committee was elected to represent the Negro people of the county in planning and administrating a community action program. Three people were elected from each of the seven districts in the county, giving a total of 21 representatives to make up the steering committee.

After writing a series of letters, the committee was able, after being denied the use of county and state meeting facilities, to obtain a Negro school in which to hold a public meeting. Influential white citizens and county officials were written by members of the committee and invited to attend the public meeting.

At the public meeting on Sept. 15, the two speakers from the OEO gave full information on community action programs and stated specifically that poor people had the right to elect their own representatives to plan the program. Of the seven white officials who attended the meeting, most of them stated publically that they were in favor of the program.

At the Sept. meeting of the Lunenburg County Board of Supervisors, the board appointed a committee to investigate the Economic Opportunities Act and to recommend whether the board should sponsor such a program. The steering committee wrote this investigating committee asking that public hearings be held and that the investigating committee meet with the steering committee. No reply to this letter was received.

At the Oct. Board of Supervisors meeting, which three members of the steering committee attended, the Board decided to sponsor a community action program for one year. The Board did not ask for comments or suggestions from the steering committee. The Board immediately appointed two men from each district, one Negro and one white, to serve on a board to head the community action program.

Only after the meeting was adjourned was I allowed to speak. I said I believed the action of the Board was illegal because Negroes had not been allowed the right to select their own representatives. The Board ignored the fact that their committee was non-representative and I said the Negroes would have to take their complaints to state and federal officials.

We of the legitimately elected steering committee feel that the Negroes appointed by the Board are not, by any means, representing the poor Negroes in Lunenburg County. Most of these people have not attended a single meeting on the community action program, a fact that indicates a total lack of interest and concern with the program.

Also, few, if any, of these individuals are in the income bracket of earnings less than $3,000 per year. Three are school teachers which means their minimum yearly income is at least $4,500 and that they are controlled by the school board. One man is a pastor, a school teacher, and assistant principal. Others are independent farmers.

According to 1960 Bureau of the Census statistics, 80.7% of the nonwhite families in the county had a yearly income of less than $3,000. It is obvious that the Negroes selected by the Board do not represent the majority of the Negroes in the county. The rich are being chosen by the power structure to make decisions for poor people about what kinds of programs are needed to alter the lives of the poor. The rich simply are not qualified to know the needs of the poor. Only poor people can fully understand problems of poverty and poor people should be allowed to administer their own program. Poverty in this county is so bad that the School Board requires the Negro children whose parents are on welfare to work for their lunch, yet the Board of Supervisors could only find rich Negroes to appoint.

We of the steering committee know we represent the poor Negroes because we have been elected by the people and we ourselves are poor people. We will do all in our power to see that the voice of the poor is heard and to see that any community action program in this county is democratically administrated by the people it is designed to help. Such administration is evident no where in the county at this time.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

WHAT TO THINK AND HOW TO LOOK vs. HOW TO THINK AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Nearly two hundred students from RPI, other Virginia colleges, and staff and local people working in the Southside project attended a rally at Richmond on Oct. 19. The rally was sponsored by the Students for Individual Rights (SIR), which was organized, in part, to finance the court costs of obtaining a permanent injunction by three RPI students against RPI for refusing them admission because of their long hair and beards. The three students, Salvatore Federico, Robert D. Shoffner, and Norman T. Marshall, all seniors, have been very active on the campus and all have better than a "B" average.

The students marched from the campus to the First Unitarian Church, site of the rally. Reid Cornwell, Chairman of SIR, presided and stated that SIR was organized to protect the rights of all students as well as to help the three RPI students in their court battle. Significant questions were raised by the speakers and Norman Marshall stated it was the first time he had seen RPI students really <u>think</u> about anything. It was pointed out that training institutions, such as the U. S. Army, exist to teach people <u>what</u> to think. Educational institutions should exist to teach people <u>how</u> to think. If an institution becomes more concerned with how students look and how their looks will affect the school "image," rather than the real question of whether students are thinking, then the school may soon start telling students what to think. This is beginning to happen at RPI. One speaker pointed out that RPI professors had been instructed not to discuss sex, politics, or religion in class with freshmen.

Dr. William Gold, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, gave a sermon, "Could Jesus Get Into RPI?" Gold said the real question might be "would Jesus want to get into RPI?"

It was announced at the rally that the American Civil Liberties Union had issued a letter of support for the students. If necessary, the students plan to take their case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case was heard in the Richmond Circuit Court on Oct.20. 37 students picketed on the RPI campus and marched to the courtroom to hear the case. Judge John W. Knowles stated that he would announce his decision after studying similar cases. The students earlier sought a temporary injunction in the Circuit Court and the state supreme court but lost.

Hopefully, these three RPI students and other members of SIR will be at the November conference in Lynchburg.

(Attorney Howard W. Carwile of Richmond is representing the students. He is donating his services but money is needed to cover court costs. Send donations to: Salvatore Fredrico
SIR
306 N. Harrison Street
Richmond, Va. 23220
Telephone: 358-0872

VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
Box 79
Kenbridge, Virginia

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Vol. I
No. 4

Victoria, Virginia
December, 1965

The New Virginia

Virginia Students'

Civil Rights Committee

NEWSLETTER

NEGRO YOUTH SHOT IN VICTORIA

by Robert Beverly

On Nov. 18, 1965, at 9:15 p.m. a car with two white men in it drove by the Victoria Freedom House several times. The last time it passed, Alfonza Stokes, Kyster Stokes, and I were standing in front of the Freedom House. We saw a shotgun sticking out of the front window on the left side of the car but none of us moved. The car went about 200 feet past the building, stopped, and fired at us.

Alfonza said, "I think he hit me." Just then I looked and the gun was still aimed. We ducked and a second shot was fired, just barely missing us.

The license number of the car had been taken before the shooting because it had been circling the office and it had an out-of state license and white passengers. This information and a description of the passengers were given to the police and the FBI when they came to investigate.

Alfonza was taken to a doctor and treated for a scalp wound. The pellet entered his scalp at the hairline and came out at the top of his head. It was a narrow escape.

The shooting brought a great deal of tension among the Negroes. The Negroes and the whites haven't reached any agreements as of now and that too causes a lot of tension. Some Negroes feel that whites can physically harm them and that nothing will be done about it. Several Negroes have been threatened before and since the shooting many Negroes are arming themselves. Negroes are arming only to defend themselves because no one wants to be shot or even shot at.

The local police say they have two suspects but no arrests have been made. And it's been almost a month since the shooting. Most Negroes feel as though the local police are dragging their feet on this case.

Two nights after Alfonza was shot, another Negro, Edward Glasgow, was shot at when he stopped in a white neighborhood after dark to check his tires. He was not hit. When the whites living around there said they had not heard anything, the police said they couldn't do anything else. The night-riders are still loose and we wonder who will be next.

MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE AT A NOTTOWAY MEETING

by Howard Romaine

It was a Friday night when we arrived at the small Methodist A.M.E. church in Blackstone, Virginia. In our car were Mrs. Mary Fowlkes and Mrs. Ora Clay from the Nottoway Civic Development Council, and Bill and Betsy Towe, VSCRC organizers. A small group of 10-15 people were seated at the front of the church. After we were all seated and had waited a few minutes, one of the deacons opened the meeting with a song, followed by a prayer offered by another member. He said that he was glad to have us and turned the meeting over to our group.

Mrs. Fowlkes began with a short talk on voting. "Some of you are already familiar with the voter registration drive, but we are still working on the problem, trying to reach all of our people to register and vote.

"We should vote to get things done such as better schools, jobs or whatever is most needed where we live."

She then described the new provisions of the voting rights bill, "Prepare to vote in all elections, not Federal only, but all elections. Pay your poll tax of $1.50 and be ready when voting time comes around. You can vote in local elections for mayor and town councilmen, in state elections for governor, senator and delegate, and in national elections for president, vice-president, senator and congressman. Get into politics. It is the business of running your government. It concerns your human dignity.

(continued on page 2)

NOTTOWAY DIALOGUE (cont'd.)

personal freedom and general welfare. Anyone who doesn't read or write well--the registrar is supposed to help you. Anyone who needs transportation, call these numbers..."

Mrs. Fowlkes gave the numbers and concluded, "Remember, if you don't vote,the choice is theirs."

Bill Towe then stepped up and sat down in a chair at the front of the church. "My name is Bill Towe. My wife is Betsy Jean. I'm a civil rights worker. I live on the corner of Falls Street and Amelia Avenue. We're in the county to work with you and to do what you want us to do. Stop in and talk to us anytime.

"Now, we all know that voting is important--but it won't solve all the problems. One problem is that there's a lack of public facilities here in Blackstone. On many, in fact, on most of the streets where Negroes live, there is no sewage. We had a meeting just last week and we made up a petition. We have a hundred names on it now. Would you like to sign it? We're going to have another meeting soon.

"But I wonder what else can be done besides giving a petition to the city manager. Is there anything else we can do?"

Someone suggested that maybe everyone ought to go down to the city council meeting.

"When is it held?"

"Every month. Down at city hall. Every first Thursday."

"Is it open, can people go to the meeting?"

"Yeah, it's supposed to be."

Another man raised his hand. "You know, I think this is a good idea, because we've had petitions before and it didn't do any good. We've got to show them we mean business. One person going down there with a petition in his hand don't mean anything. We've got to have a lot of people there to put pressure on them."

Bill asked again, "Well, if that doesn't work, what else can we do?"

"One thing, we could go out and get everybody registered and vote them out if they didn't do what we wanted. Now, with so few registered, they know we don't have any power. This would give people a reason to register."

"Is there anything else we can do?"

"We know where those councilmen work, what stored they own. We could stop buying there if they didn't work with us."

"They get money from Washington for some of those sewer projects--maybe they would cut off the money if the council doesn't give us an equal share."

"If none of those work we could demonstrate."

The same man who had suggested sitting in on council meetings raised his hand.

"I work for the town. Can Washington do anything about the way we're treated. We work longer hours and get only half the pay."

Bill said,"We'll have to check into it. Is there anything else? Then Mrs. Clay has a few words."

"I just want to say not to let the registrar worry you when you go down to vote. And don't let her fool you. For instance, when you come in, she will say, 'Oh, you want to register for federal elections only.' Then when you tell her no,that you want to register for all elections, she'll say, 'Why did you wait until now to register? Who is it you want to vote for. Why are you people so interested in voting now?' One time we had a group to go in at noon and she demanded, 'What are you people doing down here? Aren't you supposed to be working?'

"The other thing is that the Nottoway Civic Development Council is sponsoring a float for the Christmas parade. It's the first float we've ever had, and we're working on it over at Down's station if anyone wants to come over and help work on it."

The meeting closed with a prayer. We talked for a while afterward, signed petitions and left. On the way home, Mrs. Clay told Bill where they were going on Sunday. Another church, another meeting.

CORRECTION

VSCRC would like to retract a misstatement of fact which appeared in an article entitled, "Negroes Respond to Klan With Selective Buying," in Vol. I, No. 3 of The New Virginia. It was stated that "the Chamber of Commerce committee, headed by Robert Williams, Victoria town council member, agreed the Chamber would issue a statement denouncing the Klan."

Mr. Robert Williams is not a member of the Board of Directors of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. He did not head nor chair nor at any time be a member of the Chamber of Commerce committee. He is not a member of the Town Council and has made no public statements concerning the Klan or the selective buying campaign. VSCRC regrets making such an error.

MASS MEETING IN VICTORIA

NOTES + IMPRESSIONS

by Steve Wise

The meeting was held in the community center Friday night. Mr. McCoy Gee led the meeting when it appeared that the president and vice president of Lunenburg Citizenship Organization were absent. Mr. Gee's chairmanship of this meeting, which was called to decided whether to continue the selective buying campaign in Victoria, was significant for two reasons: 1) he spoke in favor of continuing the selective buying campaign, and 2) he allowed everybody to speak. Many people spoke out; there was no suppression of opinion; and the people made their own decisions.

Dr. Winston, chairman of the negotiating committee, reported on a meeting the committee held with the mayor and other town officials. Apparently, the committee had agreed with the power structure to call off the campaign on those stores not displaying Klan posters--This would have meant that only three stores in Victoria would have remained on the list and that the original demand that the merchants publically denounce the Klan would have gone unmet. Reaction to this report was immediate and negative and none spoke to defend the committee. All spoke in favor of the continuance of the selective buying campaign on all stores. The point stressed most by various speakers was that the Negroes of Lunenburg must stand united if they ever expected to overcome the oppression of the white racists. One speaker maintained that, if Negroes were to give in, they would deserve to lose all chance of freedom. A high school student pointed out the fact that there had been shootings and threats by the Klan and that civil rights workers would be demoralised if the people backed down. Then the discussion turned towards methods of self-defense from maurauding Klansmen and other assorted rednecks. As the meeting went on, an electric feeling of solidarity could be sensed throughout the room. At lengh, it culminated in a unanimous standing vote to continue the selective buying campaign through New Years.

Someone mentioned that lack of transportation forced some Negroes to buy in Victoria. People then volunteered to provide free transportation. Another person said that many people were without credit in Kenbridge, the nearest town. James Gay, a law student at UVA, proposed the establishment of co-ops in the community; this suggestion was greeted with applause. A collection was taken up to sustain the civil rights workers in the county. The meeting ended with freedom songs.

BLACKSTONE NEGROES SPEAK!

by Alfred Booker

During the first week of December, Bill Towe, civil rights worker in Nottoway Coujty, and I canvassed the West End section of Blackstone to tell people about the mass meeting to discuss sewage and other things. I pointed out to the people that the city doesn't segregate the tax dollar but segregates the tax service. Some people pointedout that if the sewage came through, many couldn't afford to hook on to the line. Bill pointed out that if Mr, Charlie paid decent wages more people would be able to hook on. We talked to over 40 people who complained about no Negro policemen on the force, no free textbooks, inadequate dental service for Negroes. They further complained about children having to walk over a mile to the Negro school which is no good frame wooden building with outdoor toilets. Many people expressed great concern and interest.

At the mass meeting the people decided to send a group to town council with a petition and to pressure the council to act on putting sewage service in the Negro community. Mr. Mallory Coleman was chosen as spokesman of the group. The people plan to work with the Nottoway Civic Development Council to lodge these complaints with the governing body so as to tear down the old crumbling wall of Jim Crow.

VSCRC NEEDS YOUR HELP!
SUPPORT THE SOUTHSIDE FREEDOM MOVEMENT!

If every person receiving The New Virginia contributed one dollar, the proceeds would pay the expenses for one county-wide project for the next six months! Make your contribution now for freedom in Southside Virginia!

VSCRC IN SOUTHSIDE

by Sarah Foster and Dorothy Walker

Many people feel that VSCRC is the wasted effort on the part of a few white people to communicate with Negroes. Others feel it is an organization that invites and associates with higher class Negroes, consequently it is out of their league.

We believe that this organization is beneficial to our community for many reasons.

Before VSCRC came to our community many Negroes did not realize the importance of registering to vote. Now they realize that each citizen's vote counts. In canvassing the different communities we've been allowed to assist VSCRC field workers. This has given us the opportunity to become further acquainted with people in the community.

We've been able to talk and associate with the workers without a feeling of inferiority. We feel now that love and friendship can exist between whites and Negroes, and the color of the skin is of no importance.

All opinions are respected, because the members of this organization work with the people, and not for the people. Our opinions have been asked about the structure of the organization which gives us a feeling of belonging. We've been priviledged to attend staff meetings which has proven to be both interesting and educational. Negroes make their own decisions and this organization merely assists in carrying them out.

Members of this organization have explained to the children in the community the importance of a good education, and they have made it possible for them to have access to educational literature.

VSCRC has assisted in starting a selective buying campaign in Lunenburg County, in which Negroes are actively participating.

In working with VSCRC we've had the opportunity to become acquainted with many members of other civil rights organizations.

Wefeel that this organization has made Negroes more conscious of the position they are in and they're now willing to work harder for the cause of equality.

AMELIA POVERTY PROGRAM

by Rives Foster

The anti-poverty group of Amelia County which was formed under the guidance of the white power structure has held up progress. Last spring a group of white people interested in bringing Head Start to the county contacted selected Negroes. This group then formed the board of directors of the anti-poverty program. With great promise this group asked Washington to establish Head Start in the county. But the whites wanted one Head Start to be in the white school and one in the Negro school. Federal officials however did not see it that way and the segregated system collapsed.

However, the Head Start program proceeded with only Negroes taking part in it. Whites did not care to let their children participate and the program was almost stopped by Washington.

This fall a report was given to the school board that in the white school only a quarter of the first graders were prepared for the first grade. It took two months for the report on the Head Start program to be completed and to be presented to the board. Two months is the deadline for government programs to be finished up. Since then the director of the board has quit due to pressure from her own white community. For all practical purposes, the anti-poverty group has ceased to function. One of the Negroes on the board who is not a Tom said that when the state representative of the poverty program came to Amelia, he communicated very little with the darker portion of the board.

It is unknown whether the anti-poverty board will ever initiate programs. It is hoped that the petition that is presently being circulated will either stir the board to action or get the people to form their own board.

A CHRISTMAS FLOAT

by Mrs. Gwen Anderson

Early this fall, Mrs. Constance Wynn began to talk to the various members of the Nottoway Civic Development Council about the possibility of having a unit in the Christmas parades. The idea was offered at the next NCDC meeting and found a lot of support.

Mrs. Wynn was asked to head a float committee; Bill Towe, civil rights worker, was asked to contact the Blackstone parade director; Mrs. Ora B. Clay was appointed chairman of a fund-raising committee to pay the float expenses; and Mr. John Simmons said he would try anf find a flatbed and tractor.

One week later, at the next meeting, Mrs. Wynn had a model of the proposed float to offer. This plan was approved by the council. Mrs. Clay's committee was busy selling tickets to a dance that featured three door prizes; Bill Towe reported our entry had been accepted and Mr. Simmons had located a tractor.

The county responded to the projedt by generously buying tickets to the dance. Of course, without the help and consideration of people like Mr. and Mrs. Merrill Bagley, Mr. Rudolph Harmon and Rev. R, L. Craghead, NCDC president--to mention a few--the success of it would not have been possible. With only ten days promotion, the committee was able to pay the dance expenses and assure themselves of a generous budget for the float.

As we straightened up the hall after the dance, we made plans to go to Richmond and Petersburg the next day to buy the decorations. Two trips later, we felt we had enough materials to start work.

Mr. Lawrence Harris borrowed Mr. Jack Boose flatbed and stored it at Mr. A. C. Downs, Jr.'s new service station. Mr. Mallory Coleman donated lumber and nails. Mr. Willian Stith framed and covered the flat to make it look like the model. Then he cut and installed the backdrop--a six-foot piece of plyboard.

Now, Mrs. Wynn and the civil rights workers started the actual decorations. All through the Thanksgiving holidays, the work went on. Many people who had only intended to stop and look found that they had an idea to offer or could actually help with the decorations or could ruh an errand. All the names would make a very long list--this was truly a countywide project. An example is Mr Lee Parker who originally loaned his tractor, but expanded that offer to a truck and tractor and drivers.

This float--born of hard work, love and the need of civic expression,-- won second prize in Blackstone in the religious category.

F R E E D O M

C H R I S T M A S

There will be 10-20 volunteer workers in southside during the Christmas holidays working on VSCRC projects. The project, known as Freedom Christmas, is sponsored by the National Student Association (NSA). Between 300 and 600 college students are expected to participate in the south-wide project which will cover seven states (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.) Volunteers will urge Negroes to register by door-to-door canvassing, will assist in organizing and publicising local meetings on voter registration, and will help administer voter education projects. They will live with local families and will be required to provide their own expenses and transportation.

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE

The following material is available upon request from VSCRC:

*"Care and Feeding of Power Structures" by Jack Minnis, SNCC
*"An End To History" by Mario Savio, Berkly Free Speech Mvmt.
*"Jobs, Machines, and People" from Center for Study of Democratic Institutions
*List of films, pamphlets, etc. to use for discussion, fund raising, etc.

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

A car is a necessity for workers in largely rural southside counties. We are working one county now without a car. Can you help? Does your campus group need a project? Raise funds to buy a second-hand car for VSCRC work in Southside.

LUNENBURG CRY FOR EQUALITY!

by Nathaniel Hawthorne

Here are a few of the main reasons that I want to see that the low-income Negroes have the right to select their own representation for the Economic Opportunities Act Program in Lunenburg County. I worked with SCOPE and VSCRC on a voter registration drive in Lunenburg County this summer. I have been in almost every Negro home--rich, poor, professional, and nonprofessional. I have talked with Negroes that do not go to church and some of them do not send their children to school. The preachers and school teachers often do not know about these people. There are a lot of Negroes who do not know how to get on the welfare and the white man places the ones that they went on welfare, not the ones that need help.

Poverty is so bad in Lunenburg County that the Negro children have to travel a long route to school on the buses and they have to leave home so early that some of the children do not eat breakfast. The reason for the long bus route is that the Negro buses have to go to schools in both Kenbridge and Victoria and some buseshave to take two loads. The children do not have money to buy a hot lunch. They have peanut butter and jelly sandwiches and they are cold. The children have to ride a long route; they are tired and full of cold and they d not feel like studying.

I am President of the Lunenbur County branch of the NAACP. I wor ed with SCOPE this summer and am a member of VSCRC Staff. The law calls it civil rights, but I call it human rights. Under the civil rights law and the Economic Oppor tunity Act, all citizens have the right to select their own representation. Some of the people do not understand that the NAACP speaks for all the Negroes that do not know how to speak or are afraid to speak. I have the authority to speak for them but you should know what this is costing me. I have had my car shot up and have received all kinds of threats. The Ku Klux Klans have come over to the office in broad daylight and wrote my automobile license number down. They will be waiting for me on some lonely road one night.

VIRGINIA STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE
Box 79
Kenbridge, Virginia

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A CONFERENCE ON MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY

In the course of their discussions together, Students for a University members began to raise broader questions of issues that affect them as students, but which are not just related to the university.

1. What sort of democracy do we have in the university and in the country when the administrations make all the important decisions?
2. Why are we drafted, but not allowed to vote?
3. Should students on our campus be involved in politics like students in Latin America and at Berkeley?
4. How is our role as students like that of intellectuals, workers, artists, and poor people?

Early in the fall the group began to consider their relationship to other groups of students and to individuals in their region who believe these questions to be valid.

To promote discussion on the above and other questions, it was decided that a meeting of persons interested in the role of the student in our society would be helpful. You are invited to attend at Thanksgiving a

CONFERENCE ON MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY

From Thursday, noon, November 25
to Saturday, November 27, 1965
in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

The conference is sponsored by Students for a University and the Southern Student Organizing Committee. (Now PLEASE SEE REVERSE.)

Call about copies for LWD & VE

3 copies

Rec'd 11/22/65

Florida Student Conference on Human Relations
Methodist Youth Camp
Leesburg, Florida

November 12, 13, 14, 1965

sponsored by

Southern Student Human Relations Project, USNSA
Florida Council on Human Relations
Southern Student Organizing Committee

Friday, November 12

3:00 - 6:30 p.m. Registration and assignment of rooms.

6:30 - 7:30 p.m. Supper

8:00 p.m. First Session

Introduction: Rick Stevens, Assistant Director
Southern Project, U. S. N. S. A.

8:15 - 10:30 p.m. Presentations: John Cranor, New College

"The Responsibility of a Student Towards Social and Political Issues."
Dan Harmeling, Graduate Student in Anthropology, Univ. of Florida

"The Need For A Well Informed Student Body"
Gwendolyn Patton, Student Government President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

"Student Government: A Voice of Aware, Informed Active Students"
Jean Hoefer, former Student Government President, Agnes Scott College, Atlanta; Freshman, Univ. of South Carolina Law School

10:30 - 11:30 Discussion

Saturday, November 13

7:30 - 8:30 a.m. Breakfast

9:00 - 12:00 Concurrent Workshops

Concurrent Workshops

(1) "Student Government as a Union of Students"

Developing significant issues on campus relating to student concern, problems, and needs; a union of students and their concern for educational reform and academic freedom; developing significant student, faculty, administration relationships.

Discussion Leader: Al Levin, Univ. of Florida

Resource people: Gwen Patton, Tuskegee Institute
Jerry Buzelli, Florida Southern Col.
Lucin Cross, Univ. of Florida
Jean Hoefer, Univ. of South Carolina Law School

(2) "On Campus Human Relations Programming"

Previous experience in programs combating discrimination in campus housing, fraternities, athletics, and university acceptance; developing a campus atmosphere free of prejudice

Workship leaders: Marilyn Sokolof, Univ. of Florida
Melinda Freedman, AntiDefamation League

(3) "Developing Community Issues on Campus"

Getting students interested in community issues; using students in tutorials, community organizing, and voter registration; previous experiences in student social action; how to set up a community action project

Discussion leader: Scott Daughtery, Univ. of Miami

Resource people: Ed Lewis, Executive Director, Florida Council on Human Relations
John Rietz, Univ. of Miami
Jim Gahagan, Psychology Dept. University of Miami
Nathan Popkin, Professor Marymount College
Al Ulmer, Program Specialist Southern Regional Council

(4) "State-wide Coordination on Political and Social Issues"

Outlines of existing state programs; values derived through concentration on a few specific issues; the development of a newsletter; the structure and purpose of the Southern Student Organizing Committee

Discussion leader: Judy Benninger, Univ. of Fla.

Resource people: Hayes Mizell, Director, Southern Project, USNSA

Sue Thrasher, Executive Secretary, Southern Student Organizing Com.

12:00 - 1:00 p.m. Lunch

1:30 - 3:30 p.m. Concurrent Workshops

(1) "Extremism: Its Character and Influence"

An outline of extremism on the Right and Left with an emphasis on activities in Florida; areas of their concentration and influence

Workshop leader: Melinda Freedman, Director of Youth Work, Southern Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League

(2) "Issues in Educational Reform"

Discussion leader: Dan Harmeling; Univ. of Fla.

(3) "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties"

Fundamental questions of academic freedom; how the American Civil Liberties Union can work with students; discussion of the American Association of University Professor's statement on academic freedom.

Workshop leader: Professor William F. Marina Florida Atlantic University

(4) "Students and the Poverty Program"

Ways in which students may work with OEO; shortcomings of the poverty program; setting up a social change project; student limitations in working in depressed areas

Workshop leader: Al Ulmer, Program Specialist, Southern Regional Council

Resource people: Nathan Popkin, Marymount (Director of a summer migratory worker program)

John Rietz, University of Miami, (Director of a summer Headstart Program)

3:30 - 5:30 p.m. Special Workshops

(1)"USNSA: Its Function and Services"
Conducted by: Jean Hoefer, USNSA National Supervisory Board
Walt Senterfitt, USNSA Community Involvement Desk
Linda Colvard, USNSA Coordinator, Agnes Scott College

(2)"Migratory Workers and Student Projects"
Gren Whitman, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

Nathan Popkin, Marymount College

6:30 - 7:30 p.m. Supper

8:00 p.m. Keynote Speaker

"Civil Rights Is An Individual Issue"
Reverend Frank Pinkston
Headmaster, Mathews-Scippio Academy, Ocala, Fla.

"No More Social Service Projects"
Mr. Al Ulmer, Program Specialist, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Opportunity for discussion from audience

10:30 p.m.	Films
	"Walk in My Shoes"
	An ABC-TV film documentary in the "Close-Up" series exploring the innermost feelings of the Negro as he reacts to prejudice and discrimination in America.
	"No Hiding Place"
	Winner of the 1964 Blue Ribbon Award of the Education Film Library Association. One of the CBS-TV "East Side/West Side" series which exposes the evils of "Block Busting" perpetrated by unscrupulous real estate dealers upon surburban home owners.

Sunday, November 14

8:30 - 9:30 a.m.	Breakfast (Chapel service will be a 9:00 a.m.)
9:30 -11:30 a.m.	"Free University of Florida" Ed Richer, Chancellor, Free University of Florida
	"Southern Student Organizing Committee" Sue Thrasher, Executive Secretary
	"American Civil Liberties Union" Dr. Marshal Jones, Chairman, Gainesville Chapter
12:00 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:00 - 2:30 p.m.	Final Session (content to be determined at Saturday evening session)

THE POOPed SHEET

THE POOPed SHEET Vol. 1, No. 2
November, 1965

An exclusive newsletter for the members of the 8th Southern Student Human relations Seminar and friends of the USSA Southern Project

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS--CONFERENCE ON MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY:

Ann Valliant, one of the 8th SSHRS participants, is among those who are initiating a Conference on Meaningful Democracy at the University of Arkansas, Nov. 25-27. The conference idea originated with communications between Arkansas and Louisiana students about university reform. It was enlarged to include more topics and students from other states.

The conference is being planned by the Unitarian Channing Club and Students for a University at the University of Arkansas. Representatives of the sponsoring organizations say that the purpose of the conference is to "stimulate a free exchange of ideas between people of different backgrounds and experience."

Although specific topics will be chosen by the groups after they arrive, it is expected that among the topics which will be discussed will be education, civil rights, community relations, university reform, and Vietnam. Ann is very anxious for as many of you as possible to attend the conference. See the enclosed brochure for additional information and details. We hope to see you there!

COLUMBIA COLLEGE SOUTHERN AFFAIRS SEMINAR:

Cathy Tyler, a senior at Columbia College (Columbia, S.C.) and a participant in the 8th SSHRS, has organized the Columbia College Southern Affairs Seminar which will be held at the college on Nov. 20. In many respects the Seminar is a microcosm of the 8th SSHRS since the format is similar, and the subjects of Southern history, politics, economy, and religion will be discussed.

The Seminar, which is being sponsored by the college and is strongly supported by Columbia College president Dr. R. Wright Spears, will involve ten students from Columbia College, four from Allen College, four from the University of South Carolina, four from Benedict College and four from Mather Academy. All of the participating schools are located in the Columbia area, with the exception of Mather Academy. Allen, Benedict, and Mather are predominantly Negro.

The Seminar is the first time such a program has been held on the Columbia College campus, and Cathy and Dr. Spears hope that it will be possible to sponsor an expanded version next spring or fall. See the enclosure for details of the program.

KLOEPFER SPEAKS AT U.S.L.:

Ruth Kloepfer, an 8th SSHRS participant from Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University, will speak to the University of Southwestern Louisiana Newman Club on December 9. Ruth's SSHRS paper, "The Psychological Effects of Poverty" has been published by the Southern Project and widely distributed, and she will speak on poverty at U.S.L. Fred Wright, also a SSHRS participant and a student at U.S.L., was instrumental in arranging for Ruth to speak.

MONEY AVAILABLE FOR STUDENT PROJECTS:

The Southern Regional Council (5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia) has recently received a grant which enables them to financially aid projects initiated by Southern students. Actually, the grants are made by SRC to the individual state councils on human relations which in turn aid the student project. Your project prospectus should be submitted simultaneously to your state human relations council and to Mr. Al Ulmer at SRC. The prospectus should include information pertaining to why the project is needed, who will participate, the exact purpose and program of the project, a budget estimate, how it will be administered, etc. Such a project might involve the publication of

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MONEY AVAILABLE...
a state student newsletter, a community organization project, a tutorial program, or any one of a number of programs which are needed in your state and which students can successfully begin. Why not submit your proposal to your state human relations council? Get to work now! By the way, the maximum for most grants is about $500 or less, but we hear that if you have a really great program you might be able to get $1000. Obviously, the money will go fast!

FLORIDA STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE:
On the weekend of November 12-13, the Southern Project sponsored the Florida Student Human Relations Conference at the Methodist Youth Camp at Leesburg, Florida. Chiefly initiated and organized by Rick Stevens, assistant director of the Southern Project, the conference was attended by approximately seventy-five students. The conference was blessed by the presence of a number of excellent resource persons who were able to consult individually and collectively with the students. There was general agreement that the conference was extremely worthwhile and valuable. See the enclosed schedule and newspaper reprint for the conference program.

As a result of the conference, the students decided to: (1)Form a continuations committee which will travel to the Florida college campuses, and will offer program suggestions to the students. (2)Publish a state newsletter concerned with significant developments of civil liberties, academic freedom, civil rights, peace, etc, on Florida college campuses. (3)Work on the possibility of holding a spring conference. (4)Develop a community organization project for next summer.

SUMMER PROJECTS:
Now is the time for you to encourage the administration of your college to consider initiating a summer project which will utilize "work-study" students in tutorial projects in the community. Such students are able to work up to 40 hours a week in the summer under the Economic Opportunity Act work-study program which is administered by the U.S. Office of Education.

We will soon send you the souvenir edition of "The TISEP Reporter," the official weekly paper of the Tuskegee Institute Summer Education Program. This will give you some idea of the massive scale on which a program as described above can be conducted in your state. The tutors were funded through the work-study program while the materials, administrative salaries, and rental of buildings was financed by a community action demonstration program grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506. If you want to know more about such a project, contact Mr. David Walls at the OEO office. Mr. Walls will be happy to discuss this program with you, and if you are seriously interested you should call him collect at (202) 382-6462.

The advantage of this program is that work-study proposals cannot be vetoed by your governor. If you feel that your college would not be interested in such a program, why not contact a neighboring college you feel will be more interested? You can start a program which will benefit your state and community. Why not try it!? You can do it!

RECOMMENDED READING:

Southern Education Report (monthly magazine, $2.00 per year, P.O. Box 6156, Nashville, Tennessee 37212)
Provides accurate, unbiased information on developments in education, with emphasis on programs for the education of culturally disadvantaged children in the 17 Southern and border states.

The Autobiography of Malcom X. Grove Press, 455 pp. 1965, $7.50.

"The Vietnam Protest," The New York Review of Books, Volume 5, Number 8, pages 12-13. A statement by Irving Howe, Bayard Rustin, Lewis Coser, Michael Harrington, and others on the Vietnam protest movement, marches, civil disobedience, et.

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SSHRS CORRESPONDENCE:

CELLESTINE HILL writes that she is planning to push for the formation of a human relations committee of the YWCA at the Women's College of Georgia. She hopes that she can also open the doors for more discussion on the campus in regard to human relations.

RAY McCLAIN hasn't written to tell us how he likes it up North, but you can write to him in care of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

CATHY TYLER has written a long article on the SSHRS for the Columbia College Post Script and has also written an extensive article comparing NSA and the Southern Universities Student Government Association. She is having a visitor from Purdue during the Thanksgiving holidays. Cathy is giving some thought to going to the University of North Carolina next year to do graduate work in history.

ANN VALLIANT has been involved in studying the family structure of the Negro community in Fayetteville, Arkansas, along with another student. A paper has been prepared based on their findings and will be presented at the American Anthropological Association annual conference in Denver. Ann is being sent as a delegate to the conference, all expenses paid.

BETTIE HILL has written to NSA for some materials which she hopes will stimulate some thought and action on the Mississippi Valley State College campus.

STAN FRICK attended a recent steering committee meeting of the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations and we saw him there. Though we didn't get much of an opportunity to talk with him, it seems that all is well with him at Newberry College.

LULA MORTON led a discussion group at the Fourth Annual Kentucky College Conference on Intergroup Relations, and later wrote a report on the conference for the Transylvania College newspaper. Luda has been using her SSHRS materials as the basis for an informal discussion group in her dormitory.

SHERRY ALLEN has started her pre-teaching/intership training by acting as an assistant teacher. She is enjoying her tutorial experience also, and is still looking for some way to get to Europe for several months next summer. Sherry attended the Florida Student Human Relations Conference. By the way, she recently turned 21 and is happy that now she can go to the "a-go-go" clubs--but she still hasn't been.

DALE CALDWELL wrote lamenting over the lack of meaningful content in the Memphis State University newspaper, Tiger Rag. Dale has also begun a one-man protest against the Vietnam war by pinning an "END VIETNAM WAR NOW" sticker across the back of his tweed jacket and then going about his business on campus. Obviously, this has stimulated considerable dialogue at Memphis State.

CAROLYN BREWSTER has been quite busy at Miles College where she was in charge of planning the homecoming activities and is involved in numerous other campus affairs. She was helpful in enabling us to talk with the Dean and the student body president who are now interested in Miles becoming affiliated with NSA--thanks to Carolyn's encouragement and harassment. She hopes to start participating in an intercollegiate discussion group (involving Birmingham Southern College, Miles College, and Howard College) just as soon as football season is over and she is not so busy with band practice.

FRED WRIGHT hopes that he will be able to get Joe Hendricks to speak on the University of Southwestern Louisiana campus this spring. In the meantime, Fred is planning a program on Vietnam for the Newman Club. Fred reports that U.S.L. played an integrated football team for the first time recently, and that the campus human relations council is beginning to become more active.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING? WE STILL HAVEN'T HEARD FROM SOME OF YOU!

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ADDRESSES YOU SHOULD KNOW:

Youth Educational Services (YES)
P.O. Box 3067
West Durham Station
Durham, North Carolina 27705

YES is available to give you detailed information on tutorials and related problems. When making an inquiry, please give the specifics of your tutorial situation or problem.

Mr. Richard Reiss
Americans for the Reappraisal of
Far Eastern Policy
404-A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

A new "responsible" organization which feels that the best approach toward solving our present dilemma in Vietnam is to encourage the re-evaluation of our whole Asian policy.

Students for a Democratic Society
1103 East 63rd Street
Chicago 37, Illinois
Telephone (312) 667-6050

HUMOR

At the recent annual dinner of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. James McBride Dabbs, former president of SRC and one of speakers at the 8th SSHRS, introduced the main speaker for the evening, Dr. C. Vann Woodward. Following his introduction Dr. Dabbs sat down, ready to light his pipe and listen to Dr. Woodward's remarks. Dr. Woodward, meanwhile, made a few introductory remarks, saying how pleasant it was to be back in Atlanta. Then he hesitated, fidgeted, and said, "Now if Dr. Dabbs will hand me my manuscript we will get on with the proceedings." Dr. Dabbs, who is well-known for his easy Southern manner, returned the manuscript to Woodward--and proceeded to turn a brilliant shade of red.

END

Southern Advisory Board to the U.S. National Student Association

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
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5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rev. Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
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1818 South Main Street
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Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

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TAMPA, FLORIDA, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1965

Students Call for Hand in Running of Colleges

By JOHN FRASCA
Tribune Staff Writer

LEESBURG — There were not many of them at the weekend student meeting at the Methodist Youth Camp, but those who came were deadly serious and they drove in from all parts of the South. One girl got a ticket for speeding near Atlanta.

"From one of those damn Georgia cops," is the way she put it.

It was the Florida Student Human Relations Conference to discuss social, political and economic change. About 70 students attended the three-day meeting sponsored by the Southern Student Human Relations Project, the Florida Council on Human Relations and Southern Student Organizing Committee.

Some of the participants were veterans of the civil rights wars. They had marched in Selma and Birmingham. In introducing one speaker, the moderator ticked off the number of times he had been in jail.

"If they give you a 30-day sentence," said the speaker, "you really only serve about five days. You'd be surprised about how much you learn in jail."

Generally, the students did not like the way the colleges in the South were being run. They scorned what some of them termed the "student government types" and blasted professors who spend much of their time off campus delivering lectures.

The only joke told during the first two days had to do with a college instructor who was going off on one of his trips and left word that he would teach by tape-recorder during his absence.

"He was going to have his lectures run off on a big tape recorder," said Gwen Patton, president of student government at Tuskegee Institute. "But he didn't have to leave on the day he was scheduled to begin his trip. So he went to class that day, as usual.

"When he got there, he found a big tape-recorder talking to 31 little tape-recorders."

The essence of Miss Patton's remarks was that students are not being properly taught, that the professors with big reputations spend most of their time lecturing elsewhere and preparing research papers.

She said that student government could do more than worry about football and homecoming queens — and that a strong student government could have something to say about the operation of the school.

This view was echoed by Jean Hoefer, of the University of South Carolina Law School. A former student government president at Agnes Scott College, Miss Hoefer pointed to the strength of students in Latin-American countries.

"They run the government," she said.

She suggested a nation-wide union of college students that would have a voice in the running of the municipal, state and national governments.

Dan Harmeling, a graduate student at the University of Florida, said that today's Joe and Jane College know nothing of the community outside the university walls.

"This is the opportunity they have to do something," he said. "When they get out of college they join the status quo. They can't do the things they want and should do. They get a job and then can't do anything significant because they must be careful lest they offend their employer or their colleagues. The time to do something about social and political problems is while you are in school, before you belong to the status quo."

Harmeling also advised against joining sororities or fraternities. He said these were also forms of status quo.

Most of the students took huge bites out of student government and student government types in Florida. They said that, in most instances, student governments were only extensions of the administration and were told what to do.

"The student government is the wedge," said Miss Hoefer. "You can do something with it. You can make it count for something. You don't have to let the administration run you."

She said that student government types were the people who were running the government and pointed out that the time to influence these types" was while they are students.

"If you can talk to them and reason with them while they are in school," she said, "you'll be able to reason with them later when they're running things."

Rick Stevens, of Atlanta, asaistant director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, said he was so impressed with the response from Florida students that plans are under way to hold meetings on many campuses in the state. The discussions will be on social, political and economic change.

While most students in the state were attending or listening to football games yesterday, this dead-serious 70 were conducting workshops on such subjects as "Extremist Elements," "Educational Reform," and "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties."

However, there were three pretty little things from a Catholic school who wondered how the Gators would do against Tulane. They spoke in whispers, though, lest they disturb the world-changers.

"Well, what do you want us to do?" asked one of the moderators. "When students were swallowing goldfish a few years ago, everybody said that college kids ought to do something worthwhile.

"Now they're trying to do something worthwhile and people are sniggering at us.

"Honestly, I think they'd rather we go back to eating goldfish."

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November 8, 1965

Dear _____:

You have been recommended by school officials as a representative from your school to the COLUMBIA COLLEGE SOUTHERN AFFAIRS SEMINAR on November 20, 1965. This will be a new experience for most of us, and we hope that the Seminar will prove to be both informative and provocative in our thinking about the locale in which we live.

SCHEDULE

9:00-9:30a.m. Registration

9:30-10:15a.m. KEYNOTE: "THE SOUTH: A NEW PERSPECTIVE"
Dr. James McBride Dabbs

10:15-10:45a.m. Coffee and Conversation

10:45-12:45p.m. SOUTHERN HISTORY AND POLITICS: THE CHANGING SOUTH

"Main Themes of Change in Southern History"
Prof. William A. Foran, University of S.C.

"Commentary on Contemporary Politics"
Mr. William F. Able (conservative)

"Commentary on Contemporary Politics"
Mr. Walker Solomon (liberal)

1:00-2:00p.m. Lunch

2:00-3:00p.m. THE SOUTHERN ECONOMY

"The Condition of the Southern Economy"
Dr. A.C. Flora, Jr.

"Federal Programs and the Southern Economy"
Mr. L.S. James

3:15-4:15p.m. THE SOUTHERN CHURCH

"The Church in Southern History"
Dr. George Anderson

"The Church's Responsibility in the Contemporary South" Dr. Walter Storrs

4:15-4:30p.m. Evaluation

We ask that you fill out and return the enclosed card to Catherine Tyler by November 13th (a self-addressed envelop has been included). The $2.00 registration fee will include lunch on Saturday and will help cover seminar expenses. If there are any questions or problems, you may call Catherine Tyler at PO 5-2491, extension 691.

We are looking forward to having you on our campus.

Catherine Tyler
Student Coordinator

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Campus Work

YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA • CHAPEL HILL

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UNC YM-YWCA
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

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February 2, 1966

Mr. J. E. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

During our conversation at the Annual Dinner of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations at Raleigh last month, I briefly outlined the work being done here on a guide of financial aid for Negro students. This booklet, in its first edition, is now complete. I am enclosing two copies for your inspection.

This particular edition is more specifically destined to North Carolina Negro students. Although we had considerable material on scholarships in other states, the lack of time, labor, and funds prevented its inclusion at this time.

At present, we are planning a second edition to be available for distribution to next year's crop of high school graduates. Hopefully, this edition will be far more complete. Southwide distribution would be our goal.

For the present edition, we have published 1,000 copies. At this writing, over half of them have already been distributed in one week. Ideally, we would like a publication of some 10,000 booklets for the next edition.

As you specified, I am sending along a budget request for this second booklet. I have attached a schedule of costs incurred in the publication of the first edition. Two budget estimates for the second booklet are enclosed, one is a low estimate figured using volunteers to assemble the booklet, the other is figured on contracting out the assembly of the booklet. I hope that the Southern Regional Council may be able to act favorably on all or a portion of this request.

Sincerely yours,

Tony Mason

Tony Mason, Chairman
UNC-YMCA Human Relations
Committee

dm
Encls.

COSTS INCURRED ON FIRST EDITION PRINTING

The first edition of Financial Aid for Southern Negro Students was printed and assembled by volunteer work. One thousand copies were printed.

Schedule of costs:

Office supplies		
* stapler and staples		$ 13.50
collating aids		2.03
Printing supplies		
50 reams	20 wt. paper @ 12.80/ 20 ream case	64.00
1 ream	second paper	1.00
4 tubes	mimeographing ink @ #.00 ea	12.00
2 quire	stencils @ $3.50	7.00
Cover Costs		
Printing - 1000 covers,	etching of * cover plate	78.00
Protograph for cover		1.85
Mailing costs		
800 mailings requesting scholarship aid.	Envelopes:	8.00
	Postage (1st class)	40.00
Booklet mailing costs		
400 envelopes (9" x 12")	@ 2.30 /c	9.20
* Rubber stamps		4.00
Mailing labels		1.20
	TOTAL	$241.78

* Those starred items are non-recurring expenses.

HIGH COST PROJECTED BUDGET

This budget request assumes that the printing and assembling of the booklet will be contracted again. Ten thousand guides would be published containing 70 printed pages or 38 sheets of paper.

10,000 booklets of 70 printed pages or 38 sheets would require 760 reams of 20 wt. paper of $ 1.28	$ 972.80
Lowest estimated cost ofpprinting and assembly per lithographed printed page @ $10. (70 masters)	700.00
10,000 copies (not our printing)	500.00
There would be approximately 2250 mailings to Southern high schools. Organizations, individuals on our previous mailings, and projected student demand ought to account for 2750 additional copies. About 4000 of these booklets would be distributed gratis. There would then be 5000 copies left for future distribution. Bulk rate postage and manila envelopes per booklet mailing (figured on present costs) are .06¢ ea.	
5000 bookets	300.00
It is assumed that the sale of some booklets would supply sufficient capital to mail out the second 5000 copies	
	$ 2,472.80

LOW COST PROJECTED BUDGET

This budget request assumes that the printing and assembly of the booklet is done by volunteer labor. Ten thousand copies would be published. The proposed booklet would be expanded to include 70 printed pages or 38 sheets of paper.

10,000 booklets of 70 printed pages or 38 sheets would require 760 reams of 20 wt. paper	@ 1.28	$972.80
10,000 covers (not our printing)		500.00
70 master plates for "Y" lithograph @ $5.00 ea		350.00
Ink		
30,000 3/8" staples		30.00

There would be approximately 2250 mailings to Southern Negro high schools. Organizations, individuals on our previous mailings, and projected student demand ought to account for 2750 additional copies. About 4000 of these booklets would be distributed gratis. There would then be 5000 copies left for future distribution. Bulk rate postage and manila envelopes per booklet mailing (figured on present costs) are .06¢ ea.

5000 booklets	300.00

It is assumed that the sale of some bookets would supply sufficient capital to mail out the second 5000 copies

$2,202.80

Scholarship Information Center
University of North Carolina YMCA-YWCA
Human Relations Committee
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Bulletin #3

- College Students -
GRADUATING THIS YEAR?

Many deadlines are imminent; get your grad school applications in immediately.

The following departments at the UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA graduate school are excellant, and rather hard to get into (at least B average, and good GRE score required): Physics (Prof. Eugen Merzbacher, Chm.), Chemistry (Prof. R. G. Hiskey), Statistics (Prof. George Nicholson), Mathematics (Prof. W. E. Jenner, Chm.)., Dept. of Botany, Psychometrics Institute (Prof. William Wynn), and others. The music Dept. has some very good people, e.g. in voice, and offers a lot. Vice Pres. Branch has some applications for U.N.C. A good major in any subject who is strong in mathematics should apply to Prof. John W. Tukey, Chm., Dept. of Statistics, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. if interested in grad work (for PhD) in statistics pure or applied to any subject. Recommended for a strong Chem or Biology major: Dept. of Biol. (write Prof. Donald Kennedy, Chm.), STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford, Cal. For excellent statistics dept. at Stanford: Prof. Lincoln Moses, Chm. DUKE UNIVERSITY is a good grad school too.

GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN MEDICAL SCIENCES, PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL STATISTICS have these advantages:

(1) Usually a bit easier to get into than major grad schools
(2) Lots of fellowships ($2,400 plus tuition) available.

The National Institutes of Health of the U. S. Public Health Service provide these, because the need for people trained in medical and public health research is so great. The courses, mostly given at a School of Public Health or a medical school, are not MD courses, but PhD, DSc, or MPH (Master of Public Health) etc.

E.G., at University of N. C. School of Public Health, Chapel Hill, N. C., apply to Dr. D. A. Okun, Chm. Dept. of Environmental Engineering for admission and a fellowship for PhD studies in any of the following: Biology, Ecology, Chemistry, Microbiology, Radiological Hygiene, Air Polution, (etc.). You can also write to Dr. Robert Mah in the same dept. (he's a microbiologist) who will be glad to answer any questions you have about the various programs. Then there's the MSPH. Master of Sci. in Public Health in Biostatistics: Apply for admission and fellowship to Dr. Herbert A. David, Dept. of Biostat.

The Medical School at UNC also has PhD programs. So do all the major medical schools and schools of public health. Courses include those listed above and some of these: BIOCHEMISTRY, PATHOLOGY, ANATOMY, PSYCHOLOGY, MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY, PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, SOCIAL WORK. Lots of government money available. For a list of programs get Public Health Service Grants and Awards, Part II, Training Grants, Traineeships and Fellowships - get it from N.I.H., U. S. Public Health Service, Bethesda, Md. 20014. Apply to Chairman, Dept. of whatever it is at the medical school. You find most of the above programs given at these: UCLA medical school, Chicago Univ. medical school. Some at the med schools at Jackson and Birmingham. Also apply at the following if interested:

Columbia University School of Public Health, Dept. of Biostatistics, John W. Fertig, Chm., 168th St. and Broadway, N. Y. C.: The MPH program there is very good and is relatively easy to get into. Only prerequisites are a year of calculus, probability and statistics, some biology and a fairly good average; strength in something else can substitute for biology or probability and statistics. A good program in PHARMACOLOGY: Dr. Avram Goldstein, Chrman, Dept. of Pharmacology, Stanford Univ. Medical Center, Stanford, California.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY MAJORS are needed in research and in public health. Lots of training programs psychology, soc. work, med. sociology, etc. are financed by the Natl. Inst. of Mental Health. The Psychology Dept. at UNC has lots of NIMH fellowships.

Scholarship Information Center
University of North Carolina YMCA-YWCA
Human Relations Committee
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Bulletin #1

SOME GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN MEDICAL SCIENCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Graduates wishing to take advanced studies in subjects related to Chemistry, Biological or Medical sciences at the University of N. C. may apply for admission to graduate departments located either (1) in the University proper or (2) in the School of Public Health or (3) in the School of Medicine. Some information about a few of the programs in the first two is summarized on some other sheets. There the fellowships from the U.S. Public Health Service to pay for tuition at the School of Public Health plus a couple of thousand dollars a year stipend are mentioned.

The following is concerned with a few PhD programs available in some of the departments of the Medical School: Bacteriology and Immunology (that's one department), Biochemistry, Genetics and Molecular Biology (that's one), and Physiology. (Programs in the Pathology department require two years of medical school before youstart). In general these programs, which are apt to take four years in many cases, give you an excellant training in modern medical sciences and prepare you for very fine research positions; people with this training are in high demand. Entrance requirements are fairly high, and the graduate record examination is always taken into account; but there is no clear minimum required score: your whole undergraduate record makes a big difference.

Admission to most of these programs requires that you have had a year of organic chemistry, a year of biology, a year of calculus, a year of physics and in some departments you must have had a course in genetics too, and physical chemistry. If you lack one of these courses but the rest of your record in these sciences is pretty strong, then you may be admitted and make up the extra course when you get there.

There are fellowships available to pay for tuition plus a stipend (income) of $2400.

All of these departments and their programs, though housed in the medical school are listed in the catalogue, Record of the Univ. of N. C. at Chapel Hill, for the Graduate School, and not in the catalogue for the School of Medicine. So you can get a lot of the details out of the Graduate School catalogue. In addition there are two booklets from the Genetics department (one on the courses and one on the fellowships available) and one from the Biochemistry department. These tell you to send your application to the Department Chairmen, Dr. John B. Graham and Dr. J. Logan Irvin. For other departments you can send your application either to the Chairman or to the Graduate School, University of North Carolina.

In any case, your application form is the same kind used for all departments of the Graduate School. Actually these come in two versions, "Application for Admission" and "Application for a Graduate Appointment" and it is advisable to use the letter kind. In addition you write a letter saying you'd like to apply for a Fellowship. You will also have to get three reference forms and transcripts and GRE sent to the Graduate School or to the Department head, whichever it is you are communicating with.

Don't forget to check into PhD (or DSC) programs in medical sciences at the medical schools at Jackson and Birmingham too. And Tulane, Duke, Vanderbilt, Washington University, etc...

APPLICATIONS AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AND MANY OF THE OTHER SCHOOLS MUST BE SUBMITTED VERY SOON TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF BEING CONSIDERED.

If you would like to receive these special bulletins as they are published, please send us your name and address for our regular mailing list.

Bulletin #2

COLLEGE SOPHOMORES, JUNIORS, even FRESHMEN

If you're interested in some kind of graduate or professional program after graduation, a good time to get your foot in the door is THIS YEAR. You can do this mainly by making the fullest use of your summer:

(1) If you attend summer school at a University, successful completion of a few courses there (don't take a heavy load), will greatly improve your chances of getting into the University's graduate school later, as well as give you an idea whether you want to. You and the University get a chance to look each other over, to some extent, (in spite of the fact that summer sessions are rather different from the academic year). It gives you useful contacts and an idea of the variety of different brandes and subjects you can go into later. (For instance, departments and fields of study at UNC include the following: Biophysics, Communication Center, Dental Research, Folklore, Information Science, Institute of Fisheries Research, Institute of Latin American Studies, Medical Sociology, Microbiology, Psychometrics, Urban and Regional Studies. Some college students never even hear about these. Yet there's no reason why you shouldn't get into one of these fields.

Even at a tough university, it's mostly quite easy to get into the summer school. Some suggestions (for instance): Tulane University, University of N. C. at Chapel Hill, Duke University in Durham, Vanderbilt, University of Alabama, University of Mississippi, Washington University, Mo., Chicago University. Inquire about a possible scholarship or loan for the summer at that University.

(2) There's a variety of summer jobs, and for most of these you should write and apply soon. Many summer job experiences, ranging from research jobs and training fellowships that tax your book knowledge to the fullest, to routine clerical jobs in a research or professional environment, besides providing income for the summer can

Give you an idea what a profession is about,
Hence give you ideas as to what you want to take up
and what elective courses to take next year in preparation,
Teach you things you can never learn in class,
Give you useful contacts,
Open doors to graduate and career opportunities to you in the future,
And be an interesting change.

Oftentimes a department of a medical school, or a city Department of Health (or of anything else), or a firm, etc., likes to take you on for two or three successive summers with the idea that you may later study and work there full time, if they like your work and you like what they have to offer. Without that first summer they'll never know and you'll never know.

FINANCIAL AID FOR SOUTHERN NEGRO STUDENTS

THE UNIVERSITY
OF NORTH CAROLINA YM-YWCA

FINANCIAL AID FOR SOUTHERN NEGRO STUDENTS

Compiled by the University of North Carolina
YM-YWCA Human Relations Committee
First Edition
January, 1966

YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA • CHAPEL HILL

To the Principal or Guidance Counselor:

With the expanding technology of this modern age, a college education more than anything else has become the key to a successful life. Now with over fifty per cent of all American high school graduates going to college in pursuit of this "key," our institutions of higher learning are bursting with more than four million students. This number is growing every year. While students flock to the American campus, there are few if any new schools being built to absorb everyone who would like to go to college. As a result colleges have become more and more selective, and above all have had to become more and more expensive in order to continue quality education. Unfortunately, the expense of college turns many qualified students away from furthering their education.

Negro students and particularly Southern Negro students because of long years of discrimination, segregation, and deprivation have found the step between high school and college extremely difficult or impossible. With new opportunities beginning to open up for your students, it is more urgent than ever for them to go to college now; yet, the expense still may be formidable. Expense, however, should not keep any qualified student out of college. There are millions of dollars worth of scholarships and loans available nowadays, and much of it is available to Negro students. How many students for example know that the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn has several four-year scholarships for Southern Negro students who are interested in engineering. A small liberal arts college in Minnesota has three scholarships especially earmarked for Negro students. Closer to home, a central North Carolina seminary has scholarships for Negro students who wish to enter the ministry. Yet how many students know of these grants?

The University of North Carolina YM-YWCA's Human Relations Committee felt that there was a wide "information gap" between Negro students and scholarship sources. This booklet, we hope, will be able to bridge part of that gap. We would like to present this guide to you with our compliments in hopes that your students may benefit from it.

Originally we were planning to put out a much larger, far more complete guide. We still hope to, but this abbreviated edition seemed necessary now for those students who plan to enter college next year. We have included more material for North Carolina students in this edition than we have material for students of other states. In our later publication we intend to include more scholarship and loan sources from other Southern states so that this booklet may be distributed South-wide.

If you desire additional copies of this booklet, they may be ordered by using the order form at the end of this guide. This undertaking has been expensive; you may wish to contribute toward the second edition projected for May of this year. Contributions made out to the University North Carolina YMCA are Income Tax deductible. In any event, may we have your comments on improving future editions.

Brenda Bethel
Tony Mason
Betsy Price
Ben Spaulding, Jr., Chairman
Joyce Watkins
SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION COMMITTEE
of the HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

This booklet is designed as a "guide" to scholarship and loan aid presently available to southern Negro students. It contains the names and addresses of 145 sources which, our committee feels, will accept on a equitable basis the applications of Negro college and graduating high school students. Our committee has also put forth an effort to evaluate the criteria for each of the awards listed, being guided by that data we have solicited from the various sources. Too many students, of all races are not aware of the vast amount of scholarships, loans, and other financial aid available to them. We hope that these efforts will be helpful in bridging the information gap which exists in this area.

Next to an applicant's personal qualifications, the most important item in applying for scholarship aid is the student's application. Except for those grants where interviews are necessary, the application is the only personal contact a foundation has with the student. For this reason, most scholarship sources regard the student's application as a direct reflection of his general character and ability. If an application is disorganized, dirty, or grammatically incorrect, a reviewing board will assume that these are the general characteristics of the student. Misspelled words, ambiguous answers, and incomplete information are most often those faults which disqualify an applicant in the eyes of a reviewing board.

Most scholarship aid is awarded on the basis of academic scholarship and financial need. It is imperative, therefore, that a student relate truthfully information of this nature. Most reviewing boards have had enough experience in this area to quickly spot excessive estimates of need. On the other hand, a student should not under-estimate the amount of his need, with the hope that he has a better chance of receiving aid when asking for a smaller amount. If financial need were the final factor in granting an award, a student who has greatest need would be the one most likely to receive the award. As far as the academic record is concerned, all sources who grant aid on a scholastic basis, send to the student's school for his academic record. It would be very embarrassing to find that a student's record is different from that which he has stated.

Questions on most applications usually ask about the following: parents living, their occupations, their annual income, their assets (property,stock, savings, etc.), their outstanding debts, number of children in family, those in school, those working, applicant's financial resources (savings, earnings, personal assets, relatives, etc.), applicant's work experience, his total financial expenses, balance from need and resources (amount of award needed), his career interest, his grades, his participation in extra-curricular activities, his participation in community activities, his academic status in class, academic competence (SAT and other national test scoures), educational experience outside of regular sessions (summer school). Many applications will require the applicant to secure character references. Other applications may even require a written statement telling why the applicant is applying for help. In all, an application may appear long and burdensome, but the questions asked are crucial in the eyes of the reviewing board - so complete all answers accurately and concisely.

It is our hope that the information included in this booklet will be of help to those students who are in need of financial assistance. It is also our hope that the evaluations accompanying each listing will help to save time and effort when looking for suitable aid. Although we have no scholarship funds available for needy students, we are happy to serve as the middle-man by informing students of other organizations which do have them. We wish you success with your future education. If any of our material is outdated or erroneous, we would appreciate hearing from you on the matter.

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Additional copies of this guide are available at 25¢ each plus five cents for postage and handling from the University of North Carolina YM-YWCA Human Relations Committee, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

The YM-YWCA Human Relations Committee wishes to thank Mr. Norman Gustaveson, who advised us throughout the development of this guide. Special thanks are also due Mrs. Helen Hammond and Mrs. Dorothy Meyer, who did the backbreaking work of typing the stencils for this booklet and without whom this guide would have been impossible.

The cover design is by Robert Arndt.

A scholarship is an outright grant of money or other consideration given to an [illegible] on the basis of superior academic [illegible]

Below on this page begins our listing of scholarships which are available to you upon graduation from high school or are available to you later during your college career. Each scholarship has been carefully studied, condensed and keyed according to a form which is standard throughout this guide. The key is as follows:

0. THE NAME OF THE SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: This heading will tell you if high school students or college students or college students are considered for the scholarship. Where Valid: Some scholarships are to be used at specific colleges and universities. If the scholarship is limited to a particular college or university, note the number just before the Name of the Scholarship (in this case 0.), then consult the Index to Colleges and Scholarships at the back of this guide. This scholarship will be valid at every college or university with the number 0 beside it. Restrictions: Some scholarships limit themselves to students of a particular sex, a particular interest, or the like. Some scholarships are specifically limited to Negroes. Other than in this case, all scholarships are awarded regardless of the applicant's race. Those scholarships which are available only to residents of a particular state are listed in a separate section. The word "None" indicates that there are no known restrictions. Value: Where possible, we try to give the exact number and the value of the scholarship offered. How to Apply: If the scholarship interests you, and you desire application blanks, you should write to the address listed under this heading. Basis of Award: Under this heading, we have tried to list the various criteria used in the selection of applicants. Scholarship and need are the two most common ones, although extracurricular activities, character, and service are often considered, too. Deadline: Many scholarships require that applications reach the central office before a certain date. Where possible, we have listed this date. Almost all dates are based upon an intended entry into college in the fall semester. When the word "Unspecified" appears here, it would be wise to have your applications in by March 1, at the latest.

We hope that with this key and the scholarships listed in this guide, you will be able to find the aid that will insure your college education. Good luck!

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS

Below is a listing of National Scholarships. These grants are made to students residing anywhere in the United States.

1. ALPHA GAMMA RHO NATIONAL AGRICULTURE FRATERNITY SCHOLARSHIP:
Eligibility: High school seniors a/o college freshman. Where Valid: Accredited college of agriculture. Restrictions: 4-H Club or F.F.A. members. Value: $200. Eligible for only one scholarship. How to apply: Write: Maynard H. Coe, Executive Secretary, 323 Cornell Avenue, Des Plaines, Illinois. Basis of Award: 4-H or F. F.A. club records, scholarship, achievement and demonstrated need. Deadline: November 1 and June 1.

2. ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY SCHOLARSHIPS:
Eligibility: High school graduating seniors. Some undergraduate awards to members of college fraternity. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None. Value: Number and value vary from year to year. How to Apply: Dr. Oscar W. Ritchie, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. Basis of Award: Need, promise of community service, scholastic achievement. Deadline: May 1, of year of entry to college.

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3. ALPHA PI OMEGA SCHOLARSHIPS (Minnesota)
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Minnesota. Restriction: Boy Scouts only. Value: One or two $200. a year. How to Apply: Bureau of Student Loans and Scholarships, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Basis of Award: Need and scholarship. Deadline: Unspecified.

4. ALPHA PI OMEGA SCHOLARSHIP (New Jersey)
Eligibility: Member of freshman class. Where valid: Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey. Restriction: Boy Scouts only. Value: Year's tuition. How to Apply: Erickson Scholarship, Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey. Basis of Award: Scholarship. Deadline: Unspecified.

5. AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION. (AAHPER)
Eligibility: Superior high school seniors. Where valid: Acceptable accredited schools with desired programs. Restrictions: Limited to students preparing for teaching and leadership in areas of physical education, health, and, safety education and recreation. Value: From $1,000 to $2,000 over a period of four years. How to Apply: Scholarship Department. American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Basis of Award: Scholarship. Deadline: December 31.

6. ARGO-COLLIER LINES SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: University of Tennessee, Martin Branch. Restriction: Interest in Business administration or transportation. Value: One year $150. How to Apply: Lloyd King, Chairman, Scholarship Committee, University of Tennessee, Martin Branch, Martin, Tennessee. Basis of Award: Above average scholastic ability. Deadline: Unannounced.

7. ARMY RELIEF SOCIETY (Scholarships & Awards)
Eligibility: Unmarried sons and daughters of deceased Regular Army personnel. Under 21 years old. Where valid: Anywhere (upon committee approval). Restriction: Must be accepted at some college. Continued assistance is not automatic, but must be requested and voted on each year. Value: Amounts vary according to need. How to Apply: The Army Relief Society, 30 West 44th Street, New York, New York 10036. Telephone; MUrray Hill 2-7367. Basis of Awards: Applicant must show above average ability and financial need. Deadline: June 1.

8. ART STUDENTS LEAGUE OF NEW YORK. (Scholarships)
Eligibility: Must be a student at the school for at least three months prior to application. Where Valid: Only at Art Students League School in New York. Restriction: None. Value: Amounts vary and are dispensed monthly. How to Apply: Arts Student League of New York Inc., 215 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10019. Basis of Awards: Artisitic merit, attendance, interest, and progress. Deadline: After three months attendance in school.

9. BAUSCH AND LOMB SCIENCE SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. Restriction: Must agree to follow science program in college. Must take CEEB test and three aptitude tests as required for admission to the University of Rochester. Value: Three or more per year. Value ranges up to $2,000. How to Apply: Director of Admissions, University of Rochester, River Campus Station, Rochester, New York 14627. Basis of Award. High school record, character, personality, extracurriculars, interest and aptitude in science, financial need. CEEB tests. Deadline: February 1.

10. RUSSELL H. BULL SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior or college undergraduate. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Must have made outstanding contribution by work in the area of civil rights or civil liberties. Value: One $1,000 scholarship per year. Renewable. How to Apply: Send request for application materials to: Ralph Helstein, President; United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers; AFL-CIO: Room 1800; 608 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605. Basis of Awards: Evidence of financial need. Deadline: March 1 of year of entry into college.

11. BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: At any one of seven specified colleges. Restrictions: Two years of Boys' Club work required. Must be planning to train for a professional career in Boys' Clubs. Value: Up to fifty $700. per year scholarships. Renewable for four years. How to Apply: Edward W. Pastors, Director, Personnel and Training Service, Boys' Clubs of America, 771 First Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Basis of Award: School records, personal background, financial need. Deadline: April 15.

12. BROADCAST MUSIC INC. STUDENT COMPOSER AWARDS
Eligibility: High school students. Where Valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Must have composed vocal or instrumental musical work. Value: Unspecified number from $250-$2,000. Nonrenewable. How to Apply: Address all inquiries: Oliver Daniel, Director, SCA Project, Broadcast Music, Inc., 589 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Basis of Awards: Excellence and creativity in work Deadline: February 15 each year.

13. HALLIE Q. BROWN SCHOLARSHIP FUND FOR THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
Eligibility: Sophomore or junior year in college. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: C-plus average required and two letters attesting to applicant's character and physical condition. Value: Unspecified number of $500. renewable scholarships. How to Apply: NACWC, Inc., 1601 R Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20009. Basis of Awards: Need, scholarship. Deadline: As early in year as possible.

14. CATHOLIC SCHOLARSHIPS FOR NEGROES, INC.
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: NOT LIMITED TO CATHOLICS ALONE! Value: Number and value depends on yearly donations. How to Apply: Mrs. Roger L. Putnam, President and Treasurer, 254 Union Street, Springfield, Massachusetts 01105. Basis of Awards: Need, scholarship. Deadline: By January 31 of year of college entry. Apply as early as possible!

15. ELKS NATIONAL FNDN SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS
Eligibility: High school senior or undergraduate in college (not college seniors though). Where valid: Anywhere (only one award per college though). Restrictions: None. Equal number for boys and girls. Value: Thirty-two awards ranging in value from $800 to $1,500 per year. Renewable. How to Apply: Write: ENFSA, Mr. John F. Malley, Chairman, 40 Court Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108. Basis of Award: Scholarship, patriotism, personality, leadership, perseverance, resourcefullness, need. Deadline: March 1 of year of intended entry to college.

16. HAROLD E. FELLOWS MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: Junior or senior at college. Where Valid: College or university member of Association for Professional Broadcasting Education. Restriction: Child of employee of NAB radio or TV station. Value: Two annual $1,100 awards. How to Apply: National Association of Broadcasters, 1771 N. Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Basis of Award: Need, scholarship. Deadline: Unspecified.

17. FENTRESS SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where Valid: Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Restriction: Interest in journalism. Value: One $405. per year. How to Apply: Department of Journalism, Baylor University, Waco,Texas. Basis of Award: Unspecified. Deadline: Unspecified.

18. FIFTH MARINE DIVISION ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where Valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of men 80% or more incapacitated as result of service in 5th Marine Division. Also limited to the study of liberal arts, technical or vocational training. Value: 2-3 $600 annually. Renewable for four years. How to apply: Fifth Marine Division School. Comm. Chairman, Lt. Gen. Keller E. Rockney, 53 Pilgrim Rd., Harwich Port, Massachusetts. Basis of awards: Need primarily. Deadline: June 15 of academic year concerned.

19. FOOD FAIR STORES FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: High school seniors preferred. Where valid: Twenty-eight listed colleges (Md. and Fla. represented). See list. Restrictions: First priority to employee's or children of employees. Second priority to children living in communities served by Food Fair. Value: Twenty-eight or more scholarships annually $250-$500 per year. Value, renewable. How to apply: In first priority: Apply to listed college, then write to Eligibility Committee, Food Fair Stores Foundation, 3175 J. F. Kennedy Blvd., Philadelphia, Pa., 19104. For second priority: write to one of colleges and indicate desire to be considered for Food Fair Scholarships. Basis of award: Civic interest, leadership, scholarship (in that order). Deadline: March 1.

20. FOUNDARY EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
Eligibility: Undergraduates. Where valid: Twenty-two listed schools. Restrictions: Interest in Engineering and Foundry work. Value: Determined by school. How to apply: Contact professor in charge of cast metals program at that University. Basis of award: 1) Interest in Foundry industry, 2) Scholarship, 3) character, 4) need. Deadline: Unspecified.

21. 4-H EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors or college undergraduate. Where valid: Land grant or agricultural and technical colleges are preferred. Restrictions: 4-H members of three years. Value: Unspecified number and of varying value. How to apply: Write to county extension agent or your state club leader. Basis of award: Need, and proven ability in programs in 4-H. Deadline: Unspecified.

22. 4-H NATIONAL AWARDS
Eligibility: Anyone age 14-19. Where Valid: Anywhere. Restriction: Must be member in good standing in 4-H for at least 3 years, and must prepare personal project (there are at least 28 project headings). Value: On national award level at least 200 scholarships varying in value from $500-$800 each. Nonrenewable. How to apply: National 4-H Service Committee, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 for complete information on all project requirements. Basis of award: Excellence and understanding of project presented in competition. Deadline: October 20.

23. THE FUND FOR THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION, INC.
Eligibility: College junior or later. Where Valid: Any accredited college or Protestant Theological School. Restrictions: Negro Protestants with "B" average who plan to make Ministry a Life Vocation. Value: Amount varies according to expenses. How to Apply: The Fund for Theological Education, Inc. 163 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. Basis of Award: Under 30 years, intelligence, imagination, and thoughtfulness. Deadline: November 20. Awards are announced in March of each year.

24. FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Must be dependent of member of Fraternal Order of Eagles. Value: Varies in number and value. How to apply: Be nominated by your father. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: None

25. GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION (SCHOLARSHIP PLAN)
Eligibility: United States high school graduates. Where valid: At any of 202 participating colleges (not listed). Restriction: Can not hold other scholarships. Value: From $200 honorary award to $2,000. How to Apply: To Directors at Participating colleges. Basis of award: Academic record, extracurricular activities, responsibility, and leadership, with High School recommendations. Deadline:

26. W. T. GRANT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: High school senior or graduate of high school. Where valid: Any undergrad college in United States. Restrictions: Employee or son or daughter of employee of W. T. Grant Company. Value: At least 5, from $200 - $2,500 per year depending on need - for four years. How to apply: The Grant Charitable Trust, 1441 Broadway, New York, New York 10018. Basis of award: Academic excellence, financial need. Deadline: Mid-October.

27. JOHN WHITNEY HAY FOUNDATION
Eligibility: Seniors in college. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: ALTHOUGH this is primarily a fellowship for graduate students, it may be used for a year of non-graduate specialized study. It is primarily for students with racial or cultural background. Value: Unspecified number, the maximum value is $3,000 per year. How to apply: Write: John Hay Whitney Foundation, 111 W. 50th Street, New York, New York 10020. Basis of award: Scholarship. Deadline: December 15.

28. H. J. HEINZ SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: Students about to enter an approved four-year college program in restaurant administration. Where valid: Approved colleges. Restrictions: None. Value: $300 each the first and second year and $200 each the third and fourth year. Where to apply: Education Department, National Restaurant Association, 1530 N. Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois. Basis of award: Scholastic ability, aptitude and interest in food service, ability to get along with people, leadership qualifications, character and professional promise, need. Deadline: No later than March of the year of enrollment.

29. HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 "EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY GRANTS"
Eligibility: All undergraduates. Where valid: Any participating college or university. Restrictions: High school graduates of exceptional financial need who cannot meet college expenses through family or other resources. Value: Up to $800 for most students ($200 extra available for students with grades which place them in upper half of their class). How to apply: Director of Financial Aid at one of participating colleges. Basis of award: Exhibited ability to graduate from college. Financial need. Deadline: College deadline.

30. HOWARD UNIVERSITY FOREIGN SERVICE GRANTS.
Eligibility: College student interested in preparing self for grad work leading to career in foreign service. Where valid: Howard University. Restrictions: None. Priority to Negroes. Value: One hundred $4,000 scholarships yearly. How to apply: Write Howard University, Washington 1, D.C. Basis of awards: Need and promise of foreign service career. Deadline: None.

31. INSTITUTE OF FOOD TECHNOLOGISTS (SCHOLARSHIPS)
Eligibility: Freshman, sophomore, junior or senior. Where valid: Recognized United States or Canadian educational institutions with food technical curriculum. Restrictions: Graduate of regionally accredited high school, entering in food technology, food engineering, or food science curriculum. Value: Seven junior-senior awards of $1,000. Fifteen sophomore awards of $300. Fifteen freshman awards of $300. How to apply: IFT Scholarships, Institute of Food Technologists, 176 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Basis of award: Must have 2.5 (C) average. Scholastic record, financial need, over-all character and ability. Incomplete applications voided. Deadline: Freshmen, juniors, seniors - March 1. Sophomores - April 1.

32. CHARLES P. JOHNSTON SCHOLARSHIP
HENRY P. JOHNSTON SCHOLARSHIP
CARTER GLASS SCHOLARSHIP
ROBERT E. LEE SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors or undergraduates. Where valid: Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia. Restrictions: Southerners who plan to enter journalism or communications. Value: One scholarship yearly renewable in each category. The Johnston scholarships are valued at $400 each, the Carter Glass scholarship at $380 and the R. E. Lee at $1,000-$1,600. How to Apply: Department of Journalism, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia. Basis of Award: Scholarship, need, interest in journalism. Deadline: February 15.

33. JUNIOR G. I. BILL
Eligibility: High school seniors and college students. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Students whose parents died or were permanently and totally disabled from disease or injury in the U. S. armed forces during the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, or the Korean War, or children of veterans who died or were permanently and totally disabled during the period: September 16, 1940-December 6, 1941 or January 1, 1947-June 26, 1950 or from January 31, 1955 to date. Student must be between ages of 18 (or successful completion of High school)and 23. Value: A maximum of 36 months educational training may be obtained with payments of $130 per month paid upon completion of each month - full-time training; $95 for 3/4 time, and $60 for ½ time. How to apply: Must be filed by a parent or guardian with the Veterans Administration. Basis of award: Conditions under #3 only. Deadline: None.

34. KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS (EDUCATIONAL TRUST FUND)
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Restrictions: Children of deceased veterans who were members of the Knights of Columbus. Value: Unspecified. How to apply: Knights of Columbus, P. O. 1670, New Haven, Connecticut 06507. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

35. KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS (PRO PATRIA AND PRO DEO AWARD)
Eligibility: High school seniors and above. Where valid: Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Restrictions: Sons and daughters of Knights of Columbus members. Value: Unspecified. How to Apply: Knights of Columbus, P. O. 1670, New Haven, Connecticut 06507. Basis of award: Competitive examination. Deadline: Unspecified.

36. KROGER SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: Any graduate of an accredited high school. Where valid: In any of the 37 land grant colleges in the Kroger distribution area. Restrictions: Students in agriculture and home economics. Value: $250 each for tuition payments. How to apply: Through land grant college's financial aid office. Return applications to the Dean of College. Basis of Award: Scholarship in high school and leadership in church, community, or youth groups. Deadline: By March 1 or April 1, depending on college.

37. LOCKHEED LEADERSHIP FUND (SCHOLARSHIP)
Eligibility: High school seniors, graduates under 25. Where valid: Any of 15 specified colleges or universities. Restrictions: Enrollment in program leading to major in engineering, business administration, finance, subjects related to aerospace-electronics, industry. Value: Ten in engineering: tuition, fees plus $500. Five in other fields: Tuition, fees, plus $500. How to apply: Through Admissions Director at individual colleges. Basis of award: Scholarship, character, leadership. Deadline: As soon as possible.

38. LOUISIANA PRESS ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. Restrictions: Interest in journalism. Value: Fourteen $150 per year. Renewable for four years. How to apply: Department of Journalism, Louisiana State University. Basis of award: Good scholarship, need, ability. Deadline: Unspecified.

39. LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA MERIT SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Lutheran Church of America Colleges only. Restrictions: Finalist in National Merit Scholarship competition. Value: Four-year $250-$1500 per year scholarships. How to apply: Write: Board of College Education and the Church Vocations, 231 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016. Basis of awards: Scholarship, need. Deadline: None.

40. R. R. MCCORMICK CHARITABLE TRUST SCHOLARSHIPS FOR JOURNALISM STUDENTS.
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana. Restrictions: None. Value: Determined by University. How to apply: Write Director of Financial Aid, Notre Dame University. Basis of awards: Unknown. Deadline: About January.

41. McMAHON FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors and college undergraduates. Where valid: University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Restrictions: Interest in journalism Value: Ten freshman scholarships, fourteen for upper classmen from fund of $10,000. How to apply: Department of Journalism, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Basis of award: Unspecified. Deadline: Unspecified.

42. MINORITY GROUPS SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM (Endowed by Rockefeller Fund)
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Any of 7 specified colleges or universities. Restrictions: Must be member of minority group (Negro, Mexican, Oriental in United States). Value: Determined by individual college. How to apply: Admissions Office of particular member college. Basis of award: Exceptional academic drive, leadership potential, financial need. Deadline: Unannounced.

43. NATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM FOR OUTSTANDING NEGRO STUDENTS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None. Value: Two hundred four-year $$1,000-$6,000 scholarships. How to apply: Through high school principal or write to: National Achievement Scholarship Program, 990 Grove Street, Evanston, Illinois 60201. Basis of award: Need and scholarship. Deadline: Apply very early! By December 10 of year before entry into college. THIS IS ESSENTIAL!!

44. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN BUSINESS CLUBS SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: College juniors or seniors accepted for or in Occupational Therapy course. Where valid: Any college with accepted program. Restrictions No awards made to students receiving other scholarships. Value: Varies. How to Apply: National Association of American Business Clubs Scholarship Program, P. O. Box 5127, High Point, North Carolina. Basis of award: Scholastic record, financial need. Deadline: May 30 or October 31.

45. NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM.
Eligibility: High school seniors, members of National Honor Society by February of senior year. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None Value: $500-$6000 total of 231 awards. How to apply: Take preliminary scholastic aptitude test in October and indicate on answer sheet whether candidacy is desired. Basis of award: Academic excellence and financial need. Deadline: For notifying high school of desire to take PSAT: September 15.

46. NATIONAL MERIT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM (SCHOLARSHIPS)
Eligibility: Negro students, high school and college. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Must take National Merit Examination. Value: Four-year scholarships which vary according to need. There are 200 available scholarships. How to apply: National Achievement Scholarship Program, 990 Grove Street, Evanston, Illinois 60201. Basis of Award: High scores on National Merit Examination and financial need. Deadline: Test is application.

47. NATIONAL METHODIST SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: Degree candidate in accredited Methodist instition of higher learning. Where valid: Special list of Methodist Universities. Restrictions: Member of Methodist Church. Active in campus Christian activities. Grade average of B- or higher. Value: Six hundred awards in amounts up to $500 on tuition and academic fees. Renewable. How to apply: Contact National Methodist School Office at college selected. Basis of Awards: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

48. NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Any of the colleges connected with the Board of Christian Education of the UPC, USA. Restrictions: Be a communicant member of Presbyterian Church. Value: $100 to $1,000 according to need. How to Apply: Write to Educational Loans and Scholarships, 425 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Basis of awards: SAT tests, high school scholarship, need, and leadership ability (Church, School, community). Deadline: By November 21 before September of year of entry into school.

49. NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOLARSHIP FUND)
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Any regionally accredited, degree-granting, INTERRACIAL institution at which campus facilities are extended equally without regard to race. Restrictions: Must have been counseled by organization. Value: Unspecified number, up to $600 per year Renewable - TWICE ONLY. How to apply: WRITE EARLY IN JUNIOR YEAR TO: NSSFNS, 6 East 82nd Street, New York, New York 10028. Basis of awards: NEED, scholastic record, extra-curricular activities, staff interviews, SAT tests. Deadline: Early in senior year for final applications.

50. NATIONAL SCIENCE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION FUTURE SCIENTISTS OF AMERICA AWARDS
Eligibility: Juniors and seniors in high school. Where valid: To any United States college or university. Restrictions: None. Value: One-year $200 grant. Twenty given per year. How to apply: Have science teacher write: Ford-Future Scientists of America Award Program; National Science Teachers Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Basis of award: On excellence of high school science project. Deadline: March 15 every year.

51. THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS.
Eligibility: Seniors in college. Where valid: Approved training school. Restrictions: Must be taking a course in Physical or Occupational Therapy. Value: From $100 to $500. How to Apply: Personnel Service, National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, 2023 W. Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60612. Basis of Award: Scholastic achievement, financial need, references, and letter of application. Deadline: May 15.

52. NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS EDUCATION FNDN SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Upper one-fourth of high school class, plan to study engineering. Value: Five ARMCO Steel scholarships for Civil Engineering. One Gerber Foods scholarship for Electrical engineering. Two Monsanto Corporation for Chemical Engineering. All valued at $750 per year. Renewable. How to Apply: Write to State NSPE Society in your state:

Alabama: M. R. McGrundy, Executive Secretary, P O Box 3254A, Birmingham.
Arkansas: M. M. Riggs, P E Secretary, c/o Arkansas Power and Light Company 6th & Pine Street, Pine Bluff.
District of Columbus: Rolf E. Thorenson, P E Secretary, 6320 S. Jason Street, Cheverly, Maryland.
Florida: Bob Alligood, Executive Director, 1906 Lee Road, Orlando.
Georgia: W. C. Bennett, P E Secretary, 230 Spring Street, NW, Atlanta 30303
Kentucky: A. M. Snyder, P E, Executive Director, 625 Lakewood drive, Frankfort.
Louisiana: B. Earl Martin, Jr., Executive Secretary, 920 Granvier Street, New Orleans 70112.
Maryland: Fred W. von Behren, PE, Secretary, 9105 Belair Avenue, Baltimore.
Mississippi: Jack W. Pepper, P E, Secretary-Treasurer, 406 Barnett Building Jackson.
North Carolina: Noah W. Sites, P E, Secretary, 3402 Ridge Road, Raleigh.
Oklahoma: Mel Woodbury, Executive Director, 212 Commerce Exchange Building, Okalahoma City.
South Carolina: Mrs. M. K. McClure, PE Executive Secretary, 6316 Sandale Avenue, Columbia. 291206.
Tennessee: William B. Farris, Executive Director, 3rd Floor Exchange Building. Nashville 3.
Texas: J. C. Stewart, Jr., Executive Secretary, 1008 San Jacinto, Austin.
Virginia: Arthur R. Temple, P E Secretary, P. O. Box 36, Richmond 23201.
West Virginia: George Spruce, Jr., Executive Secretary, P O 249, Charleston 21.

Basis of award: Scholarship, extracurriculars, leadership, character, self-reliance, recommendations. State finalists will take SAT test for final decision. Deadline: November 15.

53. NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS EDUCATIONAL FNDN SCHOLARSHIPS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, FLORIDA.
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Miami, Miami, Florida. Restrictions: Upper one-fourth of class, plan to study engineering. Value: $1200 per year renewable scholarships for study in candidates choice of the following fields: Architect, engineering, civil engineering, electrical engineering, industrial engineering, mechanical engineering, and engineering science. How to apply: See listing under NSPE Education fund above. Basis of award: Scholarship, extracurriculars, leadership, character, self-reliance, recommendations. State finalists must take SAT test for final decision. Deadline: November 15.

54. THE NEWSPAPER FUND
Eligibility: Entering freshmen to college seniors: Where valid: At approximately 150 college and universities (not listed) Restrictions: Students with interest in journalism. Value: From $100 to $1,500. How to apply: Ask for Journalism Scholarship Guide, c/o Paul S. Swensson, The Newspaper Fund, P O Box 300, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. Basis of award: Interest in journalism, exhibited journalistic ability, scholastic record, financial need. Deadline: Varies.

55. NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE TUITION SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors and undergraduates. Where valid: North Carolina College at Durham only. Restrictions: None. Value: Several $150 tuition scholarships available yearly. Renewable. How to apply: Chairman of Committee of Financial Assistance to Students, North Carolina College at Durham, Box 601, Durham, North Carolina. Basis of award: Need and scholarship. Deadline: May 1.

56. NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM $1000 STUDENT SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school graduating seniors. Where valid: North Carolina College only. Restrictions: SAT score of at least 1000. Value: Several $1000 grants available. Renewable. How to apply: Chairman of Committee on Financial Assistance to Students, North Carolina College at Durham, Box 601 Durham, North Carolina. Basis of awards: SAT score of 1000 and good high school records. Deadline: May 1.

57. PILOT FREIGHT CARRIERS SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: College juniors. Where valid: At any of nine specified schools. Restrictions: Interest in transportation. Value: At least nine $500 yearly scholarships. How to apply: Write to "above listed" college's scholarship office. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

58. POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, New York. Restrictions: None. Priority given to southern Negroes. For students interested in electrical engineering. Value: Remedial course work in summer if needed. Full tuition and maintenance for three or more students. How to apply: Have principal write to Polytechnic Institute for you requesting information. Basis of award: Need and scholarship. Interest in electrical engineering. Deadline: None.

59. PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
Eligibility: a student in accredited university, college or vocational school. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of full-time religious leader in UPC, USA, whose salary does not exceed $5,000. Value: From $1000 to $900. How to apply: Educational Loans and Scholarships, 425 Witherspoon Building. Philadelphia, Pa., 19107. Basis of award: Need, scholarship. Deadlines: By May 1 of September before entry to school.

60. PRINTING AND PUBLISHING SCHOLARSHIPS (National Scholarship Trust Fund of the Educational Council of the Graphic Arts Industry)
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Six listed colleges. Restrictions: Interest in a printing career or publishing industry career. Value: At least 12 $100-$1000 yearly. Renewable. Size depends on need and on fees and tuition of college. How to apply: Take SAT. Enter Printing and Publishing Scholarship and code #0145 under item 10. Write for forms from NSTFECGAI, 1025 15th Street, NW. Washington 20005. If you are finalist additional forms will follow. Basis of awards: Scholarship, mainly. Deadline: January 21 of academic year concerned.

61 PROCTER AND GAMBLE SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors and graduates. Where valid: Forty-seven specially listed colleges. Restrictions: None. Value: Full tuition for four years, fees, books, supplies, $600 additional each year. One for each listed college. How to apply: Write to aid office of school. Basis of award Scholarship, need. Deadline: Before December 15 of year before entry to college.

62. RCA SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: Presently enrolled students in any one of specified colleges. Sophomore, junior and senior standing preferred. Where valid: Specified list of schools. Restrictions: None. Value: Thirty-four $800 scholarships yearly. One year appointment, renewable. How to apply: Financial aid office of listed colleges. Basis of award: Scholarship, character, need. Deadline: None.

63. READER'S DIGEST FOUNDATION
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Boy Scout, Explorer Scout chosen as "Report to the Nation Scout." Value: Twenty-four grants, average $250 each - two per Boy Scouts region. How to apply: Local Council Office. Basis of award: Unspecified. Deadline: Unspecified.

64. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: Already in accredited college or university. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: For students of all races though preference is given to students who have been ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Value: Up to $1500 per year to cover tuition and living expenses. Grants renewable. How to apply: Write CORE, SEDF, 150 Nassau Street, Room 1312, New York, New York 10038. Basis of awards: Need and scholarship. Deadline: May 1 for fall semester, November 1 for spring semester.

65. SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINES, INC.
Eligibility: High school juniors and seniors. Where valid: Any where. Restrictions: Must write a winning composition in writing contest. Value: $100 to $500. How to apply: Scholarship Creative Writing Awards, 50 West 44th Street, New York, New York 10036. Basis of award: Best compositions. Deadline: October 15 to March 1.

66. SECOND MARINE DIVISION ASSOCIATION MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND
Eligibility: High school or college students. Where valid: Any accredited school. Restrictions: Children of deceased Second Division Marines. Value: $500 maximum per year. How to Apply: Second Marine Division Association Memorial Scholarship Fund, P. O. Box 113, Willow Springs, Illinois 60480. Basis of awards: Need. No tests. Deadline: July 1.

67. SEG FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: High school seniors, undergraduate college students. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Study toward career in geophysics. Value: Approximately thirty-two $500-$1,000 per year. Renewable. How to apply: SEG Foundation, P. O. 1067 Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: April 15 of academic year.

68. SELECT FRESHMAN SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Guilford College, Greensboro North Carolina. Restrictions: Top one-fourth of high school class; 600-plus on SAT math and verbal, satisfactory IQ. Upper one-fourth in college's ability test. Value: Twenty-five $600 per year. How to Apply: Director of Admissions (Mr. C. C. Hendricks) Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina 27410. Basis of award: Scholarship and need. Deadline: January 15.

69. S&H FOUNDATION, INC. NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM
Eligibility: Senior in high school. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None. Value: Unspecified number up to $1,000 per year. Renewable. How to apply: In completing item 10 of SAT form, write S&H Foundation Inc., National Scholarship Program code # 0329. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: December SAT test.

70. ALFRED P. SLOAN FOUNDATION
Eligibility: High school seniors (½), high school juniors (½). Where valid: Ten major Negro Colleges and universities. Restrictions: Male students only. Value: For juniors: Two summers remedial instruction at listed schools * (Dillard University, New Orleans; and Morehouse College, Atlanta). Will be granted scholarship for four years on completion of courses. For seniors: four-year grants to any of ten schools. About 60 in number. How to apply: For juniors: United Negro College Fund, 22 East 54th Street, New York, New York 10022. For seniors: Apply to listed colleges *. Basis of awards; Need. Deadline: Ideally in spring.

71. RALPH L. SMITH FREEDOM SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Macalester College, St. Paul Minnesota. Restrictions: Three white and three Negro awards yearly. Value: Four-year scholarships, maximum value $2,000 yearly. How to apply: Make application to Macalester and request consideration for Ralph L. Smith Freedom Scholarship. Basis of awards; 1) leadership, 2) scholarship, 3) desire to work toward humanitarian goals in the tradition of the American way of life. Deadline: March 1.

72. STATLER SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS 1. Merit Award
Eligibility: Outstanding students of approved high school, technical schools or junior colleges. Where valid: Approved institutions (specified by Hotel, Motel Association in your state). Restrictions: Thoses wishing careers in hotels, restaurants and institutions. Value: $100-$300 for a college year. Where to apply: Educational Committees of the local and state hotel-motel associations. Basis of award: Outstanding ability. Deadline: Usually February or March 1.

2. Scholarships
Eligibility: Same as above. Where valid: Same as above. Restrictions: same as above. Where to apply: same as above. Value: Up to $1,000. Basis of award: According to need. Deadline: Same as above.

3. In-training Aid
Eligibility: Young workers and apprentices in in-training program. Students and graduates of approved (by the Educational Committees) high schools technical schools and junior colleges. Where valid: Approved institutions Restrictions: See above. Value: None specified. Where to apply: see above. Basis of award: need. Deadline: none given.

73. STUDENT OPPORTUNITY SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: Young people of minority groups unable to continue their education due to financial need. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None. Value: Determined by need. How to apply: Student Opportunity Scholarships, Room 1140, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. Basis of award: Need, high school record, character (leadership). Deadline: By February 1 for those who have NOT applied to college for following September; by April 1 for those who have applied.

74. TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, HOUSTON, TEXAS SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: Texas Southern University only. Restrictions: None, interest in business career. Value: Fifteen four-year full payment grants. How to apply: Have Guidance Counselor write to Texas Southern University for you. Basis of awards: Recommendations of principal and high school counselor, results of CEB and American College Testing Program examinations. Deadline: March 31.

75. TELLURIDE ASSOCIATION (Summer Program)
Eligibility: High school juniors only. Where valid: Hampton Institution, Hampton, Virginia; Princeton University or Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Restrictions: None. Value: Enrichment program at one of these three universities. Many students are then full Telluride Scholarships for future study. How to apply: Take PSAT in October of junior year. Indicate scores to go to Telluride Association, or be recommended by principal. Application blanks follow. Interviews in February and March. Results in April. Basis of awards: High scholastic achievement. Deadline: January 25 of academic year concerned.

76. UNITED CEREBRAL PALSY RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC.
Eligibility: College students who have completed one semester of Occupational Therapy training. Where valid: Any college with Occupational Therapy Curriculum. Restrictions: Must be Occupational Therapy student. Value: From $100 to $1,025 for tuition fees. How to apply: Occupational Therapy Director at the college or university. Basis of award: Scholastic record, financial need. Deadline: College or university deadline.

77. UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND.
Eligibility: High school seniors and college undergraduates. Where valid: Any of 33 listed Southern Negro colleges and universities. Restriction: None. Value: The Fund grants money to the listed schools who then make the funds available to entering students. (In 1965 the goal was over $5,000,000) How to apply: Apply to the Director of Admissions at the college or university listed. Basis of award: Set by each college or university. Need is certainly taken into consideration. Deadline: Unspecified.

78. UNION CARBIDE ENGINEERING SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: Any senior or graduate of high school. Where valid: In any of 35 listed colleges. Restrictions: Engineering. Value: Tuition and fees and $100 for books. (Private colleges). $500 yearly, tuition, books, and fees (state university). Four years renewable. How to apply: Directly to college. Basis of awards: Scholarship, personal reputation, need. Deadline: None.

79. JAMES E. WEST CONSERVATION SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school senior or undergraduate in college. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Boy Scout under 21 years old. Value: One $500 a year. How to apply: Camping-Conservation Service, National Council, BSA. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Basis of award: Service to conservation, scholarship, character, leadership, scouting participation. Deadline: May 1.

The following scholarships, while similar to the national ones, require that the recipient be a resident of a particular state. These scholarships are listed alphabetically by state.

ALABAMA

80. ALABAMA G.I. AND DEPENDENT EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS
Eligibility: Father or mother was killed or died in line of duty, or died within 20 years of beginning date of official period of hostilities as a result of disability incurred from such service. Where valid: Alabama state institutions of higher learning or state training school. Restrictions: Veteran must have served in the armed forces during these inclusive dates: WWI (April 7, 1917 and November 11, 1918); WWII (December 7, 1941 and December 21, 1946); Korean (June 27, 1950 and December 31, 1955). At least 1 year Alabama residence prior. Must apply within 2 years of high school graduation (no later than 23rd birthday). Five years to complete education. Amount: Tuition and instructional fees. Where to apply: State of Alabama, Department of Veterans Affairs, Box 1509, Montogomery, Alabama 36102. Deadline: None stated.

81 JOHNSON MOTOR LINES SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Interest in motor transportation. Students in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippim North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and District of Columbia. Amount: One $5,000 four-year scholarship yearly. Where to apply: Have principal request information through the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. Basis of award: Finalist in National Merit Scholarship Corporation Test. Deadline: National Merit Scholarship Corporation Test date.

82. LOUISE AND HENRY POELINITZ JOHNSTON SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Alabama, University, Alabama. Restrictions: Residents of Alabama who wish to study communications. Amount: One tuition scholarship yearly. Where to apply: Department of Radio and Television, University of Alabama, University, Alabama. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: April 15.

83. TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, SCHOOL OF NURSING (Scholarship)
Eligibility: Undergraduates. Where valid: Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Restrictions: Alabama resident Negro accepted at School of Nursing and who agrees to practice one year in Alabama. Amount: $200. Where to apply: School of Nursing, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. Basis of award: Scholastic ability. Deadline: Not given.

ARKANSAS

84. ARKANSAS BROADCASTERS ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Arkansas State University, Jonesboro, Arkansas. Restrictions: Graduates of Arkansas high schools. Amount: One $150 for fall semester; renewable spring semester. Where to apply: Charles L. Rasberry, Director of Broadcasting, Arkansas State, State College, Arkansas 72467. Basis of award: Scholarship, need, interest in broadcasting. Deadline: Unspecified.

ARKANSAS (continued)

85. JONES TRUCK LINES SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Springdale, Arkansas high school students only. Amount: One $600 yearly and three $300 yearly. (Latter ones being for nursing profession only. Where to apply: Write Jones Truck Lines, Inc., Springdale, Arkansas. Basis of award: High school scholastic record, and need. Deadline: Unspecified.

86. WILLIS SHAW FROZEN EXPRESS, INC., SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Any Arkansas college or university. Restrictions: Students at Springdale High School, Springdale, Arkansas. Amount: One $300 annually non renewable. Where to apply: Willie D Shaw, President, Shaw Frozen Express, Elm Springs, Arkansas. Basis of award: Scholarship, financial need desire to further education. Deadline: Unspecified.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

See also #81.

FLORIDA

87. BURLINGTON INDUSTRIES SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: Juniors or seniors in one of listed schools. Where valid: One of 16 listed schools. Restrictions: North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia students. Prefer students with orientation towards business or textile research. Do NOT have to be connected with Burlington Industries. Value: Two $500 per year scholarships per school. How to apply: School Financial Aid Office. Basis of award: Scholarship, leadership, need. Deadline: None.

88. FLORIDA ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: College junior. Where valid: University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Restrictions: Radio-TV major with 64 semester hours completed. Amount: One $500 award. Where to apply: Kenneth M. Small, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Basis of award: Professional promise, grades (C average), need. Deadline: Unspecified.

89. WLBW SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: College junior. Where valid: University of Miami, Miami, Florida. Restrictions: RTVMP major. Amount: One $600 award. Where to apply: Radio, Television, Film Department. University of Miami, Miami, Florida. Basis of award: Scholastic excellence. Deadline: Unspecified.

See also #81.

GEORGIA

90. GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: Undergraduates. Where valid: Georgia State College, Atlanta (for journalism); University of Georgia, Athens (for radio, TV). Restrictions: None. Amount: Two $500 awards. Where to apply: Georgia Association of Broadcasters, Inc., 24 Ivy Street, SE, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: January 15.

GEORGIA (continued)

91. JACK MCDONOUGH EDITORIAL AWARD
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Georgia, Athens. Restrictions: Resident of Georgia, interest in journalism. Amount: Year's tuition ($256.50). Where to apply: School of Journalism, University of Georgia Athens. Basis of award: "For best written editorial on Free Enterprise in Georgia written by a high school student, and printed in his or her high school newspaper." Deadline: Unspecified.

92. WSB RADIO AND TV BROADCASTING SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior editors. Where valid: University of Georgia. Restrictions: Take part in WSB Broadcasting Seminar. Amount: One $500 award. Where to apply: Promotion Department, WSB Radio, Atlanta, Georgia. Basis of award: Five hundred word essay. Deadline: None.

See also #81, 87.

KENTUCKY

93. CHARLES C. WARREN MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: Junior, senior in college. Where valid: University of Kentucky. Restrictions: Radio-TV-Motion Picture major. Amount: Two $150 awards. Where to apply: Stuart Hallock, RTVMP Department, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506. Basis of award: Better than average grades, contribution to campus broadcasting, faculty judgment. Deadline: None.

94. KENTUCKY BROADCASTERS SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: Undergraduate freshman or sophomore. Where valid: University of Kentucky. Restrictions: Radio-TV major. Amount: Two $100 awards. Where to apply: Ed Shadburne, WLKY TV, Box 16218, Louisville, Kentucky. Basis of award: "B" average, letters of recommendation. Deadline: None.

95. KENTUCKY MOTOR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION, INC., SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors or college students. Where valid: University of Louisville's Adult Evening School. Restrictions: Residents of Kentucky. Study of transportation required. Amount: Three $88 per year. Where to apply: Kentucky Motor Transport Association, Inc., 339-340 Kentucky Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky 40202. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unannounced.

96. KENTUCKY PRESS ASSOCIATION AND SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM FNDN SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligiblity: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Kentucky, Lexington. Amount: Eleven $200 per year. Where to apply: School of Journalism University of Kentucky, Lexington. Basis of award: Recommendation of home town newspaper editor, scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

97. SKAGGS TRANSFER, INC., SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Western State College, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Restrictions: Kentucky resident of area served by Skaggs Transfer, Inc. Amount: One $500 per year. Nonrenewable. Where to apply: College Heights Foundation, Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Basis of award: Academic record and financial need. Deadline: Unspecified.

LOUISIANA

See also #81

MARYLAND

98. PICKARD SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Explorer or senior scout in Delaware-Maryland-Virginia Council; preference to those planning career in Scouting. Amount: One $500 per year. Renewable. Where to apply: Delaware-Maryland-Virginia Council, Wilmington, Delaware. Basis of award: Unspecified. Deadline: Unspecified.

See also #81.

MISSISSIPPI

See also #81.

NORTH CAROLINA

99. BURLINGTON INDUSTRIES NURSING SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: North Carolina high school graduates. Where valid: University of North Carolina School of Nursing, Chapel Hill. Restrictions: None. Value: Two four-year $2,000 scholarships. How to apply: University of North Carolina Admissions Office. Basis of award: Interest in nursing, scholarship. Deadline: None.

100. HIGH SCHOOL RADIO-TV INSTITUTE SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school juniors or seniors. Where valid: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Restrictions: Interest in broadcasting. Amount: Varies (about $100) for two weeks summer workshop. Where to apply: Nearest broadcasting station or Department of RTVMP, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. 27514. Basis of award: Unspecified. Deadline: Spring.

101. NORFOLK FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Residents of Virginia or of Martin County, North Carolina. Value: Unspecified amount of aid available. How to apply: Write: Norfolk Foundation, 400 Royster Building, Norfolk, Virginia 23510. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

102. NORTH CAROLINA MOTOR CARRIERS ASSOCIATION, WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Restrictions: North Carolina residents, parent must be employed by an North Carolina motor carrier or allied member of the North Carolina Motor Carriers Association. Amount: One tuition scholarship annually. Where to apply: Mrs. B. Sims Lucas, President. Woman's Allied Auxilliary, North Carolina Motor Carriers Association, Inc., Charlotte 7. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unannounced.

103. NORTH CAROLINA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM FOR TEACHERS OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED
Eligibility: High school seniors or undergraduates. Where valid: Any college or university in North Carolina which has a degree program to prepare teachers of the mentally retarded. Restrictions: Resident of North Carolina. Must declare intention to teach retarded children. Amount: Regular term and summer school awards amounting to cash supplement of $25 for each semester hour of work taken. (Maximum of $300 per summer or $900 per regular year.) The supplement is $20 per semester hour for courses taken through the extension division of any college or university. Approximately $300-$400 per year. Where to apply: Scholarship program for teaching of the mentally retarded. Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602. Basis of award: Recommendation by local, county or city Superintendent of Schools, (or if in college, the Head of the Education Department. Deadline: By March 1.

104. NORTH CAROLINA VETERAN'S COMMISSION
Eligibility: Child of veteran of WWI or WWII, and Korea. Where Valid: North Carolina educational institution. Restrictions: Class I: Veteran died or completely disabled. Class II: Thirty to 100% disability. Class III: One hundred per cent nonservice-connected disability. Class IV: Veteran dies in Veterans Hospital with no real estate and no more than $1,000 personal property. Value: Tuition, room and board. How to apply: North Carolina Veterans Commission, P. O. Box 2187, Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Qualifications. Deadline: Unannounced.

105. SOUTHEASTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Wake Forest, North Carolina
SCHOLARSHIPS FOR NEGROES
Eligibility: Freshmen at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. Where Valid: SBT only. Restrictions: Negro students only who are candidates for Bachelor of Divinity degree. Value: Three one-year renewable (three times) $1,000 grants. How to apply: Through SBT Financial Aid Office. Basis of award: Give promise of "genuine usefulness in the Christian ministry." Deadline: None.
IN ADDITION: School has numerous regular non-discriminatory loans and aid for students who might be forced to withdraw from SBT because of lack of funds. Apply to Financial Aid Office.

106. WBT-WBTV-WBTW SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Restrictions: North Carolina residents and South Carolina residents, too. Amount: One $2,500 four-year scholarship annually. How to apply: Professor Wesley Wallace, Department of RTVMP, UNC., Chapel Hill 27514. Basis of award: Grades, exam, interview, extracurricular activities, letters of recommendation, CEEB tests. Deadline: Very early in year.

See also #81, 87.

OKLAHOMA

107. OKLAHOMA BROADCASTING ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: Undergraduates. Where valid: University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma State University; University of Tulsa. Restrictions: Radio student. Amount: One $200 per year. How to apply: William S. Morgan, Chairman, OBA Scholarship Committee, KNOR, P O Box 542, Norman, Oklahoma. Basis of award: Recommendation by faculty sponsor and personal interview. Deadline: Unspecified.

108. TULSA PRESS CLUB SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: Undergraduate sophomore or above. Where valid: University of Tulsa. Restrictions: Radio-TV major. Amount: One $250 annually. Where to apply: Edward Dumit, Speech Department of the University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Basis of award: Need, letters of recommendation, potential in broadcasting career. Deadline: Unspecified.

SOUTH CAROLINA

109. CHARLESTON(S.C.) POST AND COURIER COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIP PLAN
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: South Carolina colleges and universities. Restrictions: Must be a carrier of the Charleston (S.C.) Post and Courier. Two years route work required. Value: Two $1000 scholarships per year. (For use for four years). Occasionally supplementary scholarships are awarded. How to apply: Scholarship Committee, Circulation Department, Post-Courier Building., 134 Columbus Street, Charleston, South Carolina 29402. Basis of awards: Scholarship, character, and Post-Courier sales record. Deadline: Early in year.

110. SOUTH CAROLINA BROADCASTERS ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors or undergraduate freshmen. Where valid: Any South Carolina college. Restrictions: Interest in radio-TV or Business Administration or general A.B. degree. Amount: One $300 annually. How to apply: Bruce Buchanan, WFBC, Greenville, South Carolina. Basis of awards: Scholarship, letter of recommendation, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

111. SOUTH CAROLINA PRESS ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of South Carolina, Columbia. Restrictions: Residents of South Carolina. Have moral obligation to offer services to South Carolina newspaper upon graduation. Value: Two $300 per year. Renewable. How to apply: Department of Journalism, Uniiversity of South Carolina, Columbia. Basis of awards: College boards, high school grades, interest in journalism, Deadline: Unspecified.

See also #81, 87, 106

TENNESSEE

112. TENNESSEE MOTOR TRANSPORTATION ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: College undergraduates. Where valid: University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Restrictions: Residents of Tennessee, students of motor transportation at University of Tennessee. Amount: Two $250 per year. Where to apply: Dr. James Bennett or Dr. Hugh Norton, Department of Transportation, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. Basis of awards: High school record, need, thesis and recommendations. Deadline: Unspecified.

113. UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE JOURNALISM SCHOLARSHIPS
Eligibility: High school seniors: Where valid: University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. Restrictions: Tennessee residents only, interest in journalism. Amount: Six tuition scholarships. Where to apply: Department of Journalism, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Basis of award: Scholarship, need, promise. Deadline: March 15.

See also #87.

TEXAS

114. ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTING EXECUTIVES OF TEXAS SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: Undergraduate sophomores or juniors. Where valid: Texas College or university only. Restrictions: RTVMP major. Amount: One $500 annually. Where to apply: Department of Communication Arts, University of Houston, Houston, Texas. Basis of award: Scholarship, interest and aptitude in broadcasting, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

115. BAYLOR UNIVERSITY BROADCASTING ASSISTANTSHIPS
Eligibility: Undergraduate juniors and seniors. Where valid: Baylor University. Restrictions: Radio-TV major. Amount: Several $50 per month average for studies and assistantship. Where to apply: Department of Radio-TV, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Basis of award: Aptitude, experience. Deadline: Unspecified.

116. BIRD-FAULKNER SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: First class boy scout in Circle Ten Council Texas. Amount: One $500 per year. Where to apply: Circle 10 Council, BSA, Dallas, Texas. Basis of award: Upper third of class, financial need. Deadline: Unspecified.

117. COASTAL TRANSPORTATION COMPANY SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of employees of CTC only. Amount: Cost of tuition and books for four years of college study. Where to apply: James L. Longuet, Vice President Coastal Transportation Company, Inc., P O Box 66849, Fairview Street, Houston Texas. Basis of award: Need, scholarship. Deadline: Unspecified.

118. KONO RADIO SCHOLARSHIP
KONO-TV SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: University of Texas (Austin). Restrictions: Radio-TV major. Resident of Austin area preferred. Amount: One $100 per semester. Where to apply: Department of Radio-TV, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Basis of award: Scholarship (B-plus), need, extracurriculars, and letters of recommendation. Deadline: Unspecified.

119. KTBC RADIO-TV SCHOLARSHIP
Elgibility: High school senior. Where valid: University of Texas (Austin). Restrictions: Radio-TV major, resident of Texas preferred. Amount: One $300 per year. Where to apply: Department of Radio-TV, University of Texas Austin Texas. Basis of award: Scholarship (B-plus average), need, letters of recommendation, extracurriculars. Deadline: Unspecified.

120. KZTV RADIO-TV SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school senior or college junior. Where valid: University of Texas, Austin. Restrictions: Radio-TV interest or major, Texas resident preferred. Amount: One $300 per year. Where to apply: Department of Radio-TV, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Basis of award: Scholarship (b-plus) average, letters of recommendation, need, extracurriculars. Deadline: Unspecified.

121. RAY SMITH ASSORTED COMPANIES SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of EMPLOYEES of RSC, must be single. Amount: Unspecified number of $2,000 four-year scholarships. Where to apply: Mrs. Jessie Meyers, Ray Smith Transport Company, 300 Simons Blvd., Dallas 1, Texas. Basis of award: Need, scholarship. Deadline: Unspecified.

122. RAYMOND T. YELKIN MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: College junior. Where valid: University of Houston. Restrictions: Radio-TV major. Amount: One $50 annually. Where to apply: Department of Communication Arts, University of Houston, Houston, Texas. Basis of award: Scholarship (B average Radio-TV, C overall), active interest in campus radio, employment by industry and broadcasting profession. Deadline: Unspecified.

VIRGINIA

123. VIRGINIA ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS SCHOLARSHIP GRANT PROGRAM
Eligibility: One award to high school seniors, another to undergraduates. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Radio-TV interest. Amount: Two grants of at least $150 yearly. Where to apply: Nearest VAB station or WTON, Morrison Building, Staunton, Virginia. Basis of award: Basis of applications sent in by you. Deadline: May 30 of each year.

124. VIRGINIA CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS
Eligibility: High school seniors of Virginia. Where valid: Virginia college with teaching curriculum. Restrictions: Graduating high school seniors who plan to teach in Virginia for at least one year. Value: Amounts vary. Where to apply: Scholarship Committee, Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers, 111 East Main Street. Richmond, Virginia 23219. Basis of award: "B" average and recommendation from high school principal and guidance counselor. Deadline: Not given.

125. VIRGINIA STATE AFL-CIO SCHOLARSHIP AWARD CONTEST
Eligibility: High school seniors only. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Must write essay of at least 250 words on some phase of Labor Movement. Topic assigned on day of examination. Value: One $500 award. Nonrenewable. How to apply: Have principal notify: Virginia State AFL-CIO, 102 N. Belvidere Street, Richmond, Virginia no later than April 27 (for 1965) comparable for other years. Basis of award: Excellence and understanding of topic given. Deadline: Examination in first week of May.

See also # 81, 87, 98, 101.

WEST VIRGINIA

126. TOM'S EXPRESS COMPANY SCHOLARSHIP
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: West Virginia University, Morgantown. Restrictions: West Virginia students in area served by Tom's Express Company. Amount: One $250 yearly. Renewable. Where to apply: David W. Jacobs, Secretary, Trust Committee, Loyalty Permanent Endowment Fund. West Virginia University Alumni Association, Morgantown, West Virginia. Basis of award: Scholarship, activities, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

A loan is a sum of money advanced for the payment of college expenses. Interest is usually charged, and repayment is expected in a reasonable time after graduation. Some loans may allow repayment by rendering services. For example, a loan for future teachers may allow the recipient to repay the loan by teaching for so many years.

NATIONAL LOANS

Below is a listing of national loans. These loans are made to students residing anywhere in the United States.

127. AMERICAN HUMANIC FOUNDATION
Eligiblity: High school seniors. Where valid: See index of colleges. Restrictions: Career in youth service: Boy Scouts only persons eligible. Amount: Low interest loans. Where to apply: AHF, Kansas City, Missouri. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

128. ARMED FORCES RELIEF AND BENEFIT ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (LOANS)
Eligibility: High school seniors and college undergraduates. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of association members. (Membership limited to eligible officers on active duty in Uniformed Services of USA.) Value: Unspecified number of loans at $500 yearly. Renewable. Three per cent interest. How to apply: Write: Armed Forces Relief & Benefit Association. 1710 H Street, NW., Washington, D. C. 20006. Basis of award: Unknown. Probably need and scholarship. Deadline: Unknown.

129. DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION CLUB ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP LOAN AWARDS
Eligibility: High school senior or graduate who has been active in Distributive Education Club and who intends to pursue study in marketing, distribution, or distributive education. Where valid: Anywhere offering above field of study Restrictions: None. Value: Varies. How to apply: Consult school distributive teacher or any distributive education official. Basis of award: 1) upper one-third class, 2) scores on scholastic aptitude test of college boards, 3) evidence of activity in DECA chapter and other evidence of leadership, character, 4) training station record attested by distributive education teacher and training station owner or manager. Deadline: Unannounced.

130. DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS EDUCATIONAL LOAN FUND
Eligibility: High school seniors and college undergraduates. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of parents who have been members of Disabled American Veterans and its Auxiliary for at least one year. Value: Unspecified number of loans (maximum of $200 per year.) Renewable. Interest free. How to apply: Write: Mrs. Eunice Bluestein, 130- 63rd Street South, St. Petersburg, Florida 33707 or National Headquarters, DAV Auxiliary, 1425 East McMillan St., Cincinnati, Ohio 45206. Basis of award: Need, scholarship. Deadline: May 1.

131. DIVISION OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY WORK (LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA) LOANS
Eligibility: Undergraduates. Where valid: In NON Lutheran colleges and universities only. Value: Three per cent loans of no maximum value. How to apply: Write: Division of College and University Work, National Lutheran Council, 327 S. Lasalle Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60604. Basis of awards: Need. Deadline: None.

132. EDDY STUDENT LOAN FUND
Eligibility: Undergraduates. Where valid: Any school. Restrictions: None. Amount: Up to $1,500 annually. Where to apply: Eddy Student Loan Fund, Thomas and Thomas, 504 Broadway, Room 1016, Gary, Indiana. Basis of award: Financial need. Deadline: No deadline.

133. FUNDA FOR EDUCATION, INC. (Loans Only)
Eligibility: Any student. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Financially responsible parents or family must sign for loans. Value: From $350 minimum for a single semester, to $10,000 maximum for four school years. Where to apply: Funds for Education, Inc., Manchester, New Hampshire.

134. THE METHODIST STUDENT LOAN FUND
Eligibility: Full-time degree candidate in an accredited institution of higher education. A citizen of the U.S., at least 17 years, and a member of Methodist Church one year prior, with a "B" high school average, or a "C" college average. Where valid: Accredited schools only. Restrictions: Methodist students. Cosigner. Value: Up to $2,000 during educational career. Where to apply: Loan Office of Methodist College or Wesley Foundation at some state and independent colleges. Department of Student Loans & Scholarship of the Board of Education of The Methodist Church, P. O. Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee 37202

135. THE NATIONAL DEFENSE STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM
Eligibility: All undergraduates. Where valid: Any one of participating colleges or universities. Restrictions: Student must carry at least one-helf the normal full-time academic workload as determined by the institution. Amount: Up to $1,000 per year. Up to $5,000 total. Where to apply: Director of Financial Aid at one of participating colleges. Basis of award: Financial need, academic capability, be enrolled or accepted for enrollment in a participating college. Deadline: Specified by college.

136. NATIONAL NETHODIST SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM (LOANS)
Eligibility: Degree candidate in accredited Methodist institution of higher learning. Where valid: Special list of Methodist universities. (In this case, see listing under number 47.) Restrictions: Member of Methodist Church. Active in campus christian activities, grade average of "B" or higher. Value: Six humdren awards in amounts up to $500 or tuition and academic fees. Renewable. Where to apply: National Methodist School Office at college selected. Basis of award: Scholarship, need. Deadline: Unspecified.

137. PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (LOANS)
Eligibility: A student in accredited university, college or vocational school. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Children of full-time religious leader in UPC, USA whose salary does not exceed $5,000. Value: $100 - $900. How to apply: Educational Loans and Scholarships, 425 Whitherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa., 19107. Deadline: By May 1 of September before entry to school.

138. HATTIE M. STRONG LOAN FOUNDATION
Eligibility: Graduating high school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None. How to apply: Hattie M. Stromg Loan Foundati on, 409 Cafritz Building, 1625 Eye Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Basis of award: Need. Value: $800-$1,500 yearly. $3000 maximum per student. Not for students studying abroad. Deadline: Apply between January 1 and May 1 of year of college entry. Loan repayment: Based on monthly income after graduation.

139. HATTIE M. STRONG FOUNDATION (Loans)
Eligibility: College juniors and seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restriction U.S. citizen. Fields unrestricted. Value: Amounts of loans vary. Where to apply: Hattie M. Strong Foundation, 409 Cafritz Building, 1625 Eye Street, NW Washington, D. C. 20006. Basis of award: Need. Deadline: None given.

140. HENRY STRONG EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION (Loan)
Eligibility: Undergraduate juniors, seniors. Where valid: Thirty-one listed colleges, universities:

Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin
Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio
Central College, Pella, Iowa
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill
University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Grinnell College, Grinnel, Iowa
Hope College, Holland, Michigan
University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill.
Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Iowa State University, Iowa City, Iowa
Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
Michigan State University, East Lasing, Michigan.
Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Missouri.
Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.
Montana State University, Missoula, Montana
Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio
Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio
Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana
St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois
Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.
Weaton College, Wheaton, Illinois
University Wisconsin, Madison,

Restrictions: Less than twenty-five years old. Amount: Dependent on need; about 3% interest. Where to apply: Apply through listed school. Basis of award: Need. Deadline: Unspecified.

141. UNITED STUDENT AID FUNDS (Loans)
Eligibility: All undergraduates. Where valid: Any of 700 participating accredited colleges. Restrictions: None. No collateral, no parental liability. Amount: Up to $1,000 per year. Up to $6,00 total. Where to apply: United Student Aid Funds, Inc., 845 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022. Basis of award: Financial need and agreement to pay 6% interest rate after graduation. Deadline: None.

142. HENRY WARREN ROTH EDUCATIONAL FUND (Loans)
Eligibility: All undergraduates. Where valid: Any college. Restrictions: None. Amount: From $500 to $1,500. Where to apply: Henry Warren Roth Education Fund, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania. Basis of award: Financial need and agreement to pay 4 % interest after graduation. Deadline: Unspecified.

143. WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION (THE MARY C. JACKSON EMERGENCY LOAN FUND
Eligibility: Students in distress or within two years of graduation. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: One co-signer of loan agreement must live in the greater Boston, Massachusetts area. Value: Maximum loan about $200 at 4% interest. Repayment in monthly installments. How to apply: Write: Secretary's Office, WEIU, 264 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. Basis of award: Need. Deadline: Not given.

REGIONAL LOANS

The following loans, while similar to the national ones, require that the recipient be a resident of a particular state. These loans are listed alphabetically by state.

GEORGIA

144. ROTARY EDUCATIONAL FNDN OF ATLANTA, INC. (Loans)
Eligibility: Juniors and seniors in college. Where valid: Colleges and universities in Georgia only. Restrictions: Residents of Georgia. Value: Low interest loans. How to apply: Rotary Educational Foundation of Atlanta, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Basis of awards: Need and scholarship. Deadline: None.

MISSISSIPPI

145. FEILD CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, INC. PERMANENT STUDENT LOAN FUND.
Eligibility: At least junior standing in college. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Residents of Mississippi. Value: Loans of unspecified size bearing an interest rate of 6%. Repayable beginning three months after termination of studies. Where to apply: Feild Co-op Association, 405 First Federal Building, Corner Capitol and State Streets, Jackson, Mississippi. Basis of awards: Integrity, industry, thrift, thought. Deadline: Unannounced.

NORTH CAROLINA

146. JAMES E. AND MARY Z. BRYAN LOAN PLAN
Eligibility: High school seniors and undergraduates. Where valid: North Carolina College at Durham. Restrictions: North Carolina residents. Value: Unspecified number of renewable low interest loans. Where to apply: Chairman, Committee on Financial Assistance to Students, Box 601, North Carolina at Durham, Durham, North Carolina. Basis of awards: Worthy and needy students. Deadline: August 1.

147. ETTA BURKE PTA STUDENT LOAN FUND
Eligibility: High school senior, graduate. Where valid: Anywhere. Restriction: Residents of North Carolina. Value: $300 maximum. How to apply: Etta Burke PTA Student Loan Fund Committee, North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, 2014 Wilson Street, Durham, North Carolina. Basis of award: Financial need, scholastic achievement. Deadline: Unannounced.

148. NORTH CAROLINA BANKERS' STUDENT LOAN PLAN
Eligibility: High school graduates and undergraduates. Where valid: North Carolina College at Durham. Restrictions (#3) North Carolina residents. Value: Low interest loans. Renewable. Unspecified number. How to apply: Chairman, Committee of Financial Assistance to Students, North Carolina at Durham, Box 601, Durham, North Carolina. Basis of awards: Need, scholarship. Deadline: August 1.

149. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION LOANS FOR MEDICAL RECORDS LIBRARIANS.
Eligibility: Students in third or fourth year of academic study of degree program for medical records library. Where valid: Any accredited university or college in North Carolina with such a program. Restrictions: Resident of North Carolina. Must agree to practice in medical records library for one year for each year of loan. Amount: Unspecified number at $1,000 per year for last two years. Each year of loan is repayed by year's work under #3 above. Noncompliance results in payment of 6% interest. Where to apply: North Carolina Medical Care Commission for Medical Records Librarian. Box 9594, Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application form will be given applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

150. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION LOAN FOR MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY
Eligibility: Students in final year of medical technology program. Where valid: Any accredited university or college in North Carolina with such a program. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina must agree to practice in licensed hospital, mental retardation program for one year for each year of loan. Amount: Unspecified number at $1,000 for last (clinical) year of medical technology program. Each year of loan is repayed by year's work under #3 above. Noncompliance results in payment of 6% interest. Where to apply: North Carolina Medical Care Commission Loan for Medical Technology. 9594 Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application form will be given applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

151. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE LOANS FOR NURSE ANESTHESIA
Eligibility: Students entering course in nurse anesthesia. Where valid: Any North Carolina accredited college or university offering such a course of study. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina. Must agree to practice as a nurse anesthesia in licensed hospital for one year for every year of loan. Amount: Unspecified number at $1,000 per year for two years. Each year of loan is repayed by year's work under conditions of #3 above. Noncompliance results in payment of 6% interest. Where to apply: North Carolina Medical Care Commission. P O Box 9594, Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application form will be given applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

152. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION LOANS FOR NURSING
Eligibility: Students in second or third years of hospital school of nursing, or second or third year associate degree (two-year course in accredited college or university) or second, third, or fourth year of a four-year baccalaureate degree program (four-year course in accredited college or university). Where valid: Any North Carolina accredited college or university or hospital giving nursing course. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina only. Must practice in MD's office or hospital following graduation for one year for every year of loan. Value: Unspecified number per year. For Hospital school: $500 for second or third year. For associate degree: $1,000 for second year. For Baccalaureate degree: $1,000 for each academic year. Each year of loan is repayed by years work under conditions of #3 above. Noncompliance results in payment of 6% interest. Where to apply: North Carolina Medical Care Commission. P O Box 9594, Raleigh, North Carolina Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application forms will be given applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

153. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE LOANS IN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY
Eligibility: Students in second, third, and fourth year of academic study in degree program for occupational therapy. Where valid: Accredited North Carolina institutions of higher learning. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina. Must agree to practice in medical facility, public health or mentally retarded program for one year for each year of loan. Amount: Unspecified number at $1,000 yearly for last two years of occupa. therapy program (degree program). Each year of loan is repayed by years work under conditions of #3 above. Noncompliance results in payment of 6% interest. Where to apply: Medical Care Commission, P O Box 9594, Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application forms will be given the applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

154. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION LOANS IN PHARMACY
Eligibility: Students in second, third, fourth or fifth year of pharmacy study. Where valid: Accredited North Carolina institutions of higher learning. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina only. Must agree to practice in North Carolina community of less than 5,000 or at state owned mental, TB, or rehabilitation center one year for each year of grant. Amount: Unspecified number (based on demand) of up to $1,000 yearly. Each year of the loan is repayed by work as pharmacist in North Carolina. Upon failure to comply with this is a flat 6% interest on the repayment of the loan. Where to apply: Medical Care Commission, P O Box 9594, Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application forms will be given the applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

155. NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION LOANS IN PHYSICAL THERAPY
Eligibility: Students in third or fourth year of degree program in physical therapy. Where valid: Any accredited college or university in North Carolina offering such a program. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina must agree to practice in medical facility, public health or mental retardation program for one year for each year of loan. Amount: Unspecified number at $1,000 yearly for last two years of physical therapy program (degree program). Each year of loan is repayed by year's work under conditions of #3 above. Noncompliance results in payment of 6% interest. Where to apply: Medical Care Commission, P O Box 9594, Raleigh, North Carolina. Basis of award: Request appointment for interview at which time application forms will be given the applicant. Deadline: Unspecified.

156. NORTH CAROLINA SCHOLARSHIP LOAN FUND FOR PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS
Eligibility: High school seniors and undergraduates. (Preference to high school seniors.) Where valid: Any college or university in North Carolina. Restrictions: Residents of North Carolina only. Must be planning to go into a teaching career. Amount: Approximately 800 $350 yearly awards given per year in the form of SCHOLARSHIP LOANS bearing 4% interest. The awards are renewable. There exists also about 200 $75 awards for summer school work. Loans are repayed after teacher's certificate is obtained. Teacher may repay in cash or if he teachers in a North Carolina school , he will receive $350 credit for each year taught. Where to apply: Prospective Teachers Scholarship Loan Fund, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602. Basis of award: Scholarship, need, aptitude, character, purposefulness, and areas or subjects of instruction in which demands for teachers are the greatest. Deadline: March 1 or each year.

157. THOMASVILLE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION LOANS
Eligibility: Graduates of Thomasville High Schools. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: None. Value: Varies. How to apply: Thomasville Community Foundation, Thomasville, North Carolina. Basis of Loan: Need. Deadline: Unknown.

TO LATE TO CLASSIFY

158. LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA OPPORTUNITY GRANTS: (Scholarship)
Eligibility: High school seniors. Where valid: Anywhere. Restrictions: Lutheran Church of America Minority group youth. Value: Vary in number and value (depending on need). How to apply: Write: Board of College Education and College Vocations, 231 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016. Basis of award: Scholarship and need. Deadline: None.

INDEX OF COLLEGES

Several of the scholarships and loans listed in this guide may be used at certain colleges and universities only. Below is an alphabetical list of such colleges. The number following the name of each school indicates the scholarship or loan number in this guide.

This index may be used in two ways. You may find a scholarship or loan which interests you. If this scholarship or loan is limited to a particular school, note the listing number of the scholarship or loan and match that number with the schools listed here. Or you may have a college or university which particularly interests you, a check here will tell you immediately what aid listed in this book is available at your college. Remember that this list is not complete - there are many more schools and a lot more aid available, but we hope this will help you. (Note: in the listing of southern colleges and universities, all segregated institutions have been eliminated.)

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Below are listed several headings which may be helpful in your selection of a scholarship or loan to fit your needs. The numbers listed under each heading refer to an individual scholarship or loan listed in numerical order in the main body of this guide.

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2. Send us your ideas: what kind of information is most needed in your area - school - neighborhood; how can we best assist your organization to inform high school students about colleges and financial aid?

3. Order quantities of this guide for local distribution by your school or organization:

1 - 9	copies	.25 each
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4. Contributions - funds are needed by the committee to cover printing and mailing costs of this material. Checks should be made payable to UNC YMCA-YWCA. Contributions are tax deductible.

----------D-E-T-A-C-H----------

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University of North Carolina YMCA-YWCA
Human Relations Committee
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

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CAMPUS WORK

A history of USNSA

United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

HISTORY OF USNSA

The recognition of common aims and common problems has led students in most countries to form national student organizations. This sense of community has been active not only in the nations of Europe and Latin America, but in the United States as well. In 1925 representatives from more than 200 colleges and universities in this country met at Princeton University to form the National Student Federation of America. The Federation continued for more than fifteen years, sponsoring publications, travel and some student government programming. The Federation collapsed at the outset of World War II as a result of that war and of internal and external factionalism.

The sense of community remained: internationally and domestically. In Europe students became convinced of the need for international student understanding and cooperation. A meeting was called for 1946 in Prague to be called the "World Student Congress." It was intended that this congress would act as the constitutional convention for an international union of students.

The Prague Conference

During the winter and spring of 1946, a considerable amount of interest was generated on American university and college campuses in the Prague Congress. Also, many international student leaders were anxious that the United States, with more universities and university students than any other country, should be represented.

Since the United States did not have a national student organization representative and vigorous enough to speak for the American student community, the initiative for gathering together an American delegation fell to the existing student and youth organizations of religious, professional or political character. The delegation finally chosen was composed of delegates from six organizations and ten colleges.

Partisan Force Deployed

On August 18, 1946, 300 students from thirty-eight countries gathered in Prague for the meeting. The danger signs were clearly present: a partisan force was developed throughout the parts of the Congress pretending to be concerned with issues of rights and procedures and 'fascism,' while their actual purpose was to capture the machinery of the nascent organization.

It soon became clear that a Communist majority was in control of the meeting. The Swiss, Dutch, Chinese, Scandinavians, the Dominions, Belgium, Denmark, the United States and minorities of the British, French and Italians—and at times the Finns and Poles—voted in the minority.

The final action of the Congress was the election of an Executive Committee which was clearly controlled by a pre-selected majority. An American student from the National Intercollegiate Christian Council became a vice-president and served until 1948.

A Student Forum

The American delegation, returning to this country, "could see the profound need for a forum of American student leadership, a body through which international representation and information distribution could be maintained,center for American student cooperation and communication, and an on-going body that could begin to raise the level of the understanding of international and national problems on the college campus. Although they were severely disillusioned by the Prague meeting, they still had hope—as did their elders who were busy setting the form of the United Nations—that differences among various national unions of students could be settled at the conference table and that practical international student cooperation and communication could be established.

Chicago Student Conference

Backed by the nine organizations which had originally organized the American delegation to Prague, the returning delegates constituted themselves as the Committee for the Chicago Student Conference. Invitations went out to every university and college in the country to meet at the University of Chicago in December of 1946. Student leaders from about 200 colleges and universities and a score of youth and student organizations gathered and spent three days in committees, caucuses and plenary sessions to decide the form and purpose of the "national student organization." They elected a Continuations Committee, headed by the student body president from the University of Texas, Jim Smith. The Committee was to call a constitutional convention, prepare a draft constitution, and distribute information on the proposed organization.

Constitutional Convention

The Constitutional Convention met in Madison, Wisconsin, at the University of Wisconsin in the summer of 1947. The Continuations Committee had observed the 1947 meeting of the International Union of Students, and its recommendations for qualified affiliation created a hot contest among the three hundred delegates at the meeting.

The decision was made to continue to investigate affiliation; affiliation could be accepted, however, only if national autonomy could be guaranteed, if the dues scale could be adjusted, and if a two-thirds vote be secured at the next meeting of the NSA—the First

National Student Congress.

Membership in NSA

The other major contest centered around the question of membership in the National Student Association. Some of the organizations wanted to be able to become members; some students wanted individual membership; some wanted membership restricted to student governments which would create a representative structure of a quasi-governmental nature. "The Texas Plan," the proposal by outgoing President Jim Smith, that would restrict membership to democratic student governments, was finally accepted and is still the basis of membership for the Association.

The Convention elected Bill Welsh from Berea College in Kentucky as President, Robert Smith of Yale College as International Affairs Vice-President, and sent Jim Smith to observe the meetings of the IUS Executive Committee, and a team to investigate conditions of possible membership.

Disillusionment With the IUS

A series of events in the next two years disillusioned many national unions of students in Europe with the IUS, and caused USNSA to finally give up attempts to revise the organization as to make affiliation possible. Foremost among the events which clearly showed the partisan character of the IUS was the **coup d'etat** in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Communists took control of the Czech government and universities, vigorously suppressing dissenting students. The International Union of Students refused to respond to an obvious suppression of students taking place on its doorstep. The United States representative in Europe, Jim Smith, immediately protested. The Swiss, Austrians, and Belgians, who had been observing the operations of the IUS as much as the NSA had been, indicated that they would not now join the organization; the Swedes and Danes withdrew. The Belgians and the Dutch student unions began to raise to question of a Western European student organization.

The International Student Conference

Despite their disappointment with the IUS, many national unions of students still hoped that it would be possible to establish some means by which students could so operate. The three Scandanavian national unions of students convened a meeting in Stockholm in

1950, to discuss new means of international cooperation. Delegates to the conference, including NSA, agreed that no new organization should be formed. Instead they created a much looser form of cooperation. In an attempt to avoid the highly centralized structure which had characterized the IUS—which many felt had violated the autonomy of individual national organizations—they created a less formal conference, which was to meet and reconstitute itself every year. Projects carried out between conferences were to be delegated to individual national unions of students. The meeting, which came to be known as the International Student Conference, was not intended to be a Western international student organization to counter the IUS. Instead, it was to eschew partisan politics, and be a genuine open forum in which national student organizations could cooperate on common problems. The next conference, in Edinburgh, did establish a permanent secretariat, the Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students (COSEC) but its duties were to be largely administrative, and its ability to take stands on issues between conferences was severely prescribed.

Substantial Domestic Programming

Because a great deal of the impetus for the formation of NSA had come from a desire that American students be represented abroad, and because of the controversial question of IUS membership, much of the time at early national student congresses was spent discussing international issues. At the same time, however, NSA began to develop a substantial domestic program, aimed at assisting member student governments by providing for exchange of information, and at developing a responsible voice for American students on educational problems within the United States. A newspaper was established; NSA began to serve as a clearing house for exchange of information on programs developed by member campuses; a student travel program was organized, which allowed American students inexpensive European tours during the summer vacation. The Association was invited to become a member of the United States Commission for UNESCO, and accepted. Increasingly educational leaders began to call on USNSA for assistance and advice when matters of student concern were discussed. Membership increased consistently.

Programs for Member Campuses

Delegates to National Student Congresses during the early fifties responded to these problems by establishment of several programs designed to meet particular needs of member campuses. A special

vice-presidency had been created, to deal specifically with problems of student government. Beginning in 1950, the Association established a special conference for Student Body Presidents, which met just before the National Student Congress, and gave newly elected student body presidents a chance to exchange information.

Student Life In the U.S.

As the Association continued to grow, it began to develop new programs dealing with student life in the United States, embracing a large number of interests and needs of American students. In 1954, the Ford Foundation granted the Association $28,000 to conduct a study of student activities in the United States, and to publish the results of this study. The following year, the Foundation provided a total of $128,000 to establish the Foreign Student Leadership Project, which brings selected leaders of student organizations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to the United States for one year to study American student groups, and to work closely with their American counterparts.

Programs begun earlier also continued. In 1955, the Association was able to hire a full time director of its Student Government Information Service to meet the need for exchange of information between student governments on campus problems. The Student Government Vice President, who had been a student working as a vice-president only as an extracurricular activity, became a full-time officer, and was able to visit nearly 100 campuses a year, helping directly in the development of student government programming. Later an additional elected officer, the Educational Affairs Vice-President, was added to the list of full-time personnel.

ISC Growth

The Associations international program also expanded. The International Student Conference had grown from the initial 21 national unions of students who attended the Stockholm meeting in 1950 until there were nearly 60 national student organizations in attendance at the 6th ISC, held in Ceylon in September of 1956. The increase in membership of the ISC brought USNSA into contact with students whose problems and concerns were quite different from those of their American counterparts. No longer was the Conference composed primarily of European student unions. Delegates from Asia and Africa, many of whom had taken part in independence movements in their countries, or who, like the Algerian students, were still engaged in the struggle for independence, urged the conference to consider their problems. Latin American students saw the struggle against dictatorial governments as a central question in their efforts to improve education

in their countries. The closing of many universities and political suppression of students by Batista in Cuba, Perez-Jiminez in Venezuela Stroessner in Paraguay, Peron in Argentina and others made their appeals more dramatic.

International Student Programs

Delegates to USNSA Congresses indicated their concern with the problems of students in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in many ways. Resolutions were passed giving support for students who were working for educational freedom in other countries. Programs were developed to give assistance to students from these areas. Working with other organizations, such as World University Service, the Association developed material relief and scholarship programs for students in many parts of the world. The newly established Foreign Student Leadership Project gave American students a chance to meet student leaders from the emerging areas at first hand.

Campus International Awareness

In addition to programs dealing directly with students from other countries, the Association realized that it could be of assistance to American student groups interested in developing programs of international awareness on American campuses. The post of Campus International Administrator was established. This staff member was to travel to member campuses, giving information and assistance to many developing programs on international affairs. Two publications, dealing with international programming on campuses and programs for foreign students, were published and received wide circulation.

Student Responsibility Project

The last four years of the 1950's saw several new developments in USNSA designed to meet the expanding needs of NSA's member campuses, and the Association's increasingly important role in American higher education. A grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education made possible the establishment of the Student Responsibility Project. The Project was designed to encourage students to contribute to the solution of some of the problems that increasing enrollments were beginning to cause American universities. Information, publications, and a national conference led many member campuses to develop programs dealing with the problem areas the Project emphasized: recruitment of teachers, independent study programs and curriculum evaluation; and counselling services. A series

of publications followed the termination of the project, providing the results of the participating campuses experiences for others interested in these problems.

Southern Project

The Association's continuing concern in the field of civil rights and the problem of desegregation in Southern universities led to the establishment of a Summer Southern Student Human Relations Seminar, and in 1959-60 to the establishment of a Southern Project, both set up under grants from the Field Foundation.

Educational Travel

NSA's travel department, Educational Travel, Inc., also began to expand its programs. While continuing to provide low cost tours to Europe for American students, it also began to develop new educational travel programs. Study tours, including a one-month seminar with eminent European educators, were developed. Plans were laid for programs in areas where American students have not usually had much opportunity to travel. Latin American, Japan and African tours were developed.

Increasing Demands

USNSA membership continued its upward climb during this period. Recognition among American educators, and in other sectors of American society, placed increasing demands on the Association. NSA officers were called upon to participate in meetings of groups like the American Council on Education and the Association for Higher Education. Following the mandates of resolutions passed by the National Student Congress, USNSA officers prepared testimony for several Congressional committees dealing with educational legislation, such as the National Defense Education Act.

A Turning Point

Many observers saw 1960 as a turning point for American students. Increased activity on political and social issues, coupled with the dramatization of the role of students elsewhere, as shown in student demonstrations in Korea, Turkey and Japan, made Americans conscious of students as they had not been before. On the national scene,

the sit-in movement, beginning in February of 1960, caused widespread interest and action both within and without the student community, and was the most significant evidence of a new tempo to student activity in the United States. Other issues, as well, caused students to act to promote those principles they felt important. Capital punishment, compulsory ROTC, nuclear disarmament, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other questions excited student interest and student action on many campuses.

These aspects of the American student scene were reflected within the Association. Acting on the basis of the Congress resolution on desegregation, the Association supported the sit-ins, provided information for its member campuses, and encouraged support in both Southern and Northern campuses. A program of scholarship assistance for student leaders expelled from their universities for participation in the sit-ins was begun. Many NSA member colleges responded to the Association's calls for support with demonstrations of sympathy, picketing, and financial support.

The Sit-Ins

NSA's support of the sit-ins elicited much controversy at the 13th National Student Congress at the University of Minnesota in August of 1960, where actions of the officers in interpreting NSA policy were reviewed. Some delegates felt the Association had supported the sit-ins without adequate consultation with its member campuses; others raised questions about the legitimacy of the sit-in activity itself on legal or moral grounds. Still others felt the Association's actions had been correct, or criticized it for not having given adequate support for sit-ins. A series of panel discussions and many formal and informal debates on the issue ensued. Finally, the Congress passed a resolution by an overwhelming vote, endorsing the actions of the officers in applying association policy to the sit-ins, and urging member campuses to continue their efforts in the field of civil rights.

While the sit-ins provided the major focus for discussion at the Congress, other issues which had stirred debate on many campuses also received attention. Resolutions on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, federal aid to education, and other issues stirred controversy. Debate over these issues underlined the broader questions raised by the previous year's events: what kind of role should the student play in his society, does he have an obligation beyond his campus, to the community of which he is a part, and how does that

obligation relate to his essential job as a student? Some preliminary answers to these questions were suggested in a basic policy declaration adopted by the Congress:

The Student in Society

"USNSA recognizes the great value of student involvement in programs of political and social action and the integral connection of these programs with the educational process. While recognizing that a student must devote primary attention to his academic program, the USNSA urges student participation in legitimate social and political activities. The student should be an active, informed, responsible participant in the democratic life of the campus, local, state, national and international communities. The student should seek with interest those problems which will lead to responsible involvement in social and political action. And in this connection the student should be concerned not simply with the problems of direct relevance to the academic community, but as well with those great problems and issues of our national and international life.

Expanding Concerns

The Association continued to expand its programs—particularly in the area of higher education. With assistance from a special grant, a project was established on academic freedom. The project director conducted six regional seminars and established sub-commissions on fifteen campuses; more than six new publications were prepared. Special conferences were conducted on the aims of education and legislative affairs: Internationally the Association sponsored the International Student Seminar—the largest international student meeting ever held in the United States. The seminar immediately preceded the 10th International Student Conference and allowed students from over fifty nations to discuss in a relaxed and non-politicized atmosphere the international student concerns which they would debate later as delegates to the Conference.

The time since the 13th National Student Congress has been one of increased interest in political and social issues on the part of American students. Student groups of many political philosophies, some concerned with one issue, and some concerned with a broad range of questions, have sprung up on American campuses. Older groupings of students have intensified their activities. This increase in the pace and level of student action forced many adult leaders and groups to become cognizant of the potential of students as an active force in this country's social and political life.

In committing students to seek solutions to the pressing problems facing education and society, USNSA will continue to act as a forum and a catalyst, an instrument for mutual cooperation and action.

PREAMBLE TO THE USNSA CONSTITUTION

"We, the members of the national union of students of the United States of America, desiring

to maintain academic freedom, academic responsibility and student rights;

to stimulate and improve democratic student government;

to develop better educational standards, facilities and teaching methods;

to improve student cultural, social, and physical welfare;

to promote international understanding and fellowship;

to guarantee to all people, because of their inherent dignity as individuals, equal rights and possibilities for primary, secondary, and higher education regardless of sex, race, religion, political belief or economic circumstance;

to foster the recognition of the rights and responsibilities of students to the school, the community, humanity and God;

and to preserve the interests and integrity of the government and Constitution of the United States of America;

do hereby establish this Constitution of the United States National Student Association.

THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION *is a confederation of college student bodies in every part of the country which are associated together to give consideration to questions of mutual concern. Each student body is represented in the Association by its own democratically elected student government and its foremost student leaders. The United States National Student Association is a non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-profit, student-run, educational association.*

DOMESTICALLY, *the United States National Student Association carries on continuing research, collection of data, and dissemination of information on campus student problems and on national and international issues of concern to American student leaders. It holds national and regional meetings of student leaders to provide for the exchange of ideas on common problems, answers hundreds of requests for information from students all over the country, and publishes the only series of publications on student and student government problems. It maintains the only library devoted solely to works by and for students and student governments. The United States National Student Association is dedicated to inspiring increased participation and responsibility on the part of students in the national, international and educational communities. It represents the opinion of the majority of those student leaders at member campuses before the United States Congress and non-governmental organizations. It is the only student constituent organization of the American Council on Education, the only student organization affiliated with the National Education Association, and is the only student organization with a representative on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.*

INTERNATIONALLY, *the United States National Student Association carries on relations with the national student organizations of more than seventy-five countries of the free world. It played a leading role in the development of the International Student Conference and its Coordinating Secretariat in concert with the other national student organizations which have found it impossible to cooperate with the Communist-dominated International Union of Students. It operates a student travel program which offers the lowest cost tours to Europe which can be obtained by American students. The United States National Student Association carries out educational exchange programs and maintains a program which brings student leaders from emergent countries to the United States for a year of study and experience in American student organizations. Information on student conditions, university life and student organizations abroad is sent to all member campuses, and information on American colleges and student organizations is sent to national student organizations around the world.*

"CAMPUS WORK" Stanfield

PROPOSALS OF THE VIRGINIA COLLEGE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

We, the college students of Virginia who are concerned with dynamic growth of human understanding, feel an urgent need for a statewide college organization to act as encouragement to individual students across the state who are similarly inclined, but who need some support in the founding of their own college chapters. It is, with the consideration of the above reason, that we represent this proposal.

I. The purpose of the organization:

To provide an opportunity for understanding among all people who believe in adherence to the Constitution of the United States, regardless of race, creed, or socio-economic level. To promote a greater spirit of brotherhood among Virginia college students through social, intellectual, economic, and cultural dynamics. To attain through fact-finding, negotiation, communication, education, and action projects, equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

II. The Structure:

State Office
- State Coordinator
- Field Consultant

Executive Board:
- Composed of one representative from each college with one vote with reference to policy making.

District Board:
- Composed of college chapters within a certain geographical area, coordinated and established with and by the Executive Board and State Coordinator.

Local Chapter Board:
- Each college that requests affiliation with the State Organization may have its own chapter, with officers elected by that chapter's membership.

III. The Program of VCCHR:

A. Meetings:
A minimum of two state-wide meetings held each year, with meetings of district and local chapters held at the discretion of the chapters. A minimum of two meetings per month held by local chapters is urged.

B. Suggested action projects:
1. Establishment of VCCHR chapters on all 44 campuses in Va.
2. Tutorial programs, voter registration programs, etc.
3. Research of human relations conditions and documentation of research projects in the following areas:
   - (a) housing
   - (b) transportation
   - (c) health
   - (d) employment
   - (e) education
   - (f) attitude of commercial, agents, business, industry, and Gov't. officials.
   - (g) attitudes of other community organizations and other institutions.
4. Stimulation of the community based on the above research.
5. Cooperative programs with local senior chapters, establishment or guidance of local high school chapters, as well as establishment of rapport between college and community.
6. Publication of a state newsletter reporting action in the field of human relations.
7. All other actions fostering better human relations which do not include demonstrations, boycotts, and/or picketing.

CHURCHES

2/15/66

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War and the Clergy

New Wave of Anti-Vietnam Protests Involves Thousands Across Country

By EDWARD B. FISKE

The most striking aspect of the current wave of protest by clergymen against American policy in Vietnam is that it bears little or no relation to traditional pacifist movements —religious or otherwise. Traditional pacifism, characterized by opposition to war of any kind, has existed as a small but steady undercurrent among the American clergy throughout most of the 20th century and continues today through organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Catholic Worker movement.

News Analysis

Reaction to the war in Vietnam, however, has now involved thousands of clergymen throughout the country. The National Emergency Committee of Clergy Concerned About Vietnam, for instance, which was organized a month ago to remonstrate against the resumption of bombing in North Vietnam, now has approximately 145 local chapters. It announced yesterday that as a result of the decision to renew bombing it would become a permanent organization.

Radical Rethinking

Moreover, the new antiwar demonstrators lack the doctrinal purity of the total antiwar position held by the pacifists and make efforts to avoid being identified with them. Most, for instance, would be willing to bear arms against another Hitler.

The most important immediate cause of the current wave of protests has been the civil rights movement. In the period following the Freedom Rides of 1961 large numbers of churchmen got their first taste of leadership in a major social movement.

Their success, which surprised many prompted radical rethinking of their role as a clergymen and led to the present mood of "stand up and be counted." As one leader of the Clergy Concerned group said recently:

"We're tired of acting like a Greek chorus that stands at the side watching a tragedy take place and merely offers occasional comments."

Accompanying these higher expectations for religion is a new understanding of its relations to a government concerned with the Great Society.

"Church-state relations in the United States have never meant that churchmen should separate their Christian ethics from political action," said the Rev. John C. Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary. "As independent bodies, the churches should bring pressure to bear on the state; indeed, that this is possible is a mark of their separation."

The new wave of protests by clergymen also has roots in a judgment of the changing conditions of war. As clergymen, the protesters feel an obligation to provide leadership on ethical and moral questions, including the morality of war and the use of American power.

Unlike traditional pacifists, almost all the new anti-war spokesmen would probably have fought against the Nazis in World War II and even against the Communists in Korea. They feel, however, that the American position in Vietnam is ambiguous, that its mandate is slim if not downright immoral and that in a nuclear age wars of this kind are out of date as solutions to national disputes.

The churchmen thus talk of "selective conscientious objection," a concept that would allow an individual to qualify as a conscientious objector if he feels that a particular war, but not necessarily all war, is wrong. They acknowledge the difficulty, however, not only of defining what kind of aggressor, short of another Hitler, would make war moral, but also of writing such a subjective standard into law, especially if it were to apply to men already in the armed forces.

A 'Moral Dilemma'

The statements of the new demonstrators reveal little of the self-assurance that derives from a flat objection to all wars. Rather, they speak of the President's "moral dilemma" and the "ambiguities" of any solution in Vietnam.

Finally, there is in the current clergy protests an element of good old-fashioned institutional conservatism. Not only do many church leaders feel that war is an outdated policy with which to be allied, but also that in tomorrow's complex technological society influence will come not merely from preaching on the Sabbath but through involvement across the board in the affairs of men.

It is significant, therefore, that much of the clergy's antiwar feeling today comes not from a radical left within the churches but from the religious "establishment" itself.

The most important single critique of the American Vietnam policy by churchmen, for instance, came in a December statement of the General Board of the National Council of Churches. Although the council does not reflect the views of all of its constituent churches, it nevertheless remains the country's most conspicuous and easily mobilized Protestant institution. The national Jewish religious organizations have also taken similar positions.

The main exception to the general trend, of course, is the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which has largely been silent or, in the case of several leaders such as Cardinal Spellman of New York, supported the war effort. Even here, however, the general position contrasts sharply with the peace efforts of Pope Paul.

In the context of these changes of the sixties, what can be seen in the current clergy protests is not so much the emergence of a "new left" within the churches as the stirrings of what may become the "new center" of the seventies.

CHURCHES 2/23/66

Catholic Priest Organizing a Union for Priests

By PETER BART

Special to The New York Times

SANTA MONICA, Calif., Feb. 22—A 31-year-old Roman Catholic priest formally initiated today an organizing drive aimed at unionizing the nation's 58,000 priests.

The organizer, Rev. William H. Dubay, said his new union, the American Federation of Priests, would spearhead what he termed "the struggle for professional freedom" within the Catholic priesthood.

The present faculty strike at St. John's University in Brooklyn is just one of many portents, he said, that indicate the need for such a union. The union, he acknowledged, probably would be the first ever established to represent "employes" of a religious denomination.

Father DuBay, the son of a Long Beach sign painter, has been transferred twice in the last year for his attacks on the church hierarchy. At present he is chaplain for St. John's Hospital in Santa Monica.

Wrote to the Pope

Late last year, after the Watts riots, Father DuBay announced that he had written Pope Paul VI urging the ouster of James Francis Cardinal McIntyre as Archbishop of Los Angeles for his "failure to exercise leadership in the racial crisis." The Pope did not respond to the letter.

A slender, businesslike young man, Father DuBay met today with groups of colleagues from Los Angeles and from the Fresno-Monterrey parish in California and announced cheerfully: "We already have the embryo of two locals."

Within the next two weeks, he said, the union will set up a national chapter and start a monthly magazine to help raise funds. Eventually the union will apply for a charter in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, he said.

Father DuBay said his union would bargain for the establishment of grievance machinery within the church, a tenure policy to guarantee a hearing before a priest can be suspended an end to "arbitrary and oppressive" transfers by chancery officials, a uniform leave policy, freedom of residence and the establishment of a "professional salary" for priests that would eliminate their "dependence on the wealthy."

Most priests who do not take vows of poverty receive limited salaries ranging from less than $100 a month to $125 to $150 a month. They also get food and lodging.

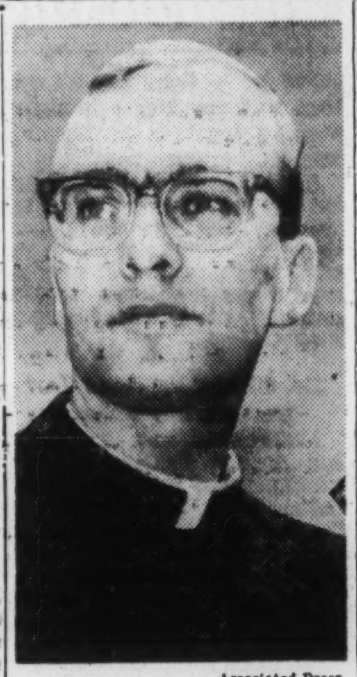
Father DuBay acknowledged that there was a good chance that the church hierarchy would suspend or even excommunicate him for his organizing effort. If such action takes place, Father DuBay said, he will seek protection under the Federal and state laws granting employes the right to organize themselves into a union.

Officials Unavailable

Because of the Washington's Birthday holiday, chancery officials were unavailable for comment.

Father DuBay is a scholarly, articulate young man who speaks with deep conviction but laces his conversation with colloquial humor. Telephoning one priest to invite him to an organizing meeting, he said:

"I'm having a bunch of guys over to my apartment to discuss the union. No, there won't be any finks here—neither rat finks nor mouse finks."



Associated Press

The Rev. William H. DuBay

Father DuBay insists that his union "does not want to unseat the church hierarchy just as the U. A. W. does not seek to dissolve the management of General Motors."

His aim, he says, is to fight for priests' freedom and "primacy of conscience." He notes:

"The business concerns of the church administrators have all but stifled the effectiveness of priests and have created widespread dissatisfaction among priests over their inability to realize their professional aspirations. Pious submission in the face of outdated paternalism makes the priest irresponsible to the needs of his occupation and places him as a child among men."

Father DuBay said the granting of a "professional" salary to priests would eliminate "the buying and selling of religious services." The union, he said, would also seek to free priests from such chores as "money-counting and fund-raising."

The young priest cheerfully concedes that "lots of priests are afraid of me, they think I'm a nut." Yet he believes that many priests will rush to his cause once they know of the union's objectives.

The key struggle, he said, is to attain "a balance of administrative authority and individual freedom within the church." "There must be discipline and obedience but there also must be freedom to question doctrine," he declared.

Father DuBay says that, despite his battles with the Catholic hierarchy, he feels he has become more spiritually devoted to the church, not less so.

"My ethic holds that human involvement not devotion to cult, is the basis of Christianity" he says.

Protest at Duquesne

Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 22 — Seven faculty members of the Duquesne University psychology department and about 50 graduate students demonstrated today to support their position in a dispute involving the philosophy department.

The marchers, who included Dr. Alice Wagstaff, chairman of the psychology department, erudite than are generally seen on picket lines. One of them, reading "Save Contemporary Philosophy," explained what the dispute is about.

At Duquesne, which is a Roman Catholic college, the philosophy and psychology departments are closely related. The carried signs considerably more demonstrators fear that Duquesne will downgrade courses in contemporary philosophies, which are called phenomenological existentialism.

Students are seeking the resignation of Dr. John J. Pauson as philosophy department chairman, a position to which he was recently elected by the philosophy faculty.

Richard Weiss, a graduate student in psychology, said that six professors teaching existentialism had threatened to quit unless Dr. Pauson resigned as chairman. Dr. Pauson has insisted that he does not plan to downgrade the courses, which attract graduate students from many countries.

End of Retreats Asked

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 22 (UPI)—A student committee said today it had asked Marquette Univesity to abolish compulsory retreats, contending the Roman Catholic religious exercises were "self-defeating and disfunctional to the attainment of moral excellence."

Marquette, the nation's largest Jesuit university, has had a long-established mandatory retreat policy, requiring full-time Catholic students to make an annual retreat by Easter Sunday. If the retreat is not made, undergraduates cannot re-register for a new semester and graduating seniors are not given diplomas.

The Student Committee for Moral Excellence said it had obtained more than 1,900 signatures on a petition that seeks the en dof mandatory retreats. The committee said it was seeking an appointment with the Rev. Richard Sherburne, dean of students, and the Rev. John Naus, director of student welfare, to present the petition and discuss the matter.

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 CHURCHES

Georgia Presbyterian Synod And Orphanage Clash on Bias

By MARGARET HURST
Constitution Church Editor

There's a quiet controversy brewing between the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia and one of its children — the Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, S.C.

It began almost a year ago when the Georgia Synod asked the Thornwell trustees to take "immediate steps" to amend their charter so Thornwell could provide care for needy children 'regardless of the circumstances of their birth."

The action resulted from the orphanage's age-old policy of excluding Negroes and illegitimate children.

Since April, the trustees have done nothing about the synod's request except, according to one member, "to continue our present policy in accordance with the charter."

SCHOOL REQUEST

The Synod also asked that the children at Thornwell be sent to public schools. There are 315 children at Thornwell, which has the capacity to serve 375 children.

(Thornwell is under the authority of the Synods of Georgia, South Carolina and Florida. Each Synod elects its own trustees to a board which runs the orphanage. The orphanage receives approximately 45 per cent of its revenue from the synods and receives more than 55 per cent from outside sources.)

The Florida Synod reportedly supports Georgia in its efforts to remove the racial and legitimacy admission barriers, but South Carolina has remained vitually silent on the issues.

Recently, a few Presbyterian ministers in Atlanta have been trying to figure out what the Georgia Synod could do at its next meeting in May to force the issue.

And while they've been hard at work . . . so has the Rev. Malcolm A. MacDonald, president of Thornwell for 21 years.

In the January issue of the Thornwell Life, the Rev. Mr. MacDonald wrote an editorial making it clear that he is very much opposed to the Georgia Synod's ideas about removing restrictive barriers at the orphanage.

After pointing out that the three synods furnish something less than 45 per cent of the orphanage's funds, the Rev. Mr. MacDonald adds:

"I have scores of letters from affluent supporters of Thornwell through the years, and without exception, they all have indicated the solemn truth that if Thornwell becomes integrated, they will take our institution out of their budgets and out of their wills and also will stop immediately any contribution to our program."

He calls on the synod of Georgia to make suggestions and implement a financial plan to provide for the funds that will "automatically stop" if the orphanage changes its policy.

"Another matter that is passing strange to me is that we have had a waiting list each year requesting admission to Thornwell and . . . lack of space and lack of funds has made it impossible to admit all the children in our jurisdiction or our responsible area requesting admission.

"Now, I pose the question—How would it be possible for us to manage to handle a great influx of additional children in the brackets suggested?" the editorial asks.

The Rev. Mr. MacDonald writes that another problem involved in "the mixing of races" would be love, courtship and marriage which have "no Biblical support."

Further, the Rev. Mr. MacDonald, says "Now there was not more than 69 people in the Synod of Georgia (of course, I realize they were representatives of the Synod in official session) that voted for Thornwell to receive Negro children and illegitimate children. . . ."

There are 332 ministers in the Synod of Georgia, 2,450 elders, 2,849 deacons and 72,000 church members, he added.

"My point is this," he says, "Is it morally right for 69 peopl to have the privilge of changing the policies of a 90-year-old home . . .". The Rev. Mr. MacDonald concluded by saying that "Most of the people in the Synod of Georgia are totally unfamiliar with the situation."

Needless to say, the editorial was like salt in an open wound to some of Georgia's Presbyterian ministers.

REAL PROBLEM

Now they are faced with a real problem. The Georgia trustees have made it apparant, according to one of their spokesmen, that they do not want to change the orphanage's present policies and consequently are doing nothing to encourage the entire Board of Trustees to augment the changes proposed by the Georgia Synod. This attitude leaves the Georgia Synod virtually paralyzed when it comes to bringing about the suggested changes.

What course can the Synod now take? Will it be necessary to wait until the terms of the present trustees expire before a remedy can be found, or is it possible for the Synod to override the trustees and get their policies put into effect?

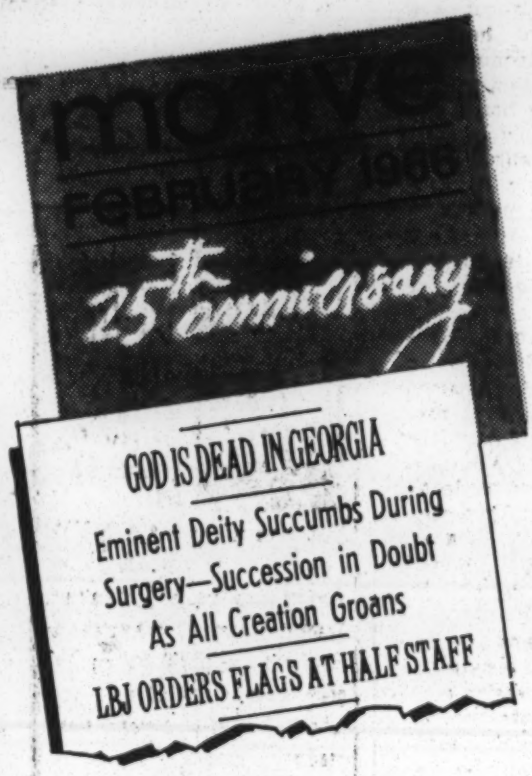
One of the big questions at the next Synod meeting, to be held May 31 in Clinton, S.C., will be to discuss what power Synod really has over its institutions which are run by trustees.

The chairman of the Synod's Permanent Committee on Homes and Educational Institutions, Dr. Charles R. McCain of LaGrange, said he expects his committee to ask the Synod at the May meeting to clarify where the control really lies.

NYT 3/6/66 CHURCHES

AN 'OBITUARY' FOR GOD

The following, written by Anthony Towne, is a satirical comment on the 'God Is Dead' movement. This shortened version of an "obituary," written in the style of The New York Times, was excerpted from a longer article that appeared in Motive, a Methodist student publication (Box 871), Nashville, Tenn.



Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 9—God, creator of the universe, principal deity of the world's Jews, ultimate reality of Christians, and most eminent of all divinities, died late yesterday during major surgery undertaken to correct a massive diminishing influence. His exact age is not known, but close friends estimate that it greatly exceeded that of all other extant beings.

The cause of death could not be immediately determined, but the deity's surgeon, Thomas J. J. Altizer, 38, of Emory University in Atlanta, indicated possible cardiac insufficiency. Assisting Dr. Altizer in the unsuccessful surgery were Dr. Paul van Buren of Temple University, Philadelphia; Dr. William Hamilton of Colgate-Rochester, Rochester, N. Y., and Dr. Gabriel Vahanian of Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

Word of the death, long rumored, was officially disclosed to reporters at five minutes before midnight after a full day of mounting anxiety and the comings and goings of ecclesiastical dignitaries.

In Johnson City, Tex., President Johnson was described by aides as "profoundly upset." He at once directed that all flags should be at half-staff until after the funeral. The First Lady and the two Presidential daughters, Luci and Lynda, were understood to have wept openly. Both houses of Congress met in Washington at noon today and promptly adjourned after passing a joint resolution expressing "grief and great respect for the departed spiritual leader." Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, objected on the grounds that the resolution violated the principle of separation of church and state, but he was overruled by Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who remarked that "this is not a time for partisan politics."

Plans for the deity's funeral are incomplete. Reliable sources suggested that extensive negotiations may be necessary in order to select a church for the services and an appropriate liturgy. Dr. Wilhelm Pauck, theologian of Union Seminary in New York City, proposed this morning that it would be "fitting and seemly" to inter the remains in the ultimatc ground of all being. Funerals for divinities, common in ancient times, have been exceedingly rare in recent centuries.

Reaction from the world's great and from the man in the street was uniformly incredulous. "At least he's out of his misery," commented one housewife in an Elmira, N. Y. supermarket. "I can't believe it," said the Right Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York. In Paris, President de Gaulle in a 30-second appearance on national television, proclaimed "God is dead! Long live the republic! Long live France!" News of the death was included in a one-sentence statement, without comment, on the 3d page of Izvestia, official organ of the Soviet Government. The passing of God has not been disclosed to the 800 million Chinese who live behind the bamboo curtain.

Public reaction in this country was perhaps summed up by an elderly retired streetcar conductor in Passaic, N. J., who said: "I never met him, of course. Never even saw him. But from what I heard I guess he was a real nice fellow. Tops." From Independence, Mo., former President Harry S. Truman, who received the news in his Kansas City barbershop, said: "I'm always sorry to hear somebody is dead. It's a damn shame." In Gettysburg, Pa., former President Dwight D. Eisenhower released through a military aide the following statement: "Mrs. Eisenhower joins me in heartfelt sympathy to the family and many friends of the late God. He was, I always felt, a force for moral good in the universe. Those of us who were privileged to know him admired the probity of his character, the breadth of his compassion, the depth of his intellect. Generous almost to a fault, his many acts of kindness to America will never be forgotten. It is a very great loss indeed. He will be missed."

From Basel, Switzerland, came word that Dr. Karl Barth, venerable Protestant theologian, informed of the death of God, declared: "I don't know who died in Atlanta, but whoever he was he's an impostor."

Dr. Altizer, God's surgeon, in an exclusive interview with The Times, stated this morning that the death was "not unexpected." "He had been ailing for some time," Dr. Altizer said, "and lived much longer than most of us thought possible." He noted that the death of God, had, in fact, been prematurely announced in the last century by the famed German surgeon, Nietzsche. Nietzsche, who was insane the last 10 years of his life, may have confused "certain symptoms of morbidity in the aged patient with actual death, a mistake any busy surgeon will occasionally make." Dr. Altizer suggested, "God was an excellent patient, compliant, cheerful, alert. Every comfort modern science could provide was made available to him. He did not suffer —he just, as it were, slipped out of our grasp."

Religion

NYT 3/6/66 CHURCHES

Protestants and 'Denominationalism'

By JOHN COGLEY

A Roman Catholic editor, Daniel Callahan of the Commonweal, recently suggested that the time might have come for a latter-day Martin Luther to nail the charter for a new Reformation on a church door—this time on a Protestant church door.

Something like that has now taken place. The Rev. Stephen C. Rose, a young Chicago clergyman, editor of Renewal Magazine, has published a document called "The Grass Roots Church—a Manifesto for a Renewal Movement."

Mr. Rose, striking a prophetic note, attacks what some have long regarded as the strongest point in Protestantism, and others like himself now look upon as a glaring weakness: denominationalism. Denominationalism, whatever virtue the division of the church into Presbyterians, Lutherans, Congregationalists, etc., might have served in the past, is now simply obsolete, Mr. Rose says.

Theological differences that may have meant a great deal to the followers of the various traditions in past generations are now regarded as irrelevant to the central mission of the church.

Moreover, classic divisions of the Church of the Reform force the individual to pay lip service to a set of theological presuppositions he may actually be indifferent to, while excessive denominational loyalty deprives him of the opportunity to benefit from the richness of Protestant theological and liturgical variety.

Expensive Luxury

According to Mr. Rose, denominationalism is a luxury Protestant Christianity cannot afford at a time when "the church is being killed by her own failure to take the shape the world needs."

Denominationalism, he holds, inevitably means topheavy bureaucracy and all the misdirected effort that goes into corporate self-preservation. Most of all, it is responsible for the remoteness of church leaders from the realities facing the church today.

For all their talk of ecumenism, national bodies of churches, even the World Council of Churches, Mr. Rose believes, are actually encouraging denominationalism rather than diminishing it. He therefore advocates "the formation of a pan-denominational ecumenical organization of all persons, clergy and lay," who wish to fight for the structure he has proposed.

Mr. Rose sees three basic tasks for the contemporary church: the first he calls Chaplaincy. By Chaplaincy he means "the proclamation of the biblical insight into the human situation." The second he describes as Teaching. By Teaching he means "the integration of this biblical insight with the realities of the contemporary world." The third he describes as Abandonment. By abandonment he means the self-giving of the church to the world.

The ministry, then, should be specialized to fit this three-fold task. Some parts can be carried out by laymen. Only Chaplaincy refers to the "priestly, liturgical, pastoral ministry." It is this ministry that the seminaries are dedicated to preparing young men to undertake. But because all three tasks actually fall upon the contemporary parish minister, "the structure of today's church leaves the clergyman with virtually no time to realize his essential ministry."

Lack of Funds

"Today," Mr. Rose charges, the church "is so caught up in institutional maintenance that it cannot afford the ministries of Teaching and Chaplaincy." Denominational emphases require so much financial support that "virtually no funds exist to support specialized ministries of any sort."

The Chicago cleric suggests what he calls "cooperative ministries." According to this plan, a local church might conduct services throughout the week designed to offer its members the widest choice of worship patterns, "from the Episcopal liturgy to the silent meetings of the Quakers." Every neighborhood would have a full-time facility for the religious training of adult laymen.

The theological seminaries for their part would widen their perspectives. Some of their students would be trained to preach, some to teach, some to serve as personal counselors. Laymen would be invited to enter as seminary students in order to prepare themselves for their particular role in the church and in the world.

Mr. Rose calls for the decentralization of approximately 90 per cent of the current national program now being carried out by individual denominations.

The young minister feels that the chief work of denominations in the future should be in providing experimentation, supporting research and development, and in serving the needs of the church—but a reformed church that will be basically ecumenical. He is not trying to eliminate particular theologies, he insists, but rather to see that they are engaged in regular dialogue, at the parish level. Mr. Rose feels strongly that such dialogue is preferable to the "ecumenical theology" he holds is now being forced upon local churches from the "upper echelons of Protestantism."

A New York ecumenical leader and denominational official, the Rev. Truman B. Douglass, Executive Vice President of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, told The New York Times that though the Rose Manifesto is "provocative," it is nonetheless naive in its confidence that renewal and reformation will take place if the archimedian point of the church is shifted from national denominational offices to local congregations.

"The plain fact," Dr. Douglass stated, "is that the local and regional bodies as they now exist are much less ecumenical in spirit and program than are the national bodies." He cites the national board for which he, himself, works. From two-thirds to three-fourths of its work, Dr. Douglass points out, is done on a cooperative basis with other ecclesiastical bodies. "This is not true of any local or regional church organization that I know," he adds.

Power Centers

Mr. Rose is correct in sensing that the power centers of American society are located in major urban centers and that Christianity in its present division is powerless to exercise any effective influence upon these centers. However, as the Rose Manifesto actually sounds to Dr. Douglass, "it seems to repeat the position of the John Birchites and states rights advocates who insist that all our evils are the result of locating too much influence at the national level. This simple trust in localism is just not supported by the observable facts. Rather, they appear to support the thesis that the more 'local' a church organization is, the more difficulty it has in seeing beyond the end of its ecclesiastical nose."

For his part, Stephen C. Rose is not willing to give up hope. "Let our motto for the moment be," his Manifesto concludes, "the ecumenical movement must be local; the Body of Christ must incorporate specifically defined functions; and the renewed church must be as faithful to the biblical reality that brings it into being as to the world that calls it into service.'"

Mr. Rose urges his fellow churchmen above all to substitute concrete, positive proposals for what he calls the "carping and back-biting" characteristic of the present day "outmoded" denominational church structure.

CHURCHES AC 4/18/66

2 Savannah Churches Quit U.S. Presbyterians

SAVANNAH, Ga. (AP) — Congregations of two Savannah churches voted Sunday to withdraw from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and their ministers said they were also renouncing the jurisdiction of the church.

Both churches said in similar resolutions that the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. has violated its conscience as originally adopted in 1861 by ordaining women as preachers and ruling elders, by making pronouncements on civil, economic, social and political matters contrary to the Confession of Faith and by giving support to the removal of Bible reading and prayers in public schools.

"The big difference is theology . . . the new morality of Karl Barth and another big issue is the National Council of Churches," said the Rev. Todd Allen, pastor of the Eastern Heights Presbyterian Church. "We believe the council is causing the church to go in a direction of endorsing civil disobedience."

He and the Rev. Clifford Brewton, pastor of Hull Memorial Presbyterian Church, said the question of civil disobedience was not a segregation issue. "The denomination in the spring of 1964 published in the Quarterly for Older Youth a lesson on civil disobedience and it maintained that civil disobedience was something that came from Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount." the Rev. Mr. Brewton said.

Members of Hall Memorial voted in favor of withdrawing 184-22 while the congregation of Eastern Heights voted to leave the denomination 122-0.

"Abraham and Lot had disagreements so rather than stay together and have a power struggle they parted company peacefully, "said the Rev. Mr. Allen. He said his church cut off Benevolence funds in 1964 "when it became apparent that the church was going to support the National Council of Churches."

The Rev. Mr. Brewton pointed out that on April 17, 1521, Martin Luther sounded the keynote of the Reformation by refusing to retract his position on the Scriptures at the Diet of Worms. Brewton said he used this in his sermon and quoted Luther as saying, "I cannot and will not retract for it is unsafe for a Christian to speak against his conscience."

1966.

A RIFT IN CHURCH WEIGHED IN SOUTH

CHURCHES

Liberal-Conservative Split Is Stirring Presbyterians

NYT 4/22/66

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAT, N.C., April 21—The Southern Presbyterian Church began its annual meeting in the mountains here today amid growing concern over unrest and instability in the influential denomination.

In the last year, the church, hich has a 99 per cent white membership, has seen increasing constriction in its ranks, an unusual attempt at withdrawal by two congregations in Savannah, Ga., at least six other splits within congregations, the withholding of donations by individual churches and disobedience of an integration order by a number of church units.

Samuel J. Patterson Jr., the outgoing moderator, delivered an address to the 106th General Assembly of the church. He said his year in office had convinced him that "the church is in an extremely healthy condition" because it was at least openly discussing controversial issues.

But Mr. Patterson conceded that other evidence had indicated that "all is not so well in our Church."

The source of tension in the 946,000-member denomination is the continuing battle between liberals, who have prevailed at recent annual gatherings, and conservatives, who have spent the last year organizing their ranks after a series of defeats.

Dispute's Focus Shifts

Most often, the focus of the battle between the two camps has been civil rights, but this year there is evidence that the issues have been broadened to encompass a fundamental questioning of the nature of the church and its place in the modern world.

One of the pivots of discussion during the General Assembly's six-day meeting at its secluded conference center here will be a report on what one official calls "creeping congregationalism." This refers to a tendency among some congre-

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One of the pivots of discussion during the General Assembly's six-day meeting at its secluded conference center here will be a report on what one official calls "creeping congregationalism." This refers to a tendency among some congregations to act autonomously rather than to submit to the discipline of higher courts like the General Assembly.

A point made in another report also lies in the background of the discusions. This refers to an increasing subtlety used by segregationists to resist open worship in their churches.

The report notes that one Southern Presbyterian church that used to reject Negroes for membership on the straightforward ground that they were Negroes now still rejects them, but on the revised ground that all black men seeking to join white institutions are "sociological demonstrators."

Opposing Forces

Among the forces behind the two camps at the meeting here are two unofficial groups—the Fellowship of Concern and the Concerned Presbyterians.

The Fellowship, formed in late 1963, is the liberal group. It is considered largely responsible for creating the climate that induced moderates to come over to the liberal side in the last few annual meetings.

The Concerned Presbyterians, founded in late 1964, is the conservative organization. The group, and others of like mind, expected to make gains at the 1965 meeting but generally found themselves outnumbered by about three to one on key votes.

A resolution to invite the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to address a church meeting, for example, was upheld by a 311-to-120 vote.

In the last year, however, the conservative group, which has had little trouble raising money, employed a full-time organizer to visit Southern Presbyterian churches in search of members. The effects of this organizer's efforts will be seen in the debates at the sessions here.

The Southern Presbyterian Church, whose formal name is Presbyterian Church in the U.S., was formed in 1861 after a split with northern bodies over the Civil War. It has about 6,000 Negro members.

Liberal Cleric in South

NYT 4/23/66

Frank Hill Caldwell

~~CHURCHES~~

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAT, N.C., April 22 —In 1924, a young seminary student from a rural Mississippi background attended an integrated Student Volunteer Movement meeting in Indianapolis. The event changed Frank Hill Caldwell's life, and is likely to prove of equal significance to the Southern Presbyterian Church. He will lead the 946,000-member church, 99 per cent of whose congregants are white, in the coming year. "I grew up, I am ashamed to say, thinking the Negro was inferior and that segregation was the only way of life," the 64-year-old minister says of his early years. "I was a grown adult and race relations just didn't seem to me to be an issue."

Man in the News

Spreads liberal ideas

Then came the Indianapolis conference. The students were addressed by some of the world's leading Christian scholars and preachers, among them a Negro missionary, the son of an African chieftan.

"That fellow was black, dead black, so I couldn't use the excuse that he had some white blood in him," Dr. Caldwell recalls. "And I'll tell you this, no matter what yardstick you wanted to use —classical references, Biblical scholarship, speaking ability, or just plain intelligence — that man ran rings around the others. They couldn't even come close to him."

The experience, the minister says, "clear knocked the props out from under me—I felt compelled by Christian conscience to move in another direction."

35 Years in Ministry

Dr. Caldwell's direction has taken him through a 35-year career as professor of homiletics (preaching) and later president of the Louisville (Ky.) Presbyterian Seminary, an institution that over the years has fed a steady stream of ecumenically minded, generally liberal ministers into the rigidly orthodox Southern church. In 1926

didn't agree with the ones in the back of the book."

He attended the University of Mississippi for two years and was graduated from Centre College in Danville, Ky., in 1926. One of his key church posts was service in the 18 years of conversions that led in 1957 to the formation of the merged United Presbyterian Church, which the Southern Presbyterian Church declined to join at the last moment.

Dr. Caldwell lives with his wife, the former Fannie Wells, in Charlotte, N. C. They have three grown children.

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Last night, in the vast, rock-walled auditorium at the denomination's mountain retreat here, the 106th General Assembly elected Dr. Caldwell moderator by a vote of 307 to 94 for his nearest competitor. As such he will be the church's titular leader.

In recent years, the church has had several moderators who ranged from moderate to liberal on social questions and on the question of union with other denominations. They generally contented themselves with operating privately to ease unrest in the troubled church. However, Dr. Caldwell, while also committed to harmony and reconciliation, is expected to be a leader of a different kind.

Social Issues Stressed

At a news conference today, the lean, scholarly looking minister was firm and forthright in his answers, frequently consulting a worn notebook to clarify his thoughts.

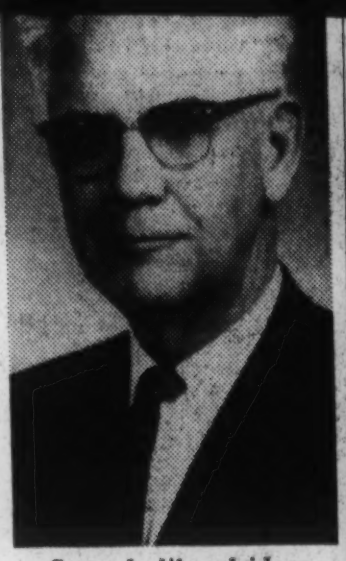
Between puffs on his meerschaum pipe, he said he favored re-examination of the nature of the church to introduce an orientation for social issues, that he supported unity with other Presbyterians and Reformed denominations, and that he would encourage efforts to ameliorate the "provincialism and regionalism" of the Southern church. He also was critical of the denomination's slowness in integrating its congregations.

Dr. Caldwell said his guide was a passage from John, iii, 3: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son."

"You've got to notice," he declared, "that the word is 'world' and not 'church.'"

Dropped From eWst Point

Frank Hill Caldwell was born in Corinth, Miss., on Jan. 26, 1902. He was nominated to the United States Military Academy but was asked to leave after a year because of failures in mathematics. He says with a twinkle that Douglas MacArthur, who was then the superintendent, "didn't appreciate my creative treatment of mathematics problems because the answers



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CHURCHES

AC 4/26/66

Presbyterians Approve Some Civil Disobedience

MONTREAT, N.C. (AP)—Civil disobedience as a last resort was approved Monday night by the 106th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, after the highest court of the Southern denomination warned against racial discrimination within its churches.

The assembly approved by voice vote a committee report which affirmed churches' belief in the rule of law. But the report said that in circumstances where some persons are unable to obtain their rights through the law, then civil disobedience may be countenanced.

"This measure can be justified only under most pressing necessity," the assembly statement said. "But when such a situation prevails the church may properly support those using this means to obtain for themselves those inalienable rights with which all men are endowed by their creator."

Supporters of the proposal emphasized the affirmation of lawful conduct and said a Christian might turn to civil disobedience only "as a measure of last resort to be employed only in circumstances of otherwise irremediable need."

In other action, the assembly, representing 950,000 members in Southern and Southwestern states:

—Went on record opposing capital punishment.

—Approved a Viet Nam policy statement calling on the United States to continue its efforts for peace.

—Urged its congregations to support denominational programs in the wake of funds withdrawals by some churches and presbyteries.

UNITY STEP VOTED BY PRESBYTERIANS

CHURCHES

Southern Church Will Join 7 Other Denominations Next Week in Talks on Union

A CONSERVATIVE DEFEAT

4/27/66

Pastoral Committee Will Go to Mississippi to Check on Resistance to Integration

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAT, N.C., April 26—The General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church voted today to join unity conversations with seven other Protestant denominations, including one from which it split in the Civil War.

This decision by the 106th annual gathering of the regional church, which is 99 per cent white, to participate beginning next week in the Consultation on Church Union astounded many.

The denomination has taken progressive steps in recent years but it was considered far from discussing union with such a wide range of churches.

The substantial voice vote on the measure, coupled with another action today to send a pastoral committee to Mississippi to look into recalcitrance, resistance to integration and fundamentalism in its churches there, was though to be a defeat from which the denomination's extreme conservatives would not recover.

The Consultation on Church Union was formed under a proposal made in 1961 by the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake of the United Presbyterian Church and seconded by Bishop James A. Pike of the Episcopal Church. Its ultimate purpose is to establish a united Protestant church.

Annual Meetings

The Consultation has met annually since 1962. At its meeting in Dallas from May 2 to May 5 this year it will consider an outline of a plan of union.

The members of the group include the United Presbyterian Church, separated from the Southern church in 1861; the Episcopal, Evangelical United Brethren and Methodist Churches, the United Church of Christ, the Disciples of Christ and the African Methodist Epis-

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The actions of the Assembly today had implications for the South as well as for the church. The 946,000-member denomination includes mostly college graduates from the 16 states where it is active, and has a large number of Southern legislators and professional men in its membership.

The action on Mississippi was the first time in the denomination's 106-year history that the General Assembly—which is the highest court and legislative body of the church—had attempted publicly to bring pressure to bear on its lower units for a specific purpose.

The pastoral committee is to examine the Mississippi churches, to "inquire into the difficulties therein," and to report its views on the "evident disorder" to the General Assembly next year.

The particular points of issue are a successful attempt in 1963 by the Presbytery of Central Mississippi to expel a minister with theological views they considered liberal, the foundation of a conservative Presbyterian seminary in Jackson, Miss., and the continuing refusal of the Mississippi presbyteries to receive the handful of Negro churches within their jurisdictions.

Presbyteries in Alabama and South Carolina have also refused to accept Negro members, but the number of churches left unattached has dropped from 22 to 9 since March 20.

The Presbytery of Central Mississippi, through a spokesman to the Assembly, said its situation "does not warrant" a committee visit, but acknowledged there was unrest and said it would "welcome" the group.

In a statement after the Assembly's action on unity, Dr. Blake, who is the General Secretary-elect of the World Council of Churches, said the addition of the Southern church to the Consultation would be a "great strengthening."

"I hope, despite the shortness of time, that the Presbyterian church's formal name) may be churche's formal name) may be able to produce in Dallas the nine participants necessary for them to take full part in this year's meeting," Dr. Blake said.

CHURCHES

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The New and Future Clergy

THE ENTRANCE of American clergymen into direct social action has, not surprisingly, produced strong counter-action in some quarters. Galvanized first on the civil rights issue by President Kennedy in 1963 and at Selma in 1965, clergymen of all faiths—and nuns as well—have left their pulpits and parish houses to involve themselves in such issues as civil rights, poverty, and peace. They have in growing numbers been found in picket lines, in protest marches, in the organization of boycotts, and even in jail. Many have expressed a concern over Vietnam that goes far beyond traditional religious pacifism. Others have encouraged strikes by the underpaid and demonstrations by the underprivileged. They have stirred division and dissension in their own churches and communities, embarrassed established business and political interests, related themselves to issues not traditionally or directly related (by most people) to the Gospels, and subjected themselves to indignity and humiliation.

Thus it is not surprising that some of them—not all, not even most, but some of them—have been silenced without explanation, or driven from their pulpits, or forced to cancel speaking engagements, or opposed as outsiders by local clerics, or denied the funds they needed to carry on their churches and church schools. From Albany to Sacramento, from Milwaukee to Mississippi, assorted bishops, businessmen, theologians, and fellow clergymen have told the activists that preachers should stick to preaching.

This issue is not confined to the Catholic Church, as often assumed. The issue may be newer to most Catholics. Their traditional concepts may be more sharply exposed. But clergymen of other faiths have also been warned or forced to cease and desist their social action activities by their superiors, by their financial supporters, by their trustees or by their congregations. "In the past," said Robert McAfee Brown, a leading Protestant observer, "controversial ministers were burned. Now they just get fired." Clergymen of all faiths in Mississippi and Alabama have denounced what they called the "outside intervention" of their Northern colleagues. Protestant ministers in California have bitterly assailed those taking part in a local agricultural strike. And one of the most famous Protestant preachers has chided his fellow pastors for "going too far beyond the Ten Commandments."

I LEAVE to theologians the question of a clergyman's obligations to his superiors. I am interested in his obligations to his country. As one who has been particularly wary of clergymen's mixing improperly in politics and public affairs, I am nevertheless concerned by the excessively narrow limits placed on their participation by some religious authorities.

The United States is not so rich in intellectual and inspirational leadership, or so certain of its course in the world, or so perfect in the treatment of its citizens, that it can afford the suppression of any thoughtful view or voice—and that includes the views and voices of preachers as well as teachers, editors, authors, and others. We cannot afford to listen merely to spokesmen for the state and the status

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thos[illegible]ergymen who are willing [illegible]
s[illegible]and up and be counted to sit dow[illegible]

It is not that any of these moveme[illegible]—civil rights, peace, antipoverty, a[illegible] others—would wholly collapse if clerg[illegible] men were not allowed to take part. B[illegible] they have a special contribution to mak[illegible] Unlike political and business leade[illegible] unlike the often competitive civil rig[illegible] and other organizational leaders, chur[illegible] men are in an ideal position to rem[illegible] above all suspicion of self-interest. [illegible] living up to their tradition and train[illegible] in casting out fear and hate, they [illegible] prevent extremists from taking ov[illegible] these movements. While tragic exce[illegible]tions are obvious, their very prese[illegible] can discourage violence.

Some more tolerant observers h[illegible] declared that social action by a cler[illegible]yman is perfectly permissible so long as he makes it clear that he is acting as a private citizen, not as a churchman. But I am not certain that a clergyman, like a President, is ever a private citizen, wherever he may be and whatever collar he may be wearing. I am not certain that the public could o[illegible] would distinguish between the clergyman's role as prophet and his role a[illegible] private citizen. Nor am I even certai[illegible] that the clergyman could make that distinction. For his very vocation is to pr[illegible]test evil and injustice, to live as he le[illegible]tures, to give active as well as verba[illegible] witness to the Gospel's meaning for mod[illegible]ern problems—not merely with an empty ill-heeded string of "Thou shalt nots" from the Sabbath pulpit, but with dail[illegible] deeds that back up his doctrine.

Acting as a churchman instead of [illegible] private citizen, he may often find hin[illegible]self in conflict with the views of those t[illegible] whom he reports. I have no credentia[illegible] or desire to argue church structure. B[illegible] I question whether the minister of a[illegible] church is simply a hired hand, wh[illegible] the creature of his superiors or par[illegible]ioners, wholly bound to accept their [illegible]tates and doctrines on matters unrela[illegible] to dogma, wholly unable to act in [illegible]cordance with his own conscience [illegible] sense of justice.

To be sure, he should not purpor[illegible] speak for them. He should not deli[illegible]ately pressure or embarrass them. [illegible] surely there is a 2,000-year-old pre[illegible]dent for a preacher's going beyond g[illegible] words to good deeds, and then go[illegible] beyond those good deeds to a di[illegible] challenge of both religious and sec[illegible] authorities, and then going beyond e[illegible] that direct challenge to enduring [illegible] prisonment and violence in order to a[illegible]man's ways.

Most men of the cloth, one critic h[illegible] recently charged, are not competent t[illegible] deal with such issues. But who among u[illegible]

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is competent to solve the problems of Vietnam or Watts? The stakes are too great to leave war to the generals, or civil rights to the professionals, or poverty to the social workers. And why should moral battles to right old wrongs, in scriptural fashion, be left to the laymen of the church? Clergymen, like all the rest of us, must learn by doing, by involving themselves in the practical problems of men. The Civil Rights Bill of 1964, according to Senator Russell of Georgia, passed because "those damned preachers had got the idea it was a moral issue." Indeed they had—and indeed it was.

Many communities and their clergymen have denounced visiting pastors as "outsiders." But injustice is never local. Compassion cannot be geographic. And ours would be a poorer world if Christ had never left Nazareth, or Paul Tarsus, or Pope Paul the Vatican, or Martin Luther King Atlanta, or the late James Reeb Boston.

There will always, of course, be churches and churchmen who shun the problems of the world, who preach and prefer a religion of pomp and ceremony unrelated to public affairs, who measure their success wholly by the number of "decisions for Christ" that look to another life and another world. Clergymen involved in the California grape-growers' strike were accused by the local ministerial association of not staying within "the spiritual area." Questions of race, said certain other clerics, have nothing to do with questions of religion. And, while it was interesting in Selma a year ago to note which famous clergymen were there, it was equally interesting to note which were not. "There is more danger," Monsignor George Casey of Lexington, Massachusetts, has observed, "of the Church becoming irrelevant than radical."

But these reverend leaders of irrelevance, I am convinced, are not the leaders of the new and future church. More and more clergymen recognize that their ministry belongs most with those who need it most—not with the white middle-class and upper-class establishments, but with the poor, Christ's favorite people, with the peacemakers, with the oppressed. The spirit of renewal in the Catholic Church—and indeed in all churches—has been advanced not merely as a matter of new vestments and new liturgy but of atoning for the church's own guilt on such basic issues as race and poverty and peace.

A clergyman's right to participate in direct social action activities is not only a basic right but a basic responsibility. It should be exercised responsibly, not indiscriminately, imprudently, or impetuously. Rash, unprepared action can undo gains carefully achieved. Positive, constructive actions have a higher value than protests that primarily seek publicity. Clergymen should not let themselves be used as mere symbols or shields. Every possible cause need not be tackled with a burst of defiance and disorder. Public opinion must be won, not alienated.

ABOVE all, the mote in one's own eye should not be ignored. Clergymen should not travel to Selma or Jackson or Birmingham in order to forget about Chicago or New York or Boston. As this issue moves more rapidly from South to North, the pressures on Northern churches will increase—pressures from parishioners who want no Negroes in the neighborhood—pressures from important contributors, and important church leaders, and important politicians.

One other limitation is important. While the church must resist improper state pressures on these matters, so must it refrain from improperly pressuring the state. Any weakening of church-state separation, even for a good cause, would be a mistake. No church or churchman should dictate to, or be dictated by, any government—or be singled out for any special privilege or punishment—or become the tool of any party or administration. Clergymen newly active in what are necessarily political issues must nevertheless refrain from endorsing political candidates or political parties.

But church-state separation does not mean disregarding the moral issues involved in public controversies. Church independence from state control does not mean independence only to support the state's views. Nor can I understand, frankly, why some high clerical authorities who have had no compunctions whatsoever about interfering with other public policy decisions—on education, for example, or birth control—now refuse to let their subordinates work on Vietnam or civil rights.

I hope that they will, upon reconsideration, let these clergymen work. I hope that they will let them speak out—not only for the good of the church, which I do not judge, but for the good of the country. —THEODORE C. SORENSEN.

A House Named Sylvia

By Arnold Lazarus

WALLFLOWER by a mossy wall
in the shadow of maple and oak
she had stood too long neglected by swain.
We were going to do her over
—or so we thought.
We lifted her face and furnace
washed out her coal-smoked soul
painted sun to her clapboards
and after a fashion becoming to ladies
dusted her shingles blue-white.

But she spat diamonds to the winds
stuck to her zinc hatpin
winked at clouds
made pacts with tornadoes.

To inform our maudlin sunshine
her brown stain bled
and soot drifted from her pores.

Darkly from her chimney she sent signals;
her messages came from the hearth.
Conversant in more than one tongue
though resisting polyglot
she rehearsed us in substitution drills.

At night she ran labs and seminars
leading us mim-mem into restoring
her original weather-warped front tooth.
We learned from her the language of welcoming.

With a clock in each mouth
she smiled at forests.
For Sylvia we went into woods
we never came out of.

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NEGRO CHURCHES AND THE AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"Negro Churches and the American Baptist Convention" was delivered by Charles J. Sargent, Jr., Minister of the Union Baptist Church, Stamford, Connecticut, on May 11, 1966 in Kansas City, Missouri, at the Annual Luncheon sponsored by The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention.

The Negro church is an American institution, indigenous to the soil of the United States of America. It is easy to affirm that its birth and the quest of the transplanted African for freedom are intertwined occurrences. However the facts are complicated. Organized social life among Negroes was destroyed by the institution of slavery. The African clan and family traditions were obviated by the hostile environment of the New World. The plantation system negated the maintenance of structural family life. The fear of the slave owners of insurrection and revolt worked as an effective antidote to any organized religious life. Even efforts toward organized mutual aid among the slaves were negated during this reign of fear. The slave system in the New World effected an almost complete dehumanization of the African—with this dehumanization came the death of the religious myths and clan cults which were native to the African.

In the darkness of this lostness, the Negro church was born. In 1701, almost 100 years after the first slaves were imported, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was chartered in England by the Church of England. One of the major purposes set forth in its charter was the christianizing of the African in the Americas. During the Great Awakening, the evangelical zeal of the Methodists and Baptists, led them to proselyte among the slaves. The ministry of these groups was more effective and after the American Revolution, Methodists and Baptists met an enthusiastic response among the slaves. Several factors can be isolated which account for the acceptance of the free churches by the slave populations.

1. The evangelical emotionalism which characterized the Methodists and Baptists in this period was to some extent akin to the now nonexistent tribal religious practices.

2. The lack of education which characterized the Methodist and Baptist preachers in this period gave them a kinship with the poor, the outcasts and the illiterate.

3. The eschatological emphasis which characterized the Methodist and Baptist preachers in this period met a psychological need of the slave populations.

4. The emphasis upon feeling as a sign of conversion which characterized the Methodist and Baptist preachers in this era satisfied a real need of the slaves who were being taught that they had no feelings.

5. The fellowship which characterized the camp meeting revivals in this era gave rise to the possibility of the establishment of social cohesion among the slaves.

Christianity gave rise to an "invisible institution" which can best be identified as the embryonic Negro church. The nature of the Baptist movement with its lack of central organization and lack of emphasis on educational standards was appropriate to the character of this invisible institution. Under the twin hand of oppression (by some masters) and liberality (by others) the invisible institution began to grow and to take on visible form. The first record we have of a Negro Baptist Church occurs in Silver Bluff, Georgia (about 12 miles from Augusta, on the north shore of the Savannah River) on the plantation of John Galphin. Three names have come down to us in relation to the establishment of this church: A Reverend Mr.

David George, A Reverend Mr. George Lisle, and a Brother Palmer. It appears from the letters of David George that Brother Palmer was an itinerant preacher who had conducted both white, Negro and integrated revival meetings along the Savannah River. Although, no actual date of the founding of the Silver Bluff Church is extant, Pelt concludes that the congregation was organized between 1773 and 1775. In 1776, the local white Baptist congregagation in Williamsburg, Virginia organized the First Colored Baptist Church of Williamsburg, which was admitted to full membership in The Dover Baptist Association in 1791. The third Negro Baptist church was The First African Baptist Church of Savannah formed in 1779. In 1780, The Harrison Street Baptist Church of Petersburg, Virginia was organized. The next year saw the founding of The First African Baptist Church of Richmond, Virginia and five years later the First Baptist Church (African) of Lexington, Kentucky came into being. In the north, Negro Baptist churches began to be organized shortly after the turn of the century. 1804 saw the birth of The Joy Street Baptist Church in Boston, 1808 The Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York and 1809 The First African Baptist Church of Philadelphia. It is noteworthy within the context to spend a little time considering the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Abyssinian Church in New York City; it is an example of the entire process in the north.

In 1807, Negro members of the Gold Street Baptist Church began to express dissatisfaction with the administration and policy of The Gold Street Church. Though they held full membership, they felt that the Gold Street congregation was neglecting their interests and needs. In a petition to the congregation to withdraw and form their own fellowship, they pointed out that they were not being given the opportunity to hold official positions within the congregation. After The Gold Street Church denied the petition, the Negro members invited the Rev. Thomas Paul, then pastor of The Joy Street Church in Boston, to mediate their differences. Paul came to New York and preached in several churches. He won the respect of Baptist laymen in the city and from this position successfully negotiated letters of dismission for four brethren and twelve sisters from Gold Street to organize Abyssinian.

The growth of Negro Baptist churches was phenomenal. As has been said, the Negro Baptist church "multplies by division." By 1880, there were enough Negro Baptist churches to launch a movement toward the establishment of a national organization. At that time, the Foreign Mission Convention of the United States was formed and five years later, it merged with the infant National Baptist Convention. Since that time following the adage of "multiplication by division," three major national organizations have emerged. The National Baptist Convention of America with 12,000 churches and 3 million members, The Progressive National Baptist Convention with 1,500 churches and 1 million members and the parent National Baptist Convention with 26,000 churches and 6 million members. The Negro Baptist Convention now claim almost 40,000 churches and 10 million members. Save for a very small number of recently established missions by both the Southern Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Convention, all of the Negro Baptist churches in the United States and many in Latin America and the west coast of Africa share this common heritage. In recent years, many Negro churches have left the fellowship of Negro conventions, either completely or in part, to join

the American Baptist Convention. Among the factors which have contributed to this change are:

1. The impetus created by the present social revolution has motivated them toward the creation of an integrated society within the church.

2. The fellowship established among seminarians in predominantly American Baptist schools has given rise to the desire to continue that interrelationship after the school experience.

3. The use of American Baptist literature in church school and youth study programs has made for a familiarity which breeds conviviality.

4. The internal political aspects of the Negro conventions has caused disillusionment and general dissatisfaction. (It must be noted, however, that the same kind of internal politics can be found in the early history of both the American Baptist Convention and the Southern Baptist Convention.)

5. The opportunities for financial security offered by The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention is a practical stimulant to change.

Having sketched in very broad outline the historical situation which gave rise to the Negro Baptist churches, I will now proceed to review the unique nature and function of the Negro Baptist churches. For me, the ten most important characteristics of the Negro Baptist churches are:

1. The Negro church traditionally is a biblically oriented religious institution undergirded by a foundation of crisis existential theology. The crisis of the pursuit of freedom and identification with the mainstream of society has been the watershed of the Negro church. The biblical narratives of the divine interruption of God in the release of men from their enemies has been and is the crux of the theology of the Negro churches. Often, far too often, in his obsession with the divine intervention of God, the Negro church has neglected the responsibilities of God's children. This in part accounts for the so-called one sided eschatological emphasis of much preaching in the Negro church. The "pie in the sky" and "bye and bye" refer to more than theological concerns. They are a protestation against the present state of existence and a veiled symbolic hope that God will intervene in history and change the persecutions of the now. The man who sings while barefooted, "I got shoes, you got shoes, all of God's children got shoes, when I get to heaven going to put on my shoes and walk all over God's heaven" is not talking about a heaven that can be reached only after death. He is expressing the conviction that the same God who delivered Israel from Egypt will presently deliver him from the tyranny of oppression. He hopes for a heaven on the same plantation where he has known his hell. He cannot express his aspirations for fear of reprisal but in the symbolic narratives of the Scripture, he acknowledges his concern for his existence and his faith in his deliverance.

2. The Negro church is both a religious institution and a cultural necessity. By tradition, the church has been the center of Negro communal life. Ostracized and expelled from other community organizations, the Negro has found refuge within his church. Here within this fellowship he finds an emphasis on freedom of worship. This is not freedom in a vacuum. This freedom is evidenced in

the freedom to express himself even during the act of worship. Here he finds emotional release from the frustrations and hostilities of second-class life. In *his* church, the Negro feels free. The washer woman can have status as superintendent of the church school. The porter can participate in policy making as a member of the board of deacons. Opportunities for leadership that do not exist in our total society are available within the Negro church. The traditions of American society have forced the Negro church to become an arena of political activity. The politics of the Negro church and conventions is directly related to the immobility of the Negro in community politics. In most instances the Negro does not and usually cannot participate in community democratic processes. Much of the unrest in local congregations can be traced to this same source. Again, the cultural aspect of the Negro church can be seen in its use as a means of maintaining identity. Until the last ten years, the only place where the cultural heritage of the Negro was respected was within the Negro church. The church provided a place of insulation from the hardships of the outside world. It gave rise to a sense of community concern and action. It provided the possibility of recognition and leadership. It gave the young an example of their potential. Even the leaders of the present Civil Rights Movement to a man, trace their background to the influence of the Negro church. In fact of the six major leaders, five of them were either ministerial students or ordained ministers.

3. The Negro church is a reflection of the matriarchal society which is common to Negro family life. Although the leading officers (preachers and deacons) are limited to men, it is the women who dominate the life of the churches. Because the female is the dominant force in family life, she also has the responsibility of maintaining the community which is evident in the church.

4. The Negro church often borders on being a personality cult. The fellowship of the congregation to a great extent owes its existence to the personality of the minister. The minister held a traditional position of leadership in all areas of life. He was the legal counselor, the financial advisor, the political leader and the spiritual advisor. He was the sole interpreter of discipline and order or *disorder*. In addition, the minister had the responsibility of articulating the needs of the entire Negro community to the larger community. Dictatorial powers have often been vested in the present day minister as an aftermath of this traditional posture. This facet of Negro church life raises a problem which shall receive more attention later. Let it suffice for now to assert that the shortage of prepared pastors, when coupled with the emergence of a Negro Middle Class, poses a threat to the continued existence of the Negro churches.

5. The Negro church is most often self centered in its mission. In spite of a concern for those outside of its walls, the great emphasis is on a ministry to itself. Socio-economic conditions force a life and death struggle for the survival of the institution. In many instances, the budget of a local congregation provides insufficient funds to care for maintenance of the building. Therefore, the pattern has been pennies for missions. In addition to this pattern, the concern for freedom and justice and the insularity of the Negro community have dictated the area of greatest concern outside the local congregation. These have been the educational institutions, which exist primarily for the education of Negro youth, and the Civil Rights Movement. Where foreign missions have been stressed, the

direction is generally to Africa and the black republics of Latin America. The idea that the primary duty of the church is mission is still a hazy concept to most Negro Baptists.

6. The Negro church operates through small fellowship groups. These groups can be roughly divided into three classes: (1) Service Groups—such as choirs, usher boards, gospel choruses, flower guilds, etc.; (2) Fellowship Groups—such as men's clubs, women's auxiliaries, missionary societies, etc.; (3) Interest Groups—such as church school, state organizations, age group circles, etc. These groups, in spite of my arbitrary categories, have as their primary mission the financial support of the institution. It is common for a single church to have twenty-five or thirty small bank accounts in as many banks in a major large city. Most often, each group is duplicated in an organization for children and youth. In a single church there will be a senior choir, a youth choir, and a children's choir. This multiplicity of groups affords an opportunity for "everybody to be somebody."

7. Worship in the Negro Baptist church is normally a syncretic mixture of formal pageantry, traditional protestantism and historic patterns formed during slavery. One unfamiliar with worship in Negro churches may be surprised to find acolytes, vestments and shouting emotional displays in the same worship service. This is not uncommon. The Negro churches have accommodated elements of worship from all sectors of Christianity. In many churches an open Bible and a crucifix may form the worship center.

8. The Negro church is jealous of the Baptist concept of independence. This is the high point in Baptist tradition for him. Institutional freedom is a choice example of the desired individual and group freedom. Included and exemplified by the freedom of his church is the freedom to be himself.

9. The Negro church is a bastion of traditional protestant moral strictures. In most instances the concept of sin is partly hidden by a catalogue of sins. Within the churches, emphasis is placed on the evils of dancing, gambling, drinking, etc. The so-called New Morality is an insult to the Negro, but what is new and shameful is to have churchmen giving their public approval to this relaxation.

10. The Negro Baptist church is characterized by large attendance. The loyalty of church members to church attendance is wondrous to behold. In farm community and in city slum, the Negro church is crowded with worshippers. Last year, parishioners of my congregation used a tour of New York City churches as a part of their annual study conference. The surprise expressed upon a visit to a major downtown church was the most impressive memory left with our people. Here stood a church with all of the physical facilities necessary for an effective program yet their average Sunday attendance was estimated by the minister as being less than fifty. The indications are that if a Negro church occupied this downtown building that in less than two years it would be overflowing. The fact that the building is not the geographical center of the parish has no effect whatsoever in attendance. To use a now trite expression, "we don't know, but we must be doing something right."

The major crisis facing the Negro churches today is caused by two converging factors which have been mentioned above. They are the shortage of trained leadership and the emergence of the Negro Middle Class. In 1964, there were only 373 Negro B.D. students in the United

States. This meager crowd must supply the needs of all the denominations in the United States, Canada and such foreign mission fields as are available. Of this number, some will become disenchanted with the pastoral ministry and enter military service or education. Others will leave the ministry entirely. This is complicated for the Baptists by our emphasis on "The Divine Call" and our failure to establish precise ordination standards. Thus many of our 40,000 pulpits are and shall be manned by totally unprepared men. Often these men, motivated by their own inferiorities seek to create an antipathy toward academic preparation. The Baptists are further affected by this situation due to the fact that each year we lose 35% of our seminarians to other denominations. In 1963, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays estimated that 92% of Negro Baptist preachers in the United States were theologically untrained and a high percentage of those are high school drop-outs or worse. The Negro seminarian is faced with a dilemma. His theological training builds a barrier between him and his brethren, between him and his prospective congregation and more often than not those whites who are his equals have shut the door in his face.

In the last twenty years, the New Negro Middle Class has deepened the problem of continued existence. This middle class is largely professional and thus does not have the desperate need for the status-giving machinations of the Negro church. Their training has given them a great desire for assimilation in the total community, and thus their personalities resent the insularity of the Negro churches. In addition, they are not attracted by the educational weaknesses of the average Negro pastor. Like other newly emerging middle classes, one means of escaping from lower class strictures is to trade up. Others move from Fords to Mercury, the Middle Class Negro often moves from Baptist to Presbyterian and Anglican and eventually to Unitarian. Vice-President Humphrey in a recent address to the Economic Opportunity Conference warned the Negro Middle Class that his retreat only serves to widen the gap between himself and the lower classes. This is true in the area of economics, but even more so in the church. To a great extent the present social revolution has been an antidote to this sickness in the body of the Negro churches. The leadership which Negro churches have given to this protest movement has given a new social posture to the church. A posture which the Middle Classes can view with pride.

In the light of this question, I ask what then does the Negro Baptist church have going for it?

The loyalty of the masses who look to it for direction and leadership in many areas of their lives, a high degree of lay participation through its multiplicity of small organizations, actual participation of lay people in worship through *oral* dialogue, the maintenance of emotion in religion (a religion without emotion is a philosophical bastard), and the perseverance of the historic tradition of freedom, are the high water marks of the Negro Baptist churches. Admittedly, these may be abused, but they must not be lost! Refined, re-interpreted, polished, yes—but not discarded!

I find it personally interesting that the path of white-Negro religious practices in many instances seems cyclical. It's difficult to determine who is following whom. The Negro churches learned their emotionalism and eschatological emphasis from the white evangelistic revivals. When the white churches abandoned this pattern, the Negro churches maintained it. In the present day the

Negro church is trying to discard this characteristic while the white church is trying to recapture this fervor and zeal and involvement in worship. Again, the Negro churches are trying to gradually eliminate congregational singing in worship by the use of professional choirs and quartets, while the white church is trying to escape from professional music and reactivate congregational singing.

This is our history and this is our present character and the question still remains—what does this have to do with the American Baptist Convention and what does the American Baptist Convention have to do with it?

Like all Christians, (including Carl McIntyre) we are convinced that the greatest weakness of the churches is their division. We believe that division by color and economic status is even more dangerous than division by denomination. It seems apparent that the oneness of the people of God can never be achieved in a society rent by color discrimination either, stated or implied. Many Negro Christians look to the American Baptist Convention as God's instrument for the healing of this wound in the body of Christ. We see in the American Baptist Convention the potential for a racially inclusive church body. We have high hopes that this convention will enter into ecumenical discussions as a church that is one within its own confessional tradition and practice. We believe that the Baptists have a truth that is necessary for any vital ecumenical discussion. We have come to the American Baptist Convention because we believe you need us. We have *preserved* the traditional Baptist emphasis on freedom. Perhaps it has been abused, but it is alive! We believe we can be the motivating force toward renewal within the Baptist family. We come bringing our people because we believe that the Baptists must remain the people of the disinherited. We bring to you our congregations of throbbing, pulsating, disinherited folk who stand in need of the truth that the gospel does speak to their condition. The message of Jesus cannot be allowed to assume the image of a ministry solely to white-anglo-saxon protestant communities of conformity. The church of Jesus must evidence a concern for the broken-hearted, the poor in spirit, and the shutout or it will atrophy. These were the people to whom Jesus ministered, these are the people to whom the Baptist tradition appealed, and it is more and more apparent that the Negro Baptist churches are the sole reservoir of this tradition. We have come to work! We have come to participate! We have come to stay! But we cannot stay and will not stay unless the American Baptist Convention re-activates its own genesis. We have come to give what we have, but we are not willing to get lost in the morass of conformity. We therefore urge the American Baptist Convention to realize that talk about freedom of worship and freedom of religion *can* be empty words to enslaved men. The words of freedom, like *The Word*, must have an incarnation, and take flesh and dwell among men. Our concern for a society where each man is given the opportunity to develop all of his talents, either for good or evil is an intrinsic part of religious freedom. We believe that the churches of the American Baptist Convention must adopt this concept as their posture; not only in official national convention pronouncements, but in local church activities. You do more than disappoint a handful of Negro Christians who give you their allegiance when you fail to embrace this concept. You at the same time, re-enact the drama of calvary. The onus of the fight for freedom must be your burden as well as ours. We share it together not to save the Negro, nor to save Ameri-

ca from embarrassment in the councils of the nations, but in obedience to our Saviour. We can best serve within the American Baptist Convention when you begin to recognize how important our ministry of service is to us. Schools like Bishop, Shaw and Virginia Union hold an important place in our hearts. For years they have been the only place that our boys and girls could receive exposure to higher education. Until they become as important to you as they are to us we will not be satisfied. The legitimate Civil Rights organizations are our creation and we cannot afford to abandon them. You must be willing to join us in their support. We were not satisfied with the creation of B A R B for instance, when it would have been just as easy to follow *our* already established leadership in S C L C. I will not apologize for my giving to the unified budget of the American Baptist Convention as long as my total mission giving embraces this necessary ministry.

We believe further that the American Baptist Convention must leave no stone unturned. They must create open pulpits where a man will be judged solely on his training, sincerity and ability. I personally know a white Baptist church that chose a man without doctrinal convictions as its leader while refusing to consider a Negro graduate of Colgate Rochester with a sound doctrinal background. If the pulpits across this nation were open, some of the Baptist men we lose to other communions would remain in the soil that nourished them. As a seminarian at a major non-Baptist eastern seminary, I was excused from field work experiences because the school had no contact with Negro Baptist churches and could not find a white Baptist church that would accept me. One could not conclude that the seminary affiliation is to blame. But that assumption will not explain the students at Andover Newton and Colgate Rochester who do their field work in community centers and Y.M.C.A.'s.

I have indicated our need for recognition, identification and leadership possibilities. The socio-economic backlash of slavery and segregation have left scars on the Negro personality. We want in, in the American Baptist Convention! We want to be a part of all decision making and policy making bodies. We believe that we have a contribution to offer and we know that our children and your children need to see us exercising leadership. We can no longer be content being elected or appointed to de-facto segregated positions in the American Baptist Convention. If we are not qualified to pastor, we are not qualified to direct a Christian center. If we are not qualified to work with any member of this Convention, we are not qualified to work with Negro members of this Convention. American society has sought to meet the demands of the Civil Rights Movement with token appointments. We hope that the American Baptist Convention will not follow this excuse for honesty. It is not sufficient to invoke the almost magic name of Boddie, nor to invite Gardner Taylor to preach, or to elect Sam Proctor to high office as was the extent of Negro participation in the last annual convention. We have the highest respect for Gardner Taylor and Sam Proctor and Chuck Boddie. These men are nationally recognized leaders apart from their participation in the American Baptist Convention. You do neither them, nor us, honor when you invoke their names. Rather, you take the cream off the top and contribute to the general feeling that "whitey" cannot be trusted. A large part of America's Negro population, including many of our laymen, become suspicious that you want to steal our best and leave the rest of us leaderless and alone. Those of us who

attend and work and serve want to be heard, but more than that, we want to have a part in the selection of those who are heard.

If we qualify, we want to be state convention and city society executives. If we qualify, we want to be administrators in executive departments. If we qualify, we want to be pastors of local congregations. But more important, even where we do not qualify, we want to feel free to apply. In a word, we have come to participate! The national officers of the Convention must set the pattern, but be assured that activity on the national level alone will not suffice. We want to be an integral part of associational life also. I come from a state where a large percentage of the membership of American Baptist churches are members of the Negro churches. I find it significant that of 26 Negro churches listed in the Annual, only 6 have made statistical reports. A related fact is that of 45 members on the Board of Managers, only four are Negroes. I personally believe that this is an open state convention. Why then is Negro participation so meager? Is it because Negroes prefer to be by themselves? It is true that all 26 churches are members of a Negro state convention. Yet, I maintain that this is not the answer. Is it because the Negro churches do not have sufficient secretarial service to execute the blanks? I know that this is not the answer. I believe that we do not feel wanted. It must clearly be enunciated that years of forced exclusion does not breed desire for inclusion. All over this nation the Negro is saying to American Society, just as the Negro Baptist churches are saying to you, "For a century you have told us to prove ourselves, first. We have taken a leaf from your book and we are now saying, if you want us, prove it; not by words, but by attitudes and actions." We have not come as beggars or objects of mission, but as partners. You can prove you want us, not by tolerating our presence, but by accepting us in love as partners.

In conclusion, let me quote from a recent book review in *Time Magazine:* "Integration cannot fully arrive as long as the Negro feels he must strip himself of his folkways to enter the white man's world or as long as the white man expects him to." We do not view ourselves as objects of mission programs; we do not want you to view us as such. We have not come to get lost in the American Baptist Convention. Metallurgists have much to teach us. Long ago they learned that one piece of metal may have great tensile strength but lack durability, while a second piece may have great durability and lack strength. The secret is to alloy the two metals and thus obtain a product which has both tensile strength and durability. In the process, the strengths of both are accentuated and the weaknesses of each are refined. You have the strength of creative organization and we come bearing the durability of preserved tradition . . . together we can form the framework upon which renewal can be built for the Body of Christ.

Presbyterian Leaders Vote Creed Stressing Social Aim

CHURCHES 5/25/66

By GEORGE DUGAN

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, May 24—The General Assembly of the 3.3-million-member United Presbyterian Church overwhelmingly approved today a proposed updating of the denomination's basic doctrine that for the first time would recognize in a creedal statement its obligation to work for social justice.

The voice vote of the 837 commissioners, or delegates, was almost unanimously for endorsement of the Confession of 1967, which now goes to the church's 188 presbyteries, or local governing units, for approval.

Excerpts from proposed creed are printed on Page 25.

Two-thirds of the presbyteries must ratify the 4,600-word Confession before final passage can be voted at next year's assembly in Portland, Ore. A simple majority is required in each presbytery.

Under the proposal, the 30,000-word Westminster Confession of Faith of 1647, the traditional sole doctrinal standard of Presbyterianism, will be supplemented by the new Confession of 1967 and six other creedal statements including the familiar Apostles Creed and the Nicene Creed. The latter two are now accepted by most Christian churches.

The Confession of 1967 rejects the traditional notion that the Bible is "inerrant" and thus immune from criticism in the light of new knowledge.

It also spells out for the first

Continued on Page 25, Column 3

NEW CREED VOTED BY PRESBYTERIANS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

time in a doctrinal statement the church's responsibility to be concerned with social problems.

The new Confession has been intensively studied since last May by a special 15-member committee headed by the Rev. Dr. W. Sherman Skinner of St. Louis.

Work on the document began in 1958 when a special committee on a Brief Contemporary Statement of Faith was appointed. This committee's task was broadened by subsequent General Assemblies, and last year its conclusions were reported for the first time to an assembly.

The team of scholars who drafted the Confession was led by the Rev. Dr. Edward A. Dowey of Princeton Theological Seminary.

The vote of approval was followed by a storm of applause and the hearty singing of the Doxology, Protestantism's traditional hymn of praise. A standing ovation was given to Dr. Dowey.

The Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire, president of the conservative International Council of Christian Churches and a vigorous and frequent objector to what he describes as the modernistic and leftist leanings of the United Presbyterian Church, issued a statement today that said in part:

"The United Presbyterian Church has today repudiated the infallibility and the inspiration of the Bible.

"I call upon all Bible-believing Presbyterians to assemble in Portland, Ore., for a historic Presbyterian convocation when the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church convenes next May. On behalf of the United Presbyterians, we shall formally bury the Westminister Confession with all funeral arrangements. And at whatever the cost there shall be preserved in this country a Presbyterian Church maintaining the Westminister Confession and the ordination vows which were rejected here today.

"The contract which the General Assembly has had with its local churches by ordination vow, declaring the Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, has now been abrogated. The ecumenical dreamers have run off with the United Presbyterian Church."

Later, the Rev. Dr. Ganse Little, who was elected last Wednesday as Moderator, or titular head of the church, termed the action "historic."

Dr. Little has gained considerable popularity here with the commissioners for his blithe-spirited conduct of church business.

When one commissioner began what gave promise of being a rather long-winded dissertation by prefacing it with a humorous story involving a telephone, Dr. Little broke in, smiling broadly, and observed:

"Will you please put your call through promptly."

In the middle of a brief parliamentary muddle, he brought down the gavel and exclaimed:

"The chair won't accept this shuffling of the deck at this point—to use an ecclesiastical phrase."

Once, when debate seemed to be building up at an alarming rate, Dr. Little turned to a colleague and asked:

"Will you tell us how the roof stays on in a hurricane?"

This morning three men were nominated for the office of Stated Clerk, or chief executive officer, of the denomination. They are:

The Rev. Dr. John W. Meister, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Wayne, Ind., whose name was presented by the assembly's Standing Committee on Nomination of a Stated Clerk.

Ruling Elder William Phelps Thompson of Wichita, Kan., Moderator of last year's Assembly, nominated from the floor.

The Rev. Dr. Hugh McHenry Miller, pastor of the First Memorial Presbyterian Church of Dover, N. J., also nominated from the floor.

The election of the new Stated Clerk, who will succeed the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, will be held at 10 A.M. tomorrow.

Dr. Blake, Stated Clerk for the last 15 years, has resigned effective July 1 to become General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, which has headquarters in Geneva.

Dr. Meister's nomination was made by a 23-member committee made up of commissioners. The committee chairman, the Rev. Dr. Bryant Kirkland, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City, told the assembly that the names of 55 persons had been considered. This list, he said, was narrowed to 18, then to 3 and eventually to one.

Excerpts From the Presbyterian Creed

CHURCHES 5/26/66

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, May 24—Following are excerpts of the proposed Confession of 1967 approved today by the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church:

The one sufficient revelation of God is Jesus Christ, the Word of God Incarnate, to whom the Holy Spirit bears unique and authoritative witness through the Holy Scriptures, which are received and obeyed as the word of God written. The Scriptures are not a witness among others, but the witness without parallel. The church has received the books of the Old and New Testaments as prophetic and apostolic testimony in which it hears the word of God and by which its faith and obedience are nourished and regulated.

The New Testament is the recorded testimony of apostles to the coming of the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, and the sending of the Holy Spirit to the church. The Old Testament bears witness to God's faithfulness in His Covenant with Israel and points the way to the fulfillment of His purpose in Christ. The Old Testament is indispensable to understanding the New, and is not itself fully understood without the New.

View of Scriptures

The Bible is to be interpreted in the light of its witness to God's work of reconciliation in Christ. The Scriptures, given under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, are nevertheless the words of men, conditioned by the language, thought forms, and literary fashions of the places and times at which they were written. They reflect views of life, history, and the cosmos which were then current. The church, therefore, has an obligation to approach the Scriptures with literary and historical understanding. As God has spoken His word in diverse cultural situations, the church is confident that He will continue to speak through the Scriptures in a changing world and in every form of human culture.

In each time and place there are particular problems and crises through which God calls the church to act. The church, guided by the Spirit, humbled by its own complicity, and instructed by all attainable knowledge, seeks to discern the will of God and learn how to obey in these concrete situations.

The following are particularly urgent at the present time:

A. God has created the peoples of the earth to be one universal family. In His reconciling love He overcomes the barriers between brothers and breaks down every form of discrimination based on racial or ethnic difference, real or imaginary. The church is called to bring all men to receive and uphold one another as persons in all relationships of life: In employment, housing, education, leisure, marriage, family, church, and the exercise of political rights. Therefore the church labors for the abolition of all racial discrimination and ministers to those injured by it. Congregations, individuals, or groups of Christians who exclude, dominate, or patronize their fellow men, however subtly, resist the Spirit of God and bring contempt on the faith which they profess.

Search for Peace

B. God's reconciliation in Jesus Christ is the ground of the peace, justice, and freedom among nations which all powers of government are called to serve and defend. The church, in its own life, is called to practice the forgiveness of enemies and to commend to the nations as practical politics the search for cooperation and peace. This requires the pursuit of fresh and responsible relations across every line of conflict, even at the risk to national security, to reduce areas of strife and to broaden international understanding.

c. The reconciliation of man through Jesus Christ makes it plain that enslaving poverty in a world of abundance is an intolerable violation of God's good creation. Because Jesus identified himself with the needy and exploited, the cause of the world's poor is the cause of his disciples. The church cannot condone poverty, whether it is the product of unjust social structures, exploitation of the defenseless, lack of national resources, absence of technological understanding, or rapid expansion of populations. The church calls every man to use his abilities, his possessions, and the fruits of technology as gifts entrusted to him by God for the maintenance of his family and the advancement of the common welfare.

D. The relationship between man and woman exemplifies in a basic way God's ordering of the interpersonal life for which He created mankind. Anarchy in sexual relationships is a symptom of man's alienation from God, his neighbor and himself. Man's perennial confusion about the meaning of sex has been aggravated in our day by the availability of new means for birth control and the treatment of infection, by the pressures of urbanization, by the exploitation of sexual symbols in mass communication, and by world overpopulation. The church, as the household of God, is called to lead man out of this alienation into the responsible freedom of the new life in Christ.

Presbyterian Reform Plan Is Approved

CHURCHES
5/25/66 A2

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BOSTON — The General Assembly of the 3.3 million-member United Presbyterian Church gave overwhelming approval Tuesday to a proposed updating of the denomination's basic doctrine that for the first time would recognize its obligation to work for social justice.

The voice vote of the 837 commissioners, or delegates, was almost unanimous in its endorsement of a 4,600-word Confession of 1967, which now goes to the church's 188 presbyteries, or local governing units, for approval.

Two-thirds of the presbyteries must ratify the confession before final passage at next year's assembly in Portland, Ore. A simple majority is required in each presbytery.

Under the proposal, the 30,000-word Westminster confession of faith of 1647—the traditional sole doctrinal standard of Presbyterianism—will be supplemented by the new Confession of 1967 and six other creedal statements including the familiar Apostles and the Nicene. The latter two are accepted by most Christian churches today.

The confession rejects the traditional notion that the Bible is "inerrant" and thus immune from criticism in the light of new knowledge. And it spells out for the first time in a doctrinal statement the responsibility of the church to be concerned with social problems.

The new confession has been under intensive study since last May by a special 15-member committee headed by the Rev. Dr. W. Sherman Skinner of St. Louis. Work on the document began in 1958 when a special committee on a Brief Contemporary Statement of Faith was appointed. This committee's task was broadened by subsequent general assemblies.

1966

St. Philip's Lets Fast Continue

CHURCHES

AC 6/3/66

2 Priests Protest Its Use by Lovett

Two Episcopal priests who began a 98-hour fast inside the Cathedral of St. Philip Wednesday night will be allowed to continue their vigil, the cathedral said Thursday.

The two, the Revs. Roy Hunter and Albert Driesbach, are protesting the use of the church sanctuary for the baccalaureate service of Lovett School, a private, segregated institution.

A St. Philip spokesman said Thursday, "We have no intention of asking them to leave as long as they conduct themselves in keeping with the dignity of the church. The church is open to anyone who wants to come in and use it as a place of worship."

The priests plan to stay in the church until 10 p.m. Sunday with only daily communion to sustain them.

The church spokesman said, "The whole policy of the church is an open door policy and for that same reason we are allowing the Lovett School to have its baccalaureate services here, just as we allowed Northside to use the church last week for its baccalaureate service.

The Rev. Mr. Hunter, Atlanta's only Negro parish priest, is at St. Paul's and the Rev. Mr. Dreisbach is supply priest at the Church of the Nativity and is an associate director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Methodists Getting Plan To Curb Bias

CHURCHES

AC 6/6/61

ST. SIMONS ISLAND, Ga. (UPI) — South Georgia Methodists will be asked to take their first step toward eliminating racial barriers within the Georgia denomination at their centennial conference Monday and Tuesday.

A resolution proposing elimination of the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction will be presented to 800 delegates representing 148,000 white Methodists in south Georgia.

Passage of the measure would result primarily in a change in administrative organization. Merging of churches and integration are not proposed in the resolution, and under Methodist legislation, could be achieved only on a voluntary basis.

The step would be the first taken in the nine-state Southeastern Jurisdiction. It requires a two-thirds vote for passage and would open the door "for further study and negotiation with Negro Methodists."

A report on the merging of the Methodist Church with the Evangelical United Brethren will also be presented but no vote is expected.

Bishop John Owen Smith, Atlanta, will preside over the sessions.

Churches

Two Episcopal Priests End Protest Fast at Cathedral

AC 6/7/61

By MICHAEL DAVIS

Two Episcopal priests ended a 99-hour fast Sunday night after baccalaureate services were held in the Cathedral of St. Philip for the graduating class of Lovett School.

The Rev. Robert Hunter and Albert Dreisbach had been fasting in the church sanctuary since Wednesday night.

As the Lovett graduating class filed into the church, the priests sat in opposite naves with opened Bibles in their laps.

THEY'RE IGNORED

Officials of the church ignored the priests during the ceremony and stated that they would do nothing to remove them unless there was a disturbance.

Outside the church at Peachtree Road and Andrews Drive more than 100 Negro and white pickets representing the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Equality (ESCRU) carried signs protesting the services because the school refused to desegrate.

The pickets, led by the Rev. John Morris, executive director of ESCRU, wore buttons with figures of a Negro and a white man kneeling before Christ and a cross.

One of the pickets, Dr. Melvin Kennedy of Morehouse College, carried a placard which read, "We protest the use of this cathedral for the baccalaureate services of the Lovett School."

The Rev. Mr. Morris said that he has been informed that Lovett will not hold it baccalaureate service at St. Phillip's again because it is building its own chapel at the school.

CRITICIZES CHURCH

Immediately after the services, the Rev. Mr. Hunter, who is Atlanta only Negro Episcopal priest, charged that officials of the church made no constructive effort to "come to grips with the situation."

He also said that the bishop of the Atlanta Diocese, the Rt. Rev. Randolph Claiborne Jr., had expressed sympathy with the two fasting priests but that he had no authority to stop the services.

The Rev. Mr. Dreisbach, an associate director of ESCRU, said, "Atlantans show "The Deputy' on the stage and then come here tonight to live it out." "The Deputy" is a controversial play about Pope Pius XII during World War II.

"The church," he said, "has failed to face the issues at hand. The Rev. Robert E. Lee escaped the issue . . . the comforted are still comforted and the afflicted are still afflicted." The Rev. Mr. Lee delivered the baccalaureate sermon.

Lovett once was affiliated with the Episcopal Church, but lost this affiliation and became a private institution when it refused to drop its ban against Negroes.

Wallaces Get Warm Welcome

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Alabama Gov. George Wallace and his wife, Lurleen, the Democratic nominee to succeed him, were given a rousing welcome at the Grand Ole Opry Saturday night. They were introduced by Roy Acuff, left. Wallace is partially hidden by the upraised hand of his wife. (Associated Press Wirephoto)

CHURCHES

South Georgia Methodists Defeat Merger with Negroes

AC 6/9/66

By MARGARET HURST
Constitution Religion Writer

ST. SIMONS ISLAND, Ga. — A resolution aimed at the gradual elimination of racial barriers in the Methodist Church in nine Southeastern states was voted down Wednesday by the all-white South Georgia Methodist Conference.

After two hours of stormy debate, the delegates voted in a secret ballot in favor of the resolution, 296 to 207, but failed to give it the two-thirds majority necessary for passage.

If passed, the resolution would have abolished the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction in Georgia. It would have allowed Negro bishops from the Central Jurisdiction who live in the Southeastern United States to become members of the College of Bishops of the all-white Southeastern Jurisdiction.

This would have no immediate effect on local conferences and congregations.

The vote Wednesday does not mean the measure is dead, however, since a two-thirds vote of jurisdictions in nine Southeastern states will determine the ultimate fate of the resolution.

Presiding Bishop John Owen Smith said that several conferences, including Tennessee, Florida, North Mississippi and North Alabama, have voted in favor of the resolution.

A Methodist spokesman said the Florida vote was 802 to 45 and Tennessee's was 500 to 2.

Prior to the voting here Wednesday, the resolution set off an emotion-packed debate.

Speaking against the resolution, lay delegate State Rep. Dorsey Mathews of Moultrie said, "This resolution just opens the door a little way but you open it enough for them (Negroes) to get their foot in . . . and it'll be the last of the Methodist Church."

Dr. Zack Henderson, president

Continued on Page 16, Column 5

Methodists Defeat Merger with Negroes

Continued from Page 1

of Georgia Southern College, urged the conference delegates to pass the resolution. "Are we, the church, going to stand by and not take the next step when education has taken it, business has taken it and athletics have taken it?" he asked.

The Rev. John Blackwell of Springfield, who said he comes from "the grass roots" and knows "what the people back home are thinking," argued that passage of the resolution would cut the number of superintendents needed.

"Where we have nine superintendents now, there is a possibility we'll need only six when we go back home," he said.

He and several other spokesmen against the resolution, said that if passed it would cause the church to lose a large number of its members.

In other action, James T. Pennell, chairman of the Committee on Christian Vocations, told the conference that his committee had sent letters to all conference ministers asking them how many young persons in their congregations were interested in the ministry or a related vocation.

Pennell said 192 reported no youths considering a Christian vocation, 82 reported one or more interested young people, and 72 did not reply.

An Arlington lawyer, W. E. Bostwick, said that the Methodist Church is giving ministers better training and building bigger churches but statistical reports show it is serving fewer people.

He said the way to reverse the fall-off in membership would be "not to adopt this resolution."

Earlier Wednesday George T. Wright, a Tifton druggist, was elected lay leader of the conference. Wright, a member of the Conference Board of Lay Activity since 1957, succeeds William S. Parks, a Rhine businessman who has served four years.

The following were named district lay leaders: John R. Rogers of Ashburn, Americus District; Tom McKinstry of Columbus, Columbus District; George W. Mayo, of Savannah, Savannah District; Byrd Posey of Albany, Thomasville District, and Dr. C. E. Zimmerman of Tifton, Valdosta District.

3 Die in Wine Vat

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa (UPI) — Authorities said three men who entered a huge wine vat at a local distillery to clean it Tuesday died within minutes after being overcome by fumes from the fermenting leaves they were trying to remove.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JU

Official

Michigan Catholics to Patronize Businesses That Hire Negroes

CHURCHES

LANSING, Mich., June 9 (AP) — The Roman Catholic Church in Michigan said today it would use its millions of purchases dollars to try to influence supplier companies to hire more Negroes and members of other minority groups.

Four bishops announced that when Catholic institutions spend their money, "those institutions which provide equality in employment opportunity will be favored over those which do not."

The plan was outlined jointly by the bishops of Lansing, Grand Rapids, Marquette and Saginaw. The Detroit Archdiocese adopted such a program last spring.

Michigan's five diocese have an estimated total of 2.5 million members, and a spokesman said Michigan Catholics would be the first to start such a project on a statewide basis.

The bishops said Catholic institutions would ask companies with which they deal to pledge equal employment opportunities and to take affirmative steps to hire members of minority groups.

They said the companies would be asked to report periodically on how many minority group members they employ, and in what positions.

The statement said the plan was not a boycott "but rather an affirmative use of the hiring and purchasing power of Catholic institutions to end employment discrimination."

CHURCHES

ARKANSAS GAZETTE, Sat., June 11, 1966. • 9B

Memphis Methodists Vote To End Racial Distinction

JACKSON, Tenn. (AP)—The Memphis Conference of the Methodist Church Friday overwhelmingly approved a proposal which would break down racial distinction in church organization.

The Memphis Conference became the sixth of 16 conferences in the Southeastern Jurisdiction which must approve the plan before the Jurisdiction can absorb two conferences in the Central (Negro) Jurisdiction.

The resolution, passed by a vote of 222-34, also would permit Negro bishops in the Central Jurisdiction to join the all-white College of Bishops.

A second proposal, carrying through the intent of the first at the "grass roots level," also was approved but by slightly less of a majority.

The delegates voted 204-57 to invite individual Central Jurisdiction churches to join their Conference.

The 700 clergy and lay delegates attending the Conference's 128th annual session at Lambuth College showered the Little Chapel Church of Paducah, Ky., with its second honor in as many days.

The church, with only 30 members, was named "church of the year" among the 540 churches in the Conference area of West Tennessee and Southwest Kentucky.

Thursday, Mrs. Ora Belle Peck, minister of the Little Chapel Church, became the first woman in the history of the Conference to be admitted on a trial basis for ordination. She will be ordained in two years if she successfully completes the probation period.

The session ends today with the reading of pastoral appointments.

PROTESTANTS JOIN IN HOUSING DRIVE

CHURCHES

Major Churches and Private Groups Seek Low Rentals

6/21/64

By EDWARD B. FISKE

Several large Protestant denominations and secular groups have agreed to pool their resources in a multimillion-dollar effort to stimulate the construction of low-rent housing throughout the nation.

The new project, the first of its scope in the housing field to involve both religious and secular agencies, has been announced by Urban America, Inc., a private, nonprofit urban planning group here that will administer the program. Its purpose will be to encourage the formation of nonprofit corporations to sponsor low-rent housing by offering such groups enabling funds and technical assistance.

The United Church of Christ is already committed to the program, and approval is expected soon from the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Methodist Church. The American Baptist Convention is also considering participation.

In announcing the project, Stephen R. Currier, president of Urban America, said the program would use an annual operating budget of approximately $1-million to release "hundreds of millions more" in federally insured mortgages and interest and rent subsidies.

Under Federal housing legislation — principally Section

Continued on Page 18, Column 3

PROTESTANTS JOIN IN HOUSING DRIVE

221(d)(3) of the Housing Act of 1961 — nonprofit organizations, including church-related groups, are eligible to receive Government assistance for the construction and rehabilitation of low-rent family housing. Such assistance comes in the form of mortgage insurance and subsidized interest payments.

Additional funds will also be available to nonprofit groups through the recently passed rent supplement program. Under this program, tenants would pay 25 per cent of their income for rent and the Federal Government would pay the remainder required to keep the housing project solvent and in good repair.

Mr. Currier said the Urban America program could reach the point where it would be assisting in the construction of from 20,000 to 30,000 units annually. Low-rent housing is currently being constructed under the Housing Act provision at about half this rate.

The Urban America staff will seek to stimulate interest in the sponsorship of housing by local churches and other nonprofit groups, provide "seed" or enabling funds on a revolving-loan basis, and also technical, legal and other assistance at all stages in the development of the corporation.

It is prohibited under an agreement from acting as a sponsor or owning properties itself. In some cases it may charge nominal fees and interest for its services and loans.

The new program will be implemented in the form of an expansion of the present activities of Urban America's Local Development Services Division. Since February, 1965, this division, working under a Ford Foundation grant of $575,000, has provided technical services to nonprofit groups involved in the construction of approximately 3,000 units.

Urban America, Inc., is the result of a merger last December of the Action Council for Better Cities, a national organization of civil leaders concerned with urban planning, and Urban America, Inc., a planning group previously known as the American Planning and Civic Association.

In addition to the Local Development Services Division Urban America publishes the monthly magazine Architectural Forum and operates design and information centers. These activities are supported by the Taconic Foundation and industrial concerns. The chairman of the board of trustees of Urban America is Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time, Inc.

Local Aid Sought

Church interest in the technical services project stems from the large numbers of requests for help received by national church agencies from local churches and church-related groups interested in doing something about housing problems in their areas.

Under the agreement, which must be renewed after two years, Urban America will provide administrative staff and facilities and direct the program. The participating denominations will sit on the division board and make available their communications channels and influence in communities.

Agreement between major denominations and private secular agencies are not unknown in other areas of social action. Churches have worked closely with major civil rights organizations, for example, and they have been the principal clients of the Industrial Areas Foundation, the controversial community organization agency operated by Saul D. Alinsky.

Churches have also been active on a local basis in the sponsorship of low-rent housing. A spokesman for the Federal Housing Administration said that church-related groups had been responsible for a quarter of the units built under the provisions of section 221 (d) (3) of the Housing Act of 1961.

10,000 IND Riders Delayed

Ten thousand subway riders were delayed during the rush hour yesterday morning after a southbound "A" train of the Independent line stalled in the 190th Street station. All service from 175th Street to the 207th Street terminal was disrupted. The Transit Authority said service was out from 8:17 to 9:51 A.M. A shuttle train was put into service between 168th and 175th Streets to serve New Jersey commuters at the Port Authority Bus Terminal. At the George Washington Bridge passengers at stations north of 175th Street were advised to take the Broadway-Seventh Avenue IRT line or board buses to the 168th Street station.

NYT 7/18/66

SOFT LIVING SEEN DISPLACING CHRIST

CHURCHES

McCracken Asserts 'Infinite Love' Is Rejected Today

By GEORGE DUGAN

Jesus Christ is not making an impact on modern society, the Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken told worshipers yesterday in his sermon at Riverside Church.

"Ours is a society relying heavily and finally on force, on military might and on nuclear superiority," he declared.

"Christ's teaching in this regard runs counter to our accepted and established practice. He repudiates force, advocates nonresistance to evil, bids us love our enemies, bless those who curse us, pray for those who despitefully hate us."

According to Dr. McCracken, this is not only "unpopular teaching" today but its practicality is questioned.

'Too High and Too Hard'

"It is looked upon as a kind of poetry, a Utopian dream, idealistic but too high and too hard for ordinary humanity, and out of touch with the realities of the everyday world," the minister said.

"Showing 'infinite Christian love' to Communists, it has been said, is like stroking a tiger on the head and calling him 'poor puss.'

"This is the attitude of thousands who attend church and have their names on its membership roll. The idea of applying the principles of the Sermon on the Mount to international politics—though they may not put their feeling into words or even think the issue over very deeply—does not seem to them workable."

Jesus Christ is not making a universal appeal today because of His "moral and austerity," Dr. Cracken asserted.

A Challenge to Comfort

"Right down the line Christ gives offense by His moral austerity," the minister said. "He rebukes our acquisitive society. He rebukes our comfor-loving, take-it-easy philosophy. He rebukes our moral laxity. He rebukes our reliance on force and our rejection of love as the royal way of life.

"Ours is a comfort-loving society. On parting from one another, we say, 'Take it easy.' We equate comfort with civilization.

"For the pioneer psychology, we have substituted a philosophy of soft living. Collective security bids fair to take the place of individual initiative. The demand is for wares that are conducive to effortless living. Few things are prized quite so highly."

THI

DR. KING ASSAILS WHITE CHURCHES

NYT 7/18/66

Finds Cold Indifference or Hypocrisy Toward Negro

CHURCHES

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, July 17—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said in a prepared sermon today that the American Negro was "usually greeted by a cold indifference or blatant hypocrisy" when he called on the "so-called white churches."

"One of the shameful tragedies of history is that the very institutions which should remove men from the midnight of racial segregation participate in creating and perpetuating the midnight," Dr. King said in the sermon that was recorded yesterday in Chicago.

More than 400 delegates to a World Conference on Church and Society saw only an empty pulpit as Dr. King's voice rang through St. Peter's Cathedral.

Dr. King's appearance was to have been a major highlight of the two-week conference organized by the World Council of Churches.

But the United States civil rights leader canceled his visit because, he said, the riots in Chicago required his presence there.

The theme of his sermon was that the world is in a moral and social darkness with many people failing to find the guidance they look for in the church.

"In the terrible midnight of war," Dr. King said, "men have knocked on the door of the church to ask for the bread of peace, but the church often disappointed them."

"Millions of Africans, patiently knocking on the door of the Christian church where they seek the bread of social justice have either been altogether ignored or told to wait until later, which almost always means never," he said.

Dr. King said that "those who have gone to the church to seek the bread of economic justice have been left in the frustrating midnight of economic deprivation."

"If the church does not recapture its prophetic zeal it will become an irrelevant social club without moral or spiritual authority," he warned.

THE

Chicago Diocese Revolts

CHURCHES

Catholic Families Are Less Receptive To Rights Views Than Their Clerics

NYT 8/9/65

By JOHN COGLEY

Whites attacking civil rights marches in Chicago have been incensed at the participation in the marches of Roman Catholic priests and nuns. Some of the whites have announced that they were going to withhold church donations. Chicago has long been known as the most liberal archdiocese in the Catholic church. Through three decades of permissive archbishops—Cardinals Mundelein, Stritch and Mayer—the city became the center of the most vigorous Catholic social movement in the United States. Its widely known Auxiliary Bishop, Bernard J. Sheil, a fighting liberal who at the age of 80 is now retired, appeared to many as typical of Chicago Catholicism. He was typical of a certain wing but not of Chicago Catholicism as a whole.

News Analysis

Chicago's reputation for liberalism was overextended. It has been based on the views expressed and leadership exercised by a comparatively small number of enlightened clergy who, like Bishop Sheil, spoke out against racial discrimination and the sores festering in the city's slums.

In many cases, these priests were looked on as eccentrics by their clerical peers and by many of the laity, as the Bishop himself was.

'Holding the Line'

Until it was too late, most leaders of the all-white Catholic neighborhoods threatened by an overflow from the ghettos identified "holding the line" against Negroes not only as an effort to hold on to their mortgaged homes but also as a way of "saving" their parishes, the proud symbols in concrete and marble of their loyalty to the Church.

For long years they were convinced that they had the genuine, if tactfully unspoken, support of their pastors. In many cases they were correct.

In most instances, pastors were no more imaginative than the people. They went along with "holding the line" until it was too late and their once-proud middle-class Catholic parishes became black ghettos.

Many of the homegrown clergy of Chicago share the lower middle-class social background of those who made up the mobs shouting hate slogans. Some of the marching clergy have parents and relatives who, like the mob, feel threatened.

It would be safe to say, however, that, among the younger generation at least, members of the average Catholic family who become priests and nuns are now markedly more liberal than their lay brothers and sisters.

A Moral Test

First of all, the clerics tend to see the racial problem in stark moral and theological terms—as a test of one's belief in the brotherhood of man. They are also likely to be several rungs above their siblings on the educational ladder. This means they find it easier to relate the racial question to other religious and political commitments such as Christianity and democracy.

Moreover, because even the Pope has taken a strong stand for integration, they are strengthened by the approval of the top leaders of the Church, by the admiration of their peers, and by the opportunity to do something that gives dramatic public witness, in an ecumenical setting, to their beliefs.

These clerics are free of financial worries. For the marching priest or nun, the civil rights movement is an exciting, spiritually satisfying, morally heroic enterprise. Their married brothers or sisters, however, are eaten away with insecurity and fear of the unknown that can so easily turn into blind hatred.

For them the civil rights issue may, instead, represent the possible loss of a home, the transformation of a familiar neighborhood into a ghetto—a threat to family, community and, not least of all to the Church itself.

That the ministers of the church do not see it this way, that some are helping to bring the feared future into existence, is, then, not only a bafflement but an outrage.

For such people the church that they have supported all their lives has joined the "enemy." For the social-conscious priest or nun, of course no such thing has happened. The Church has joined the side of the poor and the oppressed

CHURCHES

Churches Move On Slums; Poor Gaining Decent Homes

By LOUIS CASSELS
United Press International Writer

America's churches have found a new way to serve humanity — by becoming slum landlords.

In sharp contrast to the kind of slum landlord who exploits the poor by charging exorbitant rents for rat-infested hovels, churches are moving into the housing field for the sole purpose of providing decent homes to low-income families at rentals they can afford.

Their increasing activity in the housing market is abetted by Section 221 (D) (3) of the Federal Housing Act, which says that non-profit organizations, including church-related groups, are eligible for government assistance in the construction and rehabilitation of low-rent family housing. The government assistance includes long-term loans at interest rates (around 3 per cent) far below those currently available to ordinary private borrowers.

EVEN WITH this kind of financial help, few churches have the resources—or the courage—to venture into slum housing operations on an individual basis. The tendency is for several religious groups to band together in a non-profit corporation.

One of the most ambitious projects of this kind was launched in the nation's capital last spring. The Protestant Council of Churches, the Episcopal Dioceses of Washington, the local Council of Catholic Men, the District of Columbia chapter of the American Jewish Committee and All Souls Unitarian Church joined in establishing an interfaith agency known as COIN — Community Organization for the Improvement of Neighborhoods, Inc.

COIN is negotiating for the purchase of several large, rundown apartment buildings in the inner city area of Washington. It will completely rehabilitate them and rent them to low-income families at a fraction of the rentals being charged in the same area for dity, dilapidated slum flats.

IN CLEVELAND, 400 Protestant churches are cooperating through the Greater Cleveland Council of Churches in construction of a non-profit housing development for 125 low-income families in the Hough district, a Negro ghetto which was torn by rioting this summer.

Each of the participating congregations also will undertake to rehabilitate at least one house in the Hough section. A private development organization will handle the repairs, which will cost the sponsoring congregations from $1,000 to $2,000 each.

On the west side of Chicago—which also has been the scene of rioting this summer — Baptist, Catholic, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist and Presbyterian churches have formed an interdenominational "Christian Action Ministry" which will, among other things, seek to rehabilitiate housing in the area.

Although multiple church sponsorship makes for strength and efficiency, there is nothing to prevent a single congregation from tackling a slum housing program — if its members have enough dedication to the task.

IN ST. LOUIS, members of the Second Presbyterian Church have formed a non-profit organization called Christian Neighbors, Inc. Their first venture was to buy a badly deteriorated apartment building located in the same block as their church. They converted it from 14 overcrowded slum flats into seven decent-sized apartments at modest rentals.

Encouraged by that success, they purchased another 10-family apartment house in the same area. Its renovation was carried out with the help of volunteer labor by church members.

A powerful impetus to local church efforts in the housing field was provided recently when four big Protestant denominations (The United Church of Christ, United Presbyterian Church, Episcopal Church and Methodist Church) threw their financial support behind a secular organization called Urban America, Inc., which has had a great deal of experience in the acquisition and rehabilitation of slum housing.

URBAN AMERICA will assist local church groups throughout the country to form non-profit housing corporations. It will tell them how to qualify for government loans, and advise them on selection, purchase, and rehabilitation of property. If need be, it will even lend them "seed money" to get the project under way.

With an operating budget of about $1 million a year, Urban America hopes to serve as a catalyst for community action that will channel hundreds of millions of dollars into acquisition and renovation of slum housing for renting to low income families on a non-profit basis.

Widow Enters Building Business

MARGATE, N.J., Sept. 1 (UPI) — The widow of millionaire builder Frank Adamucci, who was gunned down last summer in the plush Rickshaw Inn in Cherry Hill, plans to go into the construction business.

Mrs. Rose Adamucci, the former Rose Mottola, said construction is "a first love." She has been active as a real estate broker.

Mrs. Adamucci said she learned much about the construction business from her late husband. The 47-year-old widow, who failed to take the stand during the trial of three men convicted of slaying her husband, described his death as "such a waste."

"It had no rhyme or reason," she said.

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VOL. CLXVIII NO. 52

Speaking Out

Church Magazines Shed Traditional Approach For More Controversy

CHURCHES

Articles by Catholics Support Birth Control; Mission Is Assailed by Presbyterians

WSJ 9/14/66

'Man-in-the-Pew' Complains

By GLYNN MAPES
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Religious publications are becoming increasingly controversial, and, to some people, downright irreverent.

Consider these recent articles:

—Motive, an official publication of the Methodist Church, printed a play that implied Christ was illegitimate.

—The National Catholic Reporter ran a two-part series giving readers detailed information on intra-uterine contraceptive devices.

—Renewal, a monthly sponsored by Protestant mission groups, suggested much of the United Presbyterian Church's budget for mission work actually goes to sustain a needless bureaucracy.

—Ave Maria, published by some priests at the University of Notre Dame, exposed racial discrimination at four Catholic colleges.

The upshot of these and similar articles for these and similar publications: New readers, new controversies and new troubles.

"Nasty Letters"

"We're getting some nasty letters from the man-in-the-pew accusing us of selling out the church and calling us liberals and Communists," says Richard C. Underwood, editor of Together, "the Methodist family magazine." The magazine has run articles recently on dope addicts, homosexuals and communism and a piece entitled In Defense of (Civil Rights) Demonstrations.

Ave Maria has been banned unofficially from libraries at several Roman Catholic seminaries and parochial schools, claims an editor proudly. And at least two magazines, Christian Century, a nondenominational publication, and The Churchman, a small monthly aimed at Episcopalians, are threatened with losing their tax-exempt status for publishing articles on such nonchurch affairs as Sen. Goldwater's Presidential campaign.

Despite the troubles, however, more and more religious publications are venturing from their traditional formula of sweetness and light. Church leaders say there now are at least 20 bold, campaigning religious periodicals, most of which get at least some direct financial support from a church. Until a few years

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Despite the troubles, however, more and more religious publications are venturing from their traditional formula of sweetness and light. Church leaders say there now are at least 20 bold, campaigning religious periodicals, most of which get at least some direct financial support from a church. Until a few years ago, only a handful of religious publications—all unfettered by direct church control—dared to be so outspoken.

The widening scope of the publications dates back three or four years to the beginning of large-scale church participation in the civil rights movement, their editors say. Now the publications are attempting to prod the churches into even broader involvement.

"Mandate" From the Readers

Motive magazine is a prime example. "We have a firm editorial mandate from our readers to discuss social and political issues," contends B. J. Stiles, Motive's 33-year-old editor. "We want to explode the myth that the sacred and the secular are somehow separated." An ordained Methodist minister, the $10,000-a-year editor heads an editorial staff of three. The magazine, founded by the church's board of education in 1941, now has a circulation of 36,000, up from 26,000 in 1961, before it took on its pugnacious bent.

While disagreeing with some of its stands, Methodist leaders generally applaud the magazine. "If there's a controversial development in the theology, Motive will take it apart, examine it and put it back together again—and the rest of us will learn," says Bishop Donald H. Tippett, president-designate of the Methodist Church Council of Bishops.

Motive has shown "great success in attracting thoughtful students into the clergy," the bishop says. "The magazine speaks to these people in a language that makes religion and the church relevant. They will make our best leaders, and, frankly, we'd lose them if we had to depend on most of the other church publications."

He adds, however, that he wouldn't recommend it to all Methodists. "Some of our people would find Motive very distressing." (Indeed, Bishop Tippett himself was distressed by the magazine when it reprinted the play that implied Christ was illegitimate. "But you have to expect a few missteps with a magazine as far out as that one," he remarks.)

A Burial & an Obituary

After the magazine ran a discussion of premarital sex last November, one reader suggested in a letter Motive printed that church leaders "bury the corpse of what was once a beneficial organ of the Methodist Church. It has been putrifying for some time now, so the burial service should not be prolonged."

Motive has gotten attention outside the church, too. A satirical, newspaper-style "obituary" of God—widely reprinted in such publications as Time Magazine and the New York Times—appeared first in the February 1966 issue of Motive. The piece, which pokes fun at over-serious theologians arguing over the relevance of God in today's world, begins:

"God, creator of the universe, principal Deity of the world's Jews, ultimate reality of Christians, and most eminent of all divinities, died late yesterday during major surgery undertaken to correct a massive diminishing influence. In New York, the stock market dropped sharply in early trading.

"The market rallied in late trading after reports were received that Jesus, who survives, plans to assume a larger role in management of the universe. . . . From Independence, Mo., former President Harry S Truman, who received the news in his Kansas City barbershop, said: 'I'm always sorry to hear someone is dead. It's a damn shame.' "

The effect of some controversial stories can be measured in dollars. Officials of the Presbyterian Church say they lost $50,000 in probable contributions as a result of Re-

Please Turn to Page 12, Column 2

Speaking Out: Church Magazines Now Print Controversial Articles

Continued From Page One

newal's attack on the administration of mission funds. Trimming the fat from the administration, the article stated, "could open dozens of hospitals a year with the savings on airline travel that would be gained by firing the staff."

Another way the missions could save money is by not renewing their subscriptions to Renewal, says one critic of the magazine; the United Presbyterian Church's Board of National Missions pledges to buy 6,000 subscriptions a year.

Critical Acclaim

Most religious journals don't pay much to contributors; many articles are contributed free. Their quality has attracted some critical acclaim.

Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism included in its 1966 magazine awards a commendation of Motive and of Continuum, a quarterly sponsored by St. Xavier College in Chicago. Motive was cited for "skillful and dramatic presentations of major issues," and Continuum for its role "as a Roman Catholic magazine of small circulation delving into controversy and presenting strong conviction and thorough research in a handsome format." Continuum has repeatedly called for liberalization of the Catholic Church's stand against birth control.

Some professionals who admire the magazines offer their talents. An associate editor of a large news magazine writes regularly on Vietnam and civil rights for Renewal, though he uses a pseudonym to avoid embarrassing his publisher. Robert Osborn, cover artist for the New Yorker Magazine, drew the cover for Motive's January 1966 foreign affairs issue for "only a small fraction of his usual charge," says Motive Editor Stiles. The cover showed a seedy-looking Uncle Sam wielding a large sword in one hand and holding a scrawny peace dove in the other.

A Forum for Priests

Churchmen are the major contributors to the publications, of course. The National Catholic Reporter, for instance, provides a forum for Catholic priests who urge—sometimes anonymously—that the church relax its rule against married clergy. The paper also has interviewed liberal Catholic theologians who maintain Catholics are free to use birth control devices.

Such articles have helped swell the newspaper's circulation from an initial 11,000 in October 1964 to nearly 75,000 today. Its series on intra-uterine devices alone drew more than 500 reprint requests within three days after publication, says Donald J. Thorman, publisher, a former daily newspaperman and management consultant.

An offshoot of a diocesan weekly in Missouri, the National Catholic Reporter, unlike most new publications, gets no support from church coffers. "That's the way we like it," says Mr. Thorman. "We're free of the Catholic Church's institutional habit of managing the news." The paper moved into the black in June.

Publications with financial ties to a church naturally have far fewer financial worries. Motive, for example, is 40% subsidized by the Methodist Church; the remaining funds come from subscriptions ($3 for eight monthly issues published during the school year) and a few ads. Most other church magazines rely heavily on bulk subscription sales directly to churches, which distribute them to parishioners.

The financially supported publications seem to delight in biting the hand that feeds them. Perhaps least likely to applaud the U.S. Supreme Court's decision outlawing school-sponsored prayer in the classroom would be members of the conservative Southern Baptist sect. Yet the Baptist Standard (circulation 371,000), official magazine of the Baptist General Convention of Texas, supported the decision.

"Some folks said I was driving God from the school," recalls the Rev. Ewing S. James, the Standard's softspoken, 66-year-old editor. But he says he staunchly believes that separation of church and state extends to the classroom. Mr. James says he and his magazine are politically conservative and theologically fundamentalist, yet the magazine consistently needles Baptists to accord equal treatment to Negroes.

Editors aren't shy about engaging in some spritely controversies among themselves. In the Aug. 27 issue of Ave Maria, Father John Reedy, the editor, and James F. Andrews, a layman who is managing editor, exchanged editorial volleys on what the clergy's "vow of poverty" should mean.

An Argument

Mr. Andrews argued the clergy should demonstrate publicly some material privation—"We can see that 'poverty' while not meaning destitution means more than an internal disposition of detachment or habit of the soul or attitude." Father Reedy countered that "When I made my vow, I was not pledging myself to destitution or even to any exceptional privation of material things. . . . I intended to disengage myself from the kind of concern about material possessions which would distract me from the effort to serve and love God in a distinctly direct and immediate way. . . . Personally, I see no virtue in material poverty in itself."

Father Reedy now concedes, "Unfortunately I've come out on the short end." Nearly to a man, he says, the response has been that Mr. Andrews was nearer the truth. (Though published by priests at Notre Dame, Ave Maria isn't connected with the university.)

Occasionally, a church publication will find that its controversial religious articles are so successful that it will broaden its scope. That is what happened with Ramparts, a hard-hitting monthly founded in 1962 as an independently financed journal for Catholic lay writers. Ramparts has sharply attacked Jesuit education, has linked the Catholic church with right-wing extremist elements and has carried on a running battle with Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles over his conservative stance on civil rights issues.

The magazine's circulation has risen to nearly 75,000, up from about 7,600 in 1964. So recently it trained its guns on more topics of broad secular interest. Among them: A highly publicized expose of how Michigan State University helped the Central Intelligence Agency train and arm forces of former Premier Diem of South Vietnam.

Nightclub Priest Bids Church 'Get Down to Earth'

Boyd Warns Christianity May 'Die' in 2 Generations

He Calls for Urban Centers and Modern Discussion

By GEORGE DUGAN

The Episcopal priest who opened a month-long stand this week as a paid performer at the hungry is a sophisticated nightclub in San Francisco, is convinced that the Christian church will be dead in two generations unless it "comes down to earth."

The 43-year-old priest, the Rev. Malcolm Boyd, gave up a career in television and radio 11 years ago to enter the ministry.

An intense, nervous man who seems never to be quite sure that he is doing the right thing, despite his strong convictions, he has frequently been in hot water with some of his colleagues.

He ruffled his superiors five years ago when he heard confessions in a bar, organized a series of "espresso nights" in a converted garage and publicly charged Christianity with "smugness" and "snobbishness."

Unpopular With Superiors

As a result, he was asked to resign as chaplain for Episcopal students at Colorado State University.

Moving to Detroit, Father Boyd got into trouble with his superiors there for writing and appearing in plays that used "vulgarity and profanity." He was politely asked to take his evangelism elsewhere.

His headquarters are now in Washington, where he holds the title of Episcopal chaplain-at-large to college campuses.

At the hungry i, the controversial priest is making his first appearance as a paid performer. His $1,000-a-week salary will be turned over to agencies concerned with the civil rights movement.

Edwyn

CONTROVERSIAL: The Rev. Malcolm Boyd, Episcopal clergyman who has been appearing in a nightclub.

Father Boyd's supporters — and there are many — see him as a needed gadfly trying to stir the church out of what they describe as a "religious ghetto."

His detractors—and there are many—regard him simply as "another nut."

Recently, in an interview in a Times Square restaurant, the priest sipped a double martini and charged that the Christian churches have "elected to remain outside existential concerns, wallowing in their own archaic and esoteric church-as-usual affairs."

He proposed that they establish urban centers, offering after-theater hi-fi, late evening coffee and old-fashioned "bull sessions" on love and sex.

He favored what he described as "bar evangelism," wherein a roving minister might supplant the bartender as a psychological counselor.

According to Father Boyd, seminaries are at least 50 years behind the times. He said that students for the ministry now come out of "isolation" without the slightest idea of how to relate themselves to the world into which they are suddenly thrust.

His latest book, "Are You Running With Me, Jesus?" published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston, drew critical applause.

'A Very Moving Book'

A collection of private prayers, completely informal and ranging from civil rights to unwanted pregnancy, the volume was described by a New York Times reviewer as, "to my considerable surprise, a very moving book."

Father Boyd's plays are directed mostly against racial discrimination and "institutionalized" church life. He holds that the media of the theater and motion pictures have far more impact than pulpit sermons.

The Episcopal priest, short and a bit on the stocky side, with receding gray hair, was born in Buffalo.

He was graduated from the University of Arizona in 1944, and went to Hollywood, where he embarked on a public relations career with Mary Pickford and Buddy Rogers. Radio and television writing followed.

In the early 1950's he began studying for the priesthood at Union Theological Seminary here and at Oxford University in England.

NYT 9/18/66

Associated Press

SWINGING PULPIT: Rev. Malcolm Boyd represents the "new style in ecumenism and secularity" as he reads prayers and preaches at a West Coast night club. He says his pulpit is where the people are.

CHURCHES

Religion

New Trends Stir Debate

By JOHN COGLEY

The two words that best describe contemporary Christianity are "ecumenism" and "secularity." Both throw light on some striking changes in religious life, changes that range from joint Protestant-Roman Catholic worship, through large-scale participation of clergy and nuns in the civil rights movement, to the successful appearance last week of an Episcopal priest, the Rev. Malcom Boyd, as a stand-up showman-preacher in San Francisco's hungry i, a popular nightclub in the North Beach area.

Without an understanding of the ecumenical spirit and a grasp of what contemporary thinkers have in mind when they talk about "secularity," much of the present, highly publicized activity of churchmen and other religiously concerned persons, is looked upon as merely shocking, or at best as flamboyantly showoff. It may well be in some gether in the "secularizing" of Christianity.

For long centuries, secularizing was looked upon not as a religious opportunity but as "secularism," a full-blown anti-religious ideology that would restrict the godly questions to private life and eliminate all traces of religious concern from public affairs. As such, it was applauded by the non- and anti-religious and generally decried by the religious.

The difference between the two movements, secularism and secularity, still counts for little for many. For example, there are those who look back with painful, and increasingly public, nostalgia to a "Christian" society, or at least a "religious" society. Sometimes the nostalgia goes all the way back to the medieval period. With others, it stops at an earlier time in this country when prayers were recited in the schools

New Trends Stir Debate

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In a book just published by Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, "Church-State Relations in Ecumenical Perspective," one of the writers, Daniel Callahan of The Commonweal writes that historical movements are like people—they have to live down the gossip that their birth was illegitimate. Mr. Callahan points out that this was the fate originally suffered by the movements now known as ecumension and "secularity."

For decades, to bear out Mr. Callahan's argument with an example, ecumenism was widely regarded by leading Catholic prelates as theological indifferentism, the idea that beliefs, doctrines, and convictions are really unimportant and that one religion is as good (or as bad) as another.

Ecumenism, seen that way, was frowned upon as a meaningless expression of theological wishywashiness supported by benignly insipid platitudes about human brotherhood. The slightest hint of the ecumenical spirit consequently was frequently looked upon as a danger to theological virility.

Wishywashiness

For an example, look at the National Council of Christmas and Jews. Throughout three decades, it had a hard time rounding up Catholic priests who could get hierarchical permission to participate in its work. Last week, however, the National Conference in New York gave an award to Cardinal Spellman and three other Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, and Jewish leaders.

The general acceptance of Christian ecumenism and interfaith amity as desirable is now almost universal, though of course there are still holdouts. These objectors, however, have taken to writing prefaces for each other's books, the Protestants pointing out how much they admire the Catholic's unmoving devotion to his "principle," and the Catholics pointing out their deep respect for the Protestant who will not budge from his. So even among them, there is an ecumenical movement of sorts.

The success of ecumenism has meant that Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Eastern Orthodox Christians are increasingly able to work together in the "secularizing" of Christianity.

For long centuries, secularizing was looked upon not as a religious opportunity but as "secularism," a full-blown anti-religious ideology that would restrict the godly questions to private life and eliminate all traces of religious concern from public affairs. As such, it was applauded by the non- and anti-religious and generally decried by the religious.

The difference between the two movements, secularism and secularity, still counts for little for many. For example, there are those who look back with painful, and increasingly public, nostalgia to a "Christian" society, or at least a "religious" society. Sometimes the nostalgia goes all the way back to the medieval period. With others, it stops at an earlier time in this country when prayers were recited in the schools and other symbols of national godliness were upheld in the courts. But, wherever the line is drawn, these persons bravely oppose what they regard as the present vulgarization of religion and the defeat of certainty by easy "tolerance" and of the "spiritual" by cheap materialism. The social activists in the churches on the contrary, look upon the present openness of society not as a threat to religion but as an opportunity.

Nostalgia

There is tension between these two groups, in all the churches. For example, Triumph, the new conservative Catholic magazine published in Washington by Brent Bozwell, states that its founders were motivated by a desire to break the monopoly now enjoyed by "liberal" publications in the Catholic press. Triumph's editorial posture is that of an embattled minority, holding out with almost eschatological fervor against a "liberal" movement that promises to corrupt Christianity and destroy all the loveliness of life in the process.

Other examples of leading figures who did not like the way things were going and feared that "secularism" was totally overcoming Christianity were the brilliant English writers, T. S. Eliot and Evelyn Waugh, both of whom went to their graves believing that contemporary Christianity was undergoing some dark night of the soul but believing also, with a hope that they related to faith and charity, that the "religious" order of society would some day be regained.

The present generation of Christian activists, Catholic and Protestant alike, have no such hope. Nor would they wish to restore the past. They are content to believe that there is a connection between their religion and secular values and that these links should be stressed.

When they demonstrate for civil rights, for example, they believe that they are acting with Christian responsibility, though doing so in a secular style. If a priest among them should find that a nightclub provides him with a pulpit more effective than one he would find in a cathedral and the kind of congregation he would not be likely to find in a cathedral, he might well move into the night club, as Father Boyd has done.

Grenadans Weep in Church Over Negro Pupils' Beating

CHURCHES 9/19/66 AC.

By HOMER BIGART

(Copyright 1966 by The New York Times Co.)

GRENADA, Miss.—The first public display of contrition by citizens of Grenada over the beating of Negro school children by white mobs last Monday and Tuesday took place Sunday in the Methodist church.

At a call from the minister, more than half the members of a congregation of nearly 500 came before the altar to kneel and pray forgiveness. Some were weeping.

Meanwhile, Gov. Paul Johnson urged Mississippians to remain calm Monday when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. visits Grenada. King was expected to arrive late Monday to conduct a rally. King plans to remain in Grenada through Tuesday.

In his sermon, the Rev. C. B. Burt lashed out at the "bestiality" of the white adults that whipped and stomped Negro children who integrated two previously all-white schools here early last week.

He said he witnessed some of the mob action. He said he had seen Negro children stumble in terror as they tried to evade pursuit from a crowd brandishing clubs and chains. "I could hardly believe my eyes," he said.

Among his congregation were Grenada City Manager J. E. McEachin, who has resigned under fire from extremist elements for his moderate stand on civil rights, and Bradford Dye, Grenada's prosecuting attorney, who is under similar attack but who refuses to resign.

No one walked out in protest when the Rev. Mr. Burt delivered the strongest rebuke yet heard from a Grenada native against the arch-segregationist element whose violence has put the city government under federal injunction to protect the Negro children.

Word that he intended to speak out against the violent element had spread through this delta town of 8,000 and the large red brick First Methodist church was filled to capacity for the morning service.

Burt said he did not suspect that any of his congregation had taken part in the violence. But he wanted the members to ask themselves whether they had done enough to forestall the "brutality" of last week.

As for himself he felt "a deep sense of guilt and shame" for not having been more outspoken on behalf of righteousness, law and order.

The churches of Mississippi have done too little to prepare the people for inevitable social change, he said. Some ministers who spoke up were branded as integrationists, he said, and the Mississippi conference of the Methodist church had lost some of its finest young preachers who had gone to other states.

"Somewhere, somehow, the church has failed when there is this kind of hate and bestiality in a city of this size," Burt said. "Where was the church when these seeds were planted?"

CHURCHES 9/26/66

Dr. King Assails Churches on Rights

By GEORGE DUGAN
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Sept. 25—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. charged all of America's religious bodies tonight with "unfaithfulness" to their mission on the question of racial justice.

In a speech prepared for delivery at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium, the civil rights leader and head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference declared that in the midst of a nation "rife with racial animosity, the church too often has been content to mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities."

Dr. King was one of three scheduled speakers at tonight's session of the annual meeting of the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ). The week-long assembly of the two-million-member body began on Friday.

Dr. King shared the platform with the Most Rev. John J. Wright, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, and Rober G. Storey, a Dallas lawyer and former president of the American Bar Association.

Calls for New Deal

Called by God to combat evils, Dr. King said, "the church has often remained silent behind the safe security of stained glass windows."

"Called to lead men on the highway of brotherhood and to summon them to rise above the narrow confines of race and class," he said, "it has often been an active participant in shaping and crystalizing the patterns of the race-caste system."

The Negro leader warned more than 10,000 Disciples in his audience that the church must recapture its prophetic zeal or become "little more than an irrelevant social club with a thin veneer of religiosity."

In some communities of the South, he asserted, many churches are the "ready lackeys of state governments." In defiance of the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions they allow their religious education buildings to be used for private segregated schools, he charged, thus casting the mantle of sanctity over the system of segregation."

Hour of Segregation

"How often the church has ben an echo rather than a voice, a tail light behind the Supreme Court and other secular agencies, rather than a headlight guiding men progressively and decisively to higher levels of understanding," he observed.

It is not enough for religious bodies to be active in the realm of ideas only, Dr. King stressed.

The church, he emphasized, must first of all remove the "yoke of segregation from its own body."

"Only by doing this can it be effective in its attack on ouside evils. Eleven o'clock on Sunday morning is still the most segregated hour of the week," Dr. King said.

Bishop Wright was sharply critical of "muddle-headed people who love the human race, but despise the man next door."

Love for humanity is an illusion, he said, and many who profess most loudly their love for all humanity frequently turn out to be "frauds."

"You can only love persons," the Bishop contended and declared:

"You cannot love Negroes, nor Jews, nor Catholics, nor Democrats, nor bricklayers, nor intellectuals, nor deep sea divers as such, save, perhaps, in the very broad sense that, for special reasons and in cer- the company of these particularly congenial or you agree with these more than with these more than you are with Republicans, pearl fishers, Eskimos, Connecticut Yankees, Amish people or Daughters of the Eastern Star, precisely as such. We can only love persons."

Mr. Storey sharply attacked civil disobedience, contending that widespread failure to obey the law results in "anarchy."

Respect for the law is at a new low and Christians should encourage obedience to it, he said, and added:

"Some of the participants excuse themselves with the statement that the law against which they protest is itself illegal, but the decision of alleged illegality of laws, ordinances or regulations of political subdivisions, cities states or the nation is the sole responsibility of the courts of the land."

Mr. Storey, who is a former vice chairman of the United States Civil Rights Commission and was executive trial counsel for the United States at the Nuremberg war criminal trials, termed the war in Vietnam and law enforcement at home as the two great issues facing the nation.

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CHURCHES

Atlanta Baptists Back Fired Pastor

9/27/66

By DICK HEBERT

The three fired church leaders of a Baptist church on the edge of the Mercer University campus in Macon were commended by Atlanta Baptist pastors Monday for their stand against segregation which cost them their posts.

The three were asked to resign Sunday by the all-white congregation of the Tattnall Square Baptist Church in a 259 to 189 vote which climaxed a summer-long desegregation dispute. They handed in resignations Sunday night.

Monday, about 125 Atlanta area Baptist pastors met in their weekly conference and adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution commending the three "for maintaining a Christ-like spirit in this matter," according to the resolution's author, the Rev. William H. Geren, pastor of East Point's Dogwood Hills Baptist Church.

The resolution was adopted after a lengthy debate over the pastors' right to interfere in the autonomous actions of a Baptist congregation.

An amendment not to release the resolution to the public was

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Atlanta Baptists Back Fired Pastor

Continued from Page 1

adopted by a 2-vote margin, but it was reliably reported that the measure supports the stand taken by the Macon pastor, the Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Holmes, his assistant pastor, Douglas Johnson, and music director Jack W. Jones.

The 75-year-old church, two doors away from Mercer University's administration building, now is without a staff. Deacons of the church were to meet Monday night to discuss future action.

CLOSED TO NEGROES

After two Negroes attended services June 26, deacons voted 12 to 9 to ask the congregation to fire the three churchmen, and the congregation voted to close its doors to Negroes. They voted Sunday 259 to 189 to ask for the three resignations.

The Rev. Geren said he drafted his resolution after his teenage son read an Atlanta Constitution account of the firings and asked him, "What do you think about that?"

It was reported that there was some effort at the pastor's conference to refrain from naming the church in the resolution but it was defeated after debate.

INVITED BY TV

Meanwhile, the Tattnall Square controversy continued to gather national attention Monday. Dr. Holmes said he has been invited to appear on a national television panel show.

"I had no idea it was going to reach quite the dimensions it has reached," Dr. Holmes commented.

It was learned that two unidentified Baptist churches in Georgia adopted open-door policies after the Tattnall Square dispute reached public attention. Other churches also began "intensifying their efforts to wrestle with this problem and open their doors," one church source said

NEW CAMPUS CHURCH

And in another development it was reported that a group of persons in the Mercer University area have approached Dr. Holmes about forming another campus area church.

Dr. Holmes verified the report and described it as a "live option." He said, "I don't know what will come of it. I'm not sure I want to go through with it because I wouldn't want it to come into existence motivated by the strife conditions."

Also Monday, a Negro Mercer student who was forcibly kept out of the church Sunday shortly before the congregation voted to oust its leaders described his Sunday encounter as "a faith - shattering experience."

GHANA STUDENT

Sam Jerry Oni, 25, a student from Ghana who was the first Negro to attend Mercer three years ago, was kept in a police car at the church until he agreed to leave peacefully Sunday.

In an interview Monday he said, "I have been living with this nonsense of segregation in the church for the past three years. It's been an agonizing experience and it's been a faith-shattering experience."

He said he plans to continue seeking admittance to the church.

(1+2) CHURCHES

the Vanguard

Vol. 13, No. 6 | Lutheran Human Relations Association of America | August-September, 1966

Speakers Challenge Church

PEACEMAKER

In November, 1964, **The Lutheran Witness** commented on the Nobel Prize awarded to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. There were those who immediately responded to the article, criticizing both Dr. King and the **Witness** for casting him in a favorable light.

It is to be expected that there will be some who take exception also to a statement made recently by the President of the American Lutheran Church, Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz:

> **"Many well-intentioned people have been critical of Dr. King, calling him a Communist. The time for indulging in this luxury is over. It is time for all who believe in justice under law to pray for and speak well of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference."**

That Lutherans should participate in the rampant character defamation against Dr. King is especially surprising. Every Lutheran child learns at an early age the words that the Great Reformer Martin Luther composed to explain the commandment THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOR: "We should fear and love God that we may not deceitfully belie, betray, slander, nor defame our neighbor; but defend him, speak well of him, and put the best construction on everything" that the neighbor says and does.

Without intending to solicit financial support for his work and without attempting to endorse his theology, **the Vanguard** would urge Dr. King's critics to stay their pens and keep back their words until they have considered the following propositions:

Institute Calls For Inner City "Plan"

The plan that the Church must use for an effectual ministry to our great cities is "the Christ Plan," the Reverend Paul Schulze said to those attending Valparaiso University's Institute on Human Relations July 22-24. Pastor Schulze, son of Dr. Andrew Schulze, LHRAA's Director of Research, serves in an inner city ministry in Portland, Oregon.

"The Christ Plan," he explained, begins with "incarnation. . . God's Son abandoned heaven and totally involved Himself, completely identified Himself with the beaten one, the lost. . .He simply came to be with people as one of them, to minister, to serve, not to be served. To share, to shoulder, to ease the burden, to let in hope, that men might be reclaimed for better things. . . .

"The style and strategy of this plan is one that penetrates and

A PASTOR LEADS HIS PEOPLE

When civil rights marchers in Chicago went to real estate offices in white communities to express protest against racially discriminating policies in real estate, a first target chosen was Gage Park. Members of Tabor Lutheran Church at 5302 S. Maplewood Avenue, an LCA congregation in the heart of the Gage Park area, received their copy of "Tabor Tidings" soon thereafter, and found in it this letter from their pastor:

PASTOR JOHN LIGNELL

Dear Friends in Christ:

America's big problem has now become our community's big problem.

We have been put to the test by the Chicago Freedom Movement.

The response of the people of our community has made headlines.

But have the headlines and newscasts really presented the true response? I do not believe so. For two and a half days this week I have spent most of my time conferring with religious and civic leaders of our community and Synod.

A majority of the people have responded well. They have remained sane and sober. They have not surrendered to all the demands made upon them, but they have been willing to keep their minds open and listen. They have shared their concern about their safety and stability, and the value of their property. This is good. They have also been mindful of the rights of others. This, too, is good.

For too long, we have avoided this problem. Now instead of becoming victims of despair, we are doing what we should have been working harder to do for years; organizations like the Gage Park Civic Association are working to become more than a shadow of the community. I cite this organization as one hope for the future because it has been willing; in fact, eager, to listen to the Church.

The Church should be heard, and the Church has a message. The angels descended to earth on the night that Christ was born and sang, "Peace, goodwill among men." This is what mankind needs, and our community is no exception.

I am heartened to observe that the people of our community who would stoop to trouble-making and rabble-rousing are a minority. If this neighborhood is ever ruined, it will be their doing. The N-

Vanguard

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Without intending to solicit financial support for his work and without attempting to endorse his theology, **the Vanguard** would urge Dr. King's critics to stay their pens and keep back their words until they have considered the following propositions:

1. When people peacefully gather for the purpose of "petition or remonstrance for redress of grievance," they are clearly within their constitutional rights. It is the sworn responsibility of government to protect people who are exercising those rights.
2. Dr. King has consistently urged such procedure as a morally right alternative to disorderly, violent protest. (Recall his 1963 expedition into an inflamed Birmingham Negro community, urging surrender of arms in order that non-violence might characterize their response to injustice.)
3. When violence has occurred at the site of non-violent demonstrations, it has chiefly been the demonstrators and, in some cases, those protecting them, who have been victims of violence. While the demonstrations themselves were non-violent, the response in such instances was violent.
4. The hate expressed in violent reactions against demonstrators has not been **engendered** by the demonstrations, but has been **aggravated** by our patterns of exclusiveness and segregation, and has been **exposed** in such demonstrations. Clearly then, it is this hate—or its passive companion, lovelessness—that needs to be confronted and dealt with rather than the demonstrators.
5. It is important to note that when the 1966 summer riots and violence first shook Chicago, they were instigated by Negroes—a relatively miniscule number, to be sure, but people who knew no other way to express their frustrations except explosively. But when Dr. King appeared on the scene, a Negro to whom other Negroes could entrust leadership, and when this man urged non-violent expression of protest against their plight, they listened.
6. At that point, rioting by Negroes ended. They had no need to express themselves through violence any longer. Their protests and needs were communicated by Dr. King's marches. There were signs of hope. But now, whites turned to violence—turning and burning of cars, throwing bottles and stones, even at nuns.
7. To discredit Martin Luther King, his marches and his non-violent procedure, and to deny the rights he calls for is to endanger his effectiveness and to undercut his leadership and his influence in the Negro community. If his procedure is not trusted or proves fruitless, the possibilities—and probabilities—that remain in this tense hour are irresponsible and violent leadership or impromptu and spontaneous explosive riots of protest. And those who participate in undercutting Dr. King—or who stand idly by when he needs active endorsement—will be partners in a grave crime against the man and against a city that might have been spared bloodshed and agonies.
8. To those who say, "Had the demonstrators not marched, the whites would not have responded in violence," the answer must be given: "Had the whites attended to the injustices, indignities and dire needs of the Negro, there would have been neither marches nor riots."
9. In any case, the Christian's call to love, to edify, to enrich and to forgive his neighbor is an unconditional call and has nothing to do with whether the person to be loved is himself loving, appreciative or Christian. Our call is to reflect the love of God Who gave His Son into death for us, in spite of our unloveableness.

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"The style and strategy of this plan is one that penetrates and identifies, discovers and sympathizes even with the 'enemy.' It shares and shoulders the other man's burdens and lot in life. . . I AM CALLED TO SEE TO IT THAT THE OTHER MAN'S CONDITION IS RICHER THAN IT WAS BECAUSE OF MY PRESENCE WITH HIM, NOT BECAUSE I AM MORE IMPORTANT THAN HE BUT BECAUSE MY REDEMPTIVE INVASION OF HIS CIRCUMSTANCES REMINDS US BOTH THAT GOD HAS RECLAIMED US ALL IN CHRIST JESUS."

Photo by Chris McNair

Pastor Schulze pointed out that this plan of Christ to invade human society demands that we "learn its language and sympathize with its problems. . .Sad to say, the church has too often abandoned the role of the prophet. She has gone into the palace, but she has lain on the king's lap. Determined to succeed and fearful lest she die, she has too often begged for favors from city hall and in the process has lost her leverage for moving the city fathers to necessary changes."

A readiness to follow Christ's plan, he concluded, "is a readiness to die. This," he explained, "means of course a readiness to abandon some of the forms and customs to which we have become accustomed—some of our idols. Only Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever. Everything else must change, or be changed."

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I am heartened to observe that the people of our community who would stoop to trouble-making and rabble-rousing are a minority. If this neighborhood is ever ruined, it will be their doing. The Negroes will not ruin it. They want to be assured that they have the right to live here, but they do not want another "ghetto." They want to know that they will not be forced to live only in certain neighborhoods forever.

I know that the civil rights movement is not without sin, and I have voiced criticism of some of their tactics, but the intelligent thing to do is to listen to them, not to close our ears or run away. We are not without sin, but their leaders are well advised to hear us and enter into sympathy with our concerns.

No one can predict the future, but I would say that with the efforts of people of good will now working toward solutions to these problems, our community will remain a good community. And as one leader in the community has said, "It is not enough to talk about preserving our community; we must work to improve it." Gage Park and her sister neighborhoods do not have to be "on the way down;" they can and should be "on the way up," and there are certainly possibilities that this can come about.

Looking at all of this from a practical point of view, we can say that our neighborhood is just one of many that will be so confronted in the next year or two. People talk about moving where the Negroes will never move in. The day can come when there will not be such a place.

Ours was the first community to be confronted by the Chicago Freedom Movement. In a sense, this makes us pioneers. The rest of the world is looking at these few square miles to see what we are going to do. It is tragic that the publicity has been given to the wrong people, but if we keep our heads, some day the world will know that the real heroes are the people of good will who are working quietly but effectively, to increase the reputation of this community, which has always been regarded as a good place to live. They are the ones, if you'll excuse the expression, "who shall overcome."

Sincerely, in Christ's work,
John E. Lignell, Pastor

Institute Asks "What About Children?"

The Reverend Ben Hill, educator, minister and editor from Tulsa, Oklahoma, described the plight of countless whose lives have run close to his own:

"There are children where we live who have never seen the stars, either imaginary or real. Shrouded in moral midnight from the beginning, they are children of the amoral. The cold, heartless, broken down, abandoned inner city strips humanity of its ideals; and the true nature of our fallen humanity is revealed. Here a rejected people—with its family completely destroyed as a result of slavery—is isolated with no guideline and no help, left with a sense of being unwanted. The sense of personal worth is destroyed. Frustrated ambition leads to defiance of social regulations—not a people who have lost controls, but a people who never had controls.

"I've seen them foundering in the dark—grasping, pushing, trying to rise—only to sink in the final despair of 'What's the use!'"

Pastor Hill told of children "steeped in chronic neglect. . . where we live there is a small army of these—waifs without warmth, babes without comfort, improperly fed—unwashed and unwanted. Should they live into a tomorrow, what kind of tomorrow will it be?"

Worse yet, Pastor Hill sees Negro children "in morbid exile. . . children sinking into tasteless

(cont'd on p. 4, col. 3)

REPORTS FROM

Chicago

By DAVID NELSON

The Reverend David Nelson has been pastor of Bethel Lutheran Church (LCA) on Chicago's west side for one year now. Bethel, about 70 years of age, had long served a largely white constituency. Since Pastor Nelson's arrival, program emphasis has shifted to serve also the more immediate neighbors of the church, who are for the most part Negro.

On a hot summer day in August, 1965, a small riot broke out in West Garfield Park, one of Chicago's West Side communities. Roots of the riot lay in the pressures of ghetto living—unemployment, poor and over-crowded housing, bad education, exploitation by merchants, and other ills. Immediate catalyst for this incident was a situation surrounding an all-white fire station in the heart of a Negro community.

Negroes had sought to integrate the station all summer to no avail. Then, on August 12, the trigger event occurred. The station's hook and ladder truck responded to a fire call, but reportedly because some of the firemen had been drinking, no one was on the steering end of the trailer. As the truck moved out, the trailer swung like a giant sickle, hitting and killing an innocent Negro bystander. The community, patience already stretched, erupted in violence.

With quick police action the incident was limited to the West Garfield Park area. A hastily formed "committee of thirteen" was chosen by the community to meet with the mayor to air grievances. A list of seven necessary changes to improve the community was

clergymen found that words would no longer suffice. The crowd, filled with promises made and broken, no longer would be stopped by words. In our community (West Garfield Park), the 1966 incidents brought scattered window-breaking, arson, and gunfire.

The churches in the community set up a twenty-four hour communications headquarters. Local pastors went out in groups of two, seeking to talk with people they knew on the streets, asking them to return home.

After one such vigil, I was driving home to the parsonage, and had just gotten out of the car when a single shot rang out, the bullet whistling overhead. I could see no one in the direction of the shot, and no more shots were fired.

Now, these weeks later, we can pause and ask—why did all this happen, what hadn't the churches in the community and beyond done, how are we responsible? To lay down any easy answers would be presumptuous and naive, but we can point to some things which have stood out in the church's actions and reactions.

First, the churches for the most part identified with the "status quo." When the community began

been in the form of "safe," paternalistic, "band-aid" projects which seldom strike at the real problems but more often at their symptoms. The solution doesn't lie so much in working with the end product of the ghetto as with changing of the ghetto pattern. The ghetto pattern forces Negroes, who make up twenty-five per cent of Chicago's population, to live in ten per cent of the geographic area. It forces rents by the same token to be higher in a ghetto slum than in fine white communities.

The whole pattern of segregation must be destroyed. In Christ every wall of separation has been removed, and when society erects walls, but separates men, it sins, and does injustice to God's humanity. These walls must be removed, whether they occur in housing, schools, employment, or in church.

But we can point with hope to some glimmerings on the horizon. In our community, the churches, now recognizing the tremendous work that needs to be done in the cities, have banded together in a cooperative called "The Christian Action Ministry." Projects in housing, employment, education, counselling, and other areas have been undertaken in an attempt to serve the whole community and not just those in church. As the community sees barriers between denominations falling as the churches began to witness to their one-ness in Christ, a ray of hope is given that other barriers including segregation, might fall, too.

What more must we do? The church must acknowledge the crisis that faces our American cities—and bend itself to serving the new day rather than preserving the old. No patching or surface work will do—it must completely retool itself. Bold experimentation in city ministry is needed. Worker

Ba

By WALTER HEYNE

Pastor Heyne is ing served churches his ministry, he acce in St. Louis and Detro new ministry, utilizi Lutheran Lay Training as a team.

PASTOR HEYNE

Compared to other citi parable size, Baltimore quiet this summer. New ing racial disturbances past weeks concerned the court injunction whi the National States Righ conduct anti-Negro rallie parks. The tone of th was so low that Mayor referred to "the inflamm grading, insulting tirade in by these alien agitat injunction—now extende the rest of the summer— on the riot-inciting nat

M RIOT

Baltimore

EYNE

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Photo by Harry Wilson

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By DAVID NELSON

The Reverend David Nelson has been pastor of Bethel Lutheran Church (LCA) on Chicago's west side for one year now. Bethel, about 70 years of age, had long served a largely white constituency. Since Pastor Nelson's arrival, program emphasis has shifted to serve also the more immediate neighbors of the church, who are for the most part Negro.

On a hot summer day in August, 1965, a small riot broke out in West Garfield Park, one of Chicago's West Side communities. Roots of the riot lay in the pressures of ghetto living—unemployment, poor and over-crowded housing, bad education, exploitation by merchants, and other ills. Immediate catalyst for this incident was a situation surrounding an all-white fire station in the heart of a Negro community.

Negroes had sought to integrate the station all summer to no avail. Then, on August 12, the trigger event occurred. The station's hook and ladder truck responded to a fire call, but reportedly because some of the firemen had been drinking, no one was on the steering end of the trailer. As the truck moved out, the trailer swung like a giant sickle, hitting and killing an innocent Negro bystander. The community, patience already stretched, erupted in violence.

With quick police action the incident was limited to the West Garfield Park area. A hastily formed "committee of thirteen" was chosen by the community to meet with the mayor to air grievances. A list of seven necessary changes to improve the community was agreed upon by the mayor and the committee, and action was promised by the city.

By the summer of 1966, one year later, NOT ONE of the seven items promised by the city had been fulfilled. Pressures in the ghetto community continued to build. There was no relief.

Again the hot days came, and with them, action. Catalyst this time in releasing the pressures of the ghetto in violence was centered around the opening of fire hydrants by youth in an attempt to cool off. An arrest attempt was made by police at a hydrant on the near West Side. A crowd gathered, reacting against the police. The reaction spread, this time not limiting itself to one community, but involving the whole West Side.

Store windows were broken at random, as groups of youth indiscriminately hit both friend and foe. Signs reading "Soul Brother," or "Blood Brother," went up on many windows as store owners attempted to avert the bricks.

As the situation grew hotter, Dr. Martin Luther King called clergymen together in an early attempt to calm the situation. The clergymen found that words would no longer suffice. The crowd, filled with promises made and broken, no longer would be stopped by words. In our community (West Garfield Park), the 1966 incidents brought scattered window-breaking, arson, and gunfire.

The churches in the community set up a twenty-four hour communications headquarters. Local pastors went out in groups of two, seeking to talk with people they knew on the streets, asking them to return home.

After one such vigil, I was driving home to the parsonage, and had just gotten out of the car when a single shot rang out, the bullet whistling overhead. I could see no one in the direction of the shot, and no more shots were fired.

Now, these weeks later, we can pause and ask—why did all this happen, what hadn't the churches in the community and beyond done, how are we responsible? To lay down any easy answers would be presumptuous and naive, but we can point to some things which have stood out in the church's actions and reactions.

First, the churches for the most part identified with the "status quo." When the community began changing, the new Negro residents were not welcomed by the churches. The church often became a symbol of rejection by whites, and thus the Negroes avoided them.

Secondly, in almost the same light, the church at large has been silent to the injustices suffered by the Negro community, injustices imposed upon them by the ghetto pattern. A Negro gang leader, speaking to church leaders about the causes of the riot, asked these leaders "How can you let us live like this down here?" The churches have most often spoken to the white community. But in such communication we have not wanted to discuss white exploitation of Negroes in the matter of housing rents, in stores, in credit, and in employment situations. When the Negro brother has been hurt the white Christian has largely been silent. Perhaps we have not chosen to see them but we have allowed these injustices to exist, and by our failure to protest we have given assent.

And thirdly, even when some attempts have been made by the church to move in on the problems, these attempts have often but more often at the [illegible] The solution doesn't lie so much in working with the end product of the ghetto as with changing of the ghetto pattern. The ghetto pattern forces Negroes, who make up twenty-five per cent of Chicago's population, to live in ten per cent of the geographic area. It forces rents by the same token to be higher in a ghetto slum than in fine white communities.

The whole pattern of segregation must be destroyed. In Christ every wall of separation has been removed, and when society erects walls, but separates men, it sins, and does injustice to God's humanity. These walls must be removed, whether they occur in housing, schools, employment, or in church.

But we can point with hope to some glimmerings on the horizon. In our community, the churches, now recognizing the tremendous work that needs to be done in the cities, have banded together in a cooperative called "The Christian Action Ministry." Projects in housing, employment, education, counselling, and other areas have been undertaken in an attempt to serve the whole community and not just those in church. As the community sees barriers between denominations falling as the churches began to witness to their one-ness in Christ, a ray of hope is given that other barriers including segregation, might fall, too.

What more must we do? The church must acknowledge the crisis that faces our American cities—and bend itself to serving the new day rather than preserving the old. No patching or surface work will do—it must completely retool itself. Bold experimentation in city ministry is needed. Worker priests, industrial missions, cell-group centers, apartment ministries, community organization work, are a part. More experiments are needed. Cadres of Christians need to be formed, people who are willing to live the ministry of reconciliation, to integrate by either moving back into the city or by welcoming Negro residents into their blocks.

It is too late to argue the question of integration. What is needed now is a whole-hearted commitment on the part of the church to deal with the crisis we face, whatever the cost in lost membership or offerings. The church must be willing to die to live. It is called to serve, to bend itself to mission.

The truth is plain. The ghetto pattern imposed by society on the Negro community is sin. Every barrier must be broken down, and is in Christ.

Another gang member said to the group of church leaders gathered at the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, "You have our lives in your hands. I hold you responsible!" We are responsible. We are our brother's keeper. Now we must act. Now.

Respite from Chicago heat *Photo by Chris McNair*

By WALTER HEYNE

Pastor Heyne is no newcomer to innercity concerns. Having served churches in white communities for twenty years of his ministry, he accepted posts in Negro community churches in St. Louis and Detroit. Now in Baltimore, he is developing a new ministry, utilizing young fulltime layworkers from the Lutheran Lay Training Institute and Prince of Peace Volunteers as a team.

PASTOR HEYNE

Photo by Harry Wilson

Compared to other cities of comparable size, Baltimore has been quiet this summer. News concerning racial disturbances during the past weeks concerned itself with the court injunction which forbade the National States Rights Party to conduct anti-Negro rallies in public parks. The tone of these rallies was so low that Mayor McKeldin referred to "the inflammatory, degrading, insulting tirades indulged in by these alien agitators." The injunction—now extended to cover the rest of the summer—was based on the riot-inciting nature of the rallies. Those who screamed "Free speech!" were reminded that freedom of speech does not include the right to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

Baltimore's Negro community has enjoyed relative peace this summer. Property damage has been minimal. One hesitates to "explain" this for fear one's analysis will blow up in one's face. After all, Baltimore has all the conditions which contribute to riotous outbreaks, yet we in Baltimore have good hopes that they will not happen.

Perhaps the best way to explain this is that there is a spirit of hope that something **is** happening and **will** happen. CORE's activity has contributed much to this mood of hopefulness. Open occupancy has been announced by several apartment house owners. Even numerous bars—including those on Baltimore's notorious "Block"—have been desegregated. CORE has established a Freedom School and has been active in unionizing certain previously neglected segments of the labor group. CORE members also deserve a great deal of credit for circulating through the adjoining Negro areas to encourage Negroes to avoid the Patterson Park vicinity while the anti-Negro rally was in progress.

Job Corps and Youth Employment activities have probably contributed something to stabilizing feelings in our city. It has been pointed out that Baltimore has a relatively low unemployment figure—3.5% in the overall population and 5.7% in the Negro group.

Much credit must be given Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin and acting police commissioner, Gen. Geo. M. Gelston. Both have left no doubt about their deep interest and concern. Gen. Gelston, known nationally as the commanding officer of the state militia which kept the peace in the Cambridge disturbances two years ago, has established a fine rapport with the Negro community. The Community Relations Committee of the police department, headed by a Negro, is on the job and attempts to attack each problem as it arises. His stationing of a large police force in and around Patterson Park was an announcement to the people of Baltimore that could not be misunderstood.

Activities of church leaders have been prominent in the news. Teams of clergymen are on call at all times to assist in quieting a troubled neighborhood. A chain telephone system has been set up by which one telephone call would establish contact with more than fifty clergymen in a matter of minutes. On the day of the Patterson Park rally, fifty-five clergymen—Episcopal, Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist—participated in an intensive three-hour door to door blanketing of the trouble area, while fifteen others remained on call at the police station that night, ready to go out immediately if needed.

We are thankful for the peace that was. But we dare not forget that the basic conditions which lead to frustration and hatred, and ultimately foment riots, still exist in Baltimore. As long as Negro education is second-rate, as long as unemployment for Negroes remains greater than unemployment in the white community, slum housing remains with its overcrowding and attendant evils, and as long as the majority of the white population maintain a prejudiced attitude towards Negroes, disturances will arise.

Christian leaders in the entire city must make it a matter of first concern to build a community in which each individual knows himself to be an important part and in which he enjoys the wealth of opportunities which our country has to offer. In the neighborhood in which St. Matthew Lutheran Church has established a center of Christian activity, staff members are actively engaged in the Neighborhood Action Group. George Staples, a Prince of Peace Volunteer, is in charge of a neighborhood survey. The purpose is the building of a better community through self-help.

Unity of purpose between civic officials, police, church leaders, and local civil rights groups and willingness on the part of all these to back up this purpose—with special emphasis on open housing—with direct action would seem to be the best hope for peace in any city. And Baltimore has this to a high degree.

CITIES

description, appraisal, comment by pastors who work there

Omaha

By R. JENKINS

Born and educated in the south, Pastor Jenkins' first parish *experiences were also derived from the south. On the scene in Omaha for almost a dozen years, as pastor of Hope Lutheran Church, he has seen not only the city grow, but also its racial problems, which finally exploded in Omaha's streets this summer.*

In 1957 Omaha was listed with the few metropolitan areas in the United States as an All-American City. The underlying reason for this distinction was the massive strides made by city government, changing from the home rule charter to the city planner type. Almost anyone would imagine that life in all All-American City would offer peace and satisfaction to its population.

Many of the citizens of Omaha were satisfied with the "status quo" but there was a minority of the minority that was content neither with the bad administration of city government nor the implementation of its laws. This group consisted mostly of young Negro adults who were unable to identify with the middle-class Negro that was being partially accepted by the whites. There were others that were unable to find ways to present their grievances to the constituted authority for proper consideration. This group was disgusted with the "Uncle Tom" activities of many self-appointed leaders or "representatives" from the Near North Side. These self-appointed leaders had much to say to the Governor, to

Unemployment played a major role in the precipitation of the unwholesome incidents of the past weeks in Omaha. If a person has to walk around with no money in his pockets, no job, and only a dark outlook for the future, there is the possibility that anything can happen. It must be remembered that such persons feel they have nothing to lose. When repeated attempts for employment are made and one is constantly given the "run around" a person is likely to become frustrated. This is the type that was accused (some found guilty) of malicious destruction of property, looting and vandalism on the night of July 4th and on three occasions since then, resulting in more than 136 arrests. To imagine that the brick throwing, window smashing and looting was not premeditated cannot be correct. One needs only to observe the windows that were repeatedly broken to discern that there were reasons behind the actions. It could be that they had been mistreated in these places of business. There is the possibility that their friends were insulted, or that they were denied work in those places because of the color of their skin.

of the Lutheran Church? These Negro youths are the ones that were bypassed, as Christians claimed to be busy doing mission work in far away lands. They were the ones that were ignored while the youth of suburbia were being saturated with the love of Christ and beautiful church buildings were being erected elsewhere. They were overlooked when jobs were available. These were shunned and shortchanged when recreational facilities were distributed; they were denied decent housing and the opportunity for a well rounded education. It seems as if the church for the most part forgot all about them.

Many of the Christians are apparently asleep, for most of them have done nothing in a constructive way to rectify matters. A few of them have had their little group meetings to condemn the Negro and to say that he has set back his cause for another twenty years and to say that his lot here is so much better than down south. But as for getting to the core of the matter and advancing to the forefront of the battle, to become involved in the real issues, few have stood up to be counted—nothing has been done. The Governor, the Mayor and the city fathers have made some feeble attempts to cover over the sores; but one does not cure a cancer by anointing it with butter.

It is time for the church to open its eyes and see that these people also need Jesus, not only the message of His redemption, but all the riches of His grace; which according to Luther's explanation of the fourth petition of our Lord's Prayer includes a decent home, peace, protection, employment and a fully developed and enjoyable life. As yet, those disturbed youth cannot

Cleveland

By RAY L. MIKLETHUN

Pastor Miklethun is a clergyman of the American Lutheran Church serving the National Lutheran Council as Lutheran Campus Pastor for greater Cleveland. He serves at Western Reserve University, Case Institute of Technology and Cleveland State University.

For a first-hand account of what happened in the Cleveland riot this summer, Pastor Miklethun interviewed the Reverend James Cook, LCA pastor serving the Hough community from his store-front quarters called "Shepherd of the Street."

The current outpouring of violence in metropolitan areas erupted in Cleveland on Monday, July 18 and continued through the end of the week. Four persons — all Negroes — were killed during the riots, three by unidentified bullets and the fourth by a small group of "vigilantes" from a nearby white neighborhood. The fire department found it necessary to send its men and equipment from fire to fire throughout four nights to quell the rash of "fired" buildings. Looting was widespread. Mayor Locher's request for National Guard assistance brought 1500 troops into the city by Tuesday evening. For the next week the central portion of the city's East Side was transformed by the martial appearance of troop trucks, patroling jeeps and machine guns. Bars and night clubs in the affected area were closed and street lights along the main artery of the area called Hough (rhymes with "rough") were dimmed.

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compounded by a nearly total breakdown of code enforcement and inferior service in garbage collection; of discrimination in employment; of overcrowded, inadequate schools; of local grocers glutting the price of their merchandise and raising prices further to coincide with the receipt of ADC checks in the area; and of such frequent rotation of police officers that any personal relationship or growth in understanding is rendered impossible. The mood of the residents is summed up in the comment of a woman who, when asked if she was angry at her incarceration by police without formal arrest, said, "Angry? . . . I was mad!" The plight of ghetto residents is sounded in the cry of a young man, "Who will protect us from our protectors?" One sensed that he meant more than the police.

There is evidence that some segments of the city are responding to what has been called an "SOS." Housing inspectors are being assigned to Hough, local youths have been employed for a massive clean-up campaign, several church

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Many of the citizens of Omaha were satisfied with the "status quo" but there was a minority of the minority that was content neither with the bad administration of city government nor the implementation of its laws. This group consisted mostly of young Negro adults who were unable to identify with the middle-class Negro that was being partially accepted by the whites. There were others that were unable to find ways to present their grievances to the constituted authority for proper consideration. This group was disgusted with the "Uncle Tom" activities of many self-appointed leaders or "representatives" from the Near North Side. These self-appointed leaders had much to say to the Governor, to the Mayor and to the City Council on how to stop the uprisings; but before this time they had had nothing to offer and had really not addressed themselves to real problems of the community. Police brutality—in language and action—was one of the chief topics of talk on the Near North Side. In the hope of rectifying matters, a Police Community Relations Organization was organized. The Executive Secretary of the Mayor's Human Relations Board was responsible for the new group's activities under the chairmanship of a Negro attorney. When complaints were brought to this group, defense of the police department and justification for its activities and methods were attempted by the Chief of Police or other high ranking officers.

Unemployment played a major role in the precipitation of the unwholesome incidents of the past weeks in Omaha. If a person has to walk around with no money in his pockets, no job, and only a dark outlook for the future, there is the possibility that anything can happen. It must be remembered that such persons feel they have nothing to lose. When repeated attempts for employment are made and one is constantly given the "run around" a person is likely to become frustrated. This is the type that was accused (some found guilty) of malicious destruction of property, looting and vandalism on the night of July 4th and on three occasions since then, resulting in more than 136 arrests. To imagine that the brick throwing, window smashing and looting was not premeditated cannot be correct. One needs only to observe the windows that were repeatedly broken to discern that there were reasons behind the actions. It could be that they had been mistreated in these places of business. There is the possibility that their friends were insulted, or that they were denied work in those places because of the color of their skin.

It is not always easy to say just which is the right way to accomplish a goal. The rock throwing was not the proper one. But as I stood on the corner of 24th and Lake streets in the heart of the Omaha "ghetto" at 3:30 a.m. on August 1st, attempting to curb the violence, and when I saw angry cops stop and search every automobile with as many as three Negro youth in it, and saw them run their cruisers in front of me and demand that I go another way, when I was doing nothing contrary to the law, I could begin to understand.

What had the church in Omaha been doing before these things happened? Has it been the real salt of the community? Have the needs of these young people been the concern of the white brother bypassed, as Christians claimed to be busy doing mission work in far away lands. They were the ones that were ignored while the youth of suburbia were being saturated with the love of Christ and beautiful church buildings were being erected elsewhere. They were overlooked when jobs were available. These were shunned and shortchanged when recreational facilities were distributed; they were denied decent housing and the opportunity for a well rounded education. It seems as if the church for the most part forgot all about them.

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It is time for the church to open its eyes and see that these people also need Jesus, not only the message of His redemption, but all the riches of His grace; which according to Luther's explanation of the fourth petition of our Lord's Prayer includes a decent home, peace, protection, employment and a fully developed and enjoyable life. As yet, these disturbed youth cannot see why their Christ must meet with them in a dilapidated shack in the slums, while He meets with his white brother in some of the finest of stately structures elsewhere. The church must realize that the love of Christ must be put to action; that no longer can we say that we love the neighbor in the heart without manifesting that love in our words and conduct. The subtle discrimination and the open segregation must go! Members of the church can no longer divorce themselves from the problems and needs of the community and hide behind some pious sounding rationalizing to avoid doing their duty as Christian citizens. What has happened was bad, but unless we shoulder our responsibilities as the children of God it can be far worse.

Photo by Geo. Station

Pastor Jenkins with Earnest Chambers, barber and militant civil rights leader in Omaha. They both appeared in a new documentary, A TIME FOR BURNING, a Lutheran produced film describing an Omaha Lutheran parish's struggles with the racial problem.

Described sometimes as a "listening ministry", Pastor Cook's SHEPHERD OF THE STREET quarters are only a short distance from where Cleveland riot erupted.

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The sequence of events that triggered the riot is not clear. No evidence has been presented by anyone to support the Cuyahoga County Grand Jury's conclusion that the riot was "planned, precipitated and executed" by communist agitators. Even the police under-cover agents who infiltrated local radical groups could offer no evidence that these organizations had either planned or exploited the riots.

A series of bitter, hateful and uncouth rebuffs to Negroes precipitated the violence. The attempt of a young woman to collect funds in a tavern for funeral flowers for a twenty-three year old prostitute friend who had died of a heart attack was met by foul words from a white owner and an order to leave the premises. Later a Negro patron at that same tavern asked for a glass of water with his drink. His request was denied with a curse, because he was a "nigger." When a sign was posted on the bar's door reading, "no niggers allowed," crowds began to gather and mill outside. Police were summoned and soon the riot began.

Nonetheless, the stupidity of attributing the events of these four days in July to any single incident or to the efforts of any organized group is patent to anyone who knows the Hough ghetto at all. The truth is that this area has been so neglected by the city's administration and has experienced so many broken promises that even among those who deplored the violence, there was a tacit nod of consent.

Angered and disappointed by the Grand Jury report, local civil rights groups are presently conducting a review of the riots. The drearily consistent story that emerged from the first night's testimony was of intolerable housing conditions, compounded by a nearly total breakdown of code enforcement and inferior service in garbage collection; of discrimination in employment; of overcrowded, inadequate schools; of local grocers glutting the price of their merchandise and raising prices further to coincide with the receipt of ADC checks in the area; and of such frequent rotation of police officers that any personal relationship or growth in understanding is rendered impossible. The mood of the residents is summed up in the comment of a woman who, when asked if she was angry at her incarceration by police without formal arrest, said, "Angry? . . . I was mad!" The plight of ghetto residents is sounded in the cry of a young man, "Who will protect us from our protectors?" One sensed that he meant more than the police.

There is evidence that some segments of the city are responding to what has been called an "SOS." Housing inspectors are being assigned to Hough, local youths have been employed for a massive clean-up campaign, several church groups are responding with support for job training and housing programs. The question, however, is whether any long-term commitment to the irradication of the conditions that spawn riots is present.

When this writer asked the Reverend James Cook, pastor of Shepherd of the Street Lutheran Mission (LCA) and one of the most knowledgeable local Lutherans, what Lutherans had been doing to express their concern for the city and its ghettos, his reply was direct and short, "Nothing." That point can hardly be over-exaggerated. Lutherans have done almost nothing to ameliorate racial tension in their own congregations. During the past two years, a time of continuing racial tension, the local chapter of LHRAA went defunct. Members transfer from one congregation to another to escape life together with Negroes. Currently, a mission congregation is conveniently being established to provide an alternate church home for disgruntled members of one parish in a "changing neighborhood." In some cases parochial schools provide a means for Lutherans to escape integrated public education.

In only a few and isolated cases are Lutherans joining with fellow Christians to respond to the crisis. The pathos of Lutheranism in this city is not its ill will but its blindness. Have we been establishing religious societies on the basis of more than faith and baptism, preaching a truncated, pseudo-gospel, unable to realize the fellowship of all believers in our own quarters? If that is the case, perhaps we can not afford a glimpse at the larger community. That would remind us of our own faithlessness.

Editor's Note:

A Missouri Synod "Gospel Center," serving the Hough Area, was organized in 1937. Its dedicated pastor, the Reverend Oswald Volz, has just retired from his ministry this summer.

The work at the Center was begun about thirty years ago. In 1965 its communicant membership was reported as 60. The Center seems most effective in its outreach to children, gathering them for Sunday School and Baptism.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following release from the Chicago Urban League seemed worthwhile sharing and with the Urban League's kind permission is reproduced here:*

The Human Relations Beat . . .

By Connie Seals, Specialist
Community Education Dept.
CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

Bill Berry, Executive Director of the Chicago Urban League, likes to share some of the thoughtful mail he receives from time-to-time. The following letter from Eugene Winslow, who lives on Chicago's South Side, came to Berry along with Winslow's contribution to the League.

"Dear Mr. Berry,

"Here is a thought which you, with your keen sense of humor, might appreciate.

"Today there is much anger and tension over the racial situation even though this situation has existed for hundreds of years, and is improving now at a faster rate than ever before. This apparent contradiction puzzled me until I pictured the situation as one person with his foot on another person's neck. This situation causes no tension as long as the supine person doesn't attempt to get up.

"But when the attempt to get up without disturbing the relationship of foot to neck is made, it means that both persons must expend much energy and effort. It is even harder to try to allow the prone person to get up by inches. It is particularly hard on both persons at about the half-way up position. The erect person is apt to develop severe cramps in that one leg, and the rising person's pain moves from his neck to his back — or lower.

"Naturally, both parties are apt to get very angry at this point. And, unfortunately, it is practically impossible to shake hands at this point without the erect person losing his balance — unless it's a very perfunctory handshake. (Try it.)

"It appears to me that the obvious solution for both would be a quick removal of the foot from the neck. The already erect person would then be free to use both legs to accomplish things which, as a one-legged man, he found impossible to do. (Need I name them?) And the formerly prone person could then have the opportunity to make positive contributions to the relationship as a man instead of the negatives as a worm (the prone posi-

Speakers Challenge Church (continued)

(continued from p. 1)

sycophancy or into silent hatred of the pale world about them—in mocking distrust of everything—or wasting itself into a bitter cry: 'Why did God make me an outcast?'"

PASTOR HILL *McNair*

Will he wilt "in resignation," Dr. Hill continued, "or lash out at Whitey as one beating his unavailing palms against a stone?. . .and he reasons in his frustration (as Channing Tobias once put it): 'If you discriminate against me because I am bad I can reform and be good. If you discriminate against me because I am ignorant, I can learn. If you discriminate against me because of my color you discriminate against me because of something God Himself gave me and over which I have no control.' "

Dr. Hill's summating plea contended that we must see the Negro child—for in a sense he is a symbol of all his people—as a person with a yearning heart, with an impulsive hunger to be a part of the humanity from which he is segregated

Institute Focuses on Housing

Dr. Robert Marshall appealed to the Scriptures and asked Christians to re-think their position on a responsible stance towards government in this present day.

"Christians trace their heritage. . . to a people who did not submit to the outrages of Pharaoh but followed Moses in taking their complaints to court and eventually deserted their slave labor for freedom. . .We dare not pass by the prophets who called for radical changes. . .We remember Jesus who went about doing good, though it led to crucifixion. We remember St. Paul who continued his ministry even when he fell afoul of the law and became an offense to the government."

Dr. Marshall, President of the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, pointed out that in this country, "where Christians are part of a people who rule, they are obliged to assert their power on the side of good. They cannot withdraw, as though withdrawal were the pattern God approves. Withdrawal would mean a commitment to anarchy or tyranny as non-Christians might decide."

Dr. Marshall suggested that those who oppose civil rights legislation on the ground that "you can't legislate morality" should be continually reminded that, "We have been legislating morality since the beginning. I trust we have not been legislating immorality, or not wanting to. But there is a chance that we in our day are coming very close to it by having laws that perpetuate discrimination."

"The problem with housing has developed in America with respect to those people who have worked and have accumulated the wealth to buy better houses, but who cannot because of race or nationality. . .

Institute Presses for Confrontation

Speaking to the 1966 Institute Banquet, William Ellis, New York attorney and newest member of the LHRAA Board of Directors, served notice that the Church dare not tolerate a self-righteous feeling that suggests that court actions and legislative developments have guaranteed everything that is really important in achieving human rights and decency, and now we have only to sit and wait for the benefits to accrue.

Attorney Ellis, a member of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church in America and a churchman in his own right, urged that the church ought not only speak, but needs desperately to listen too, and to listen to individuals. "This is the day in which the Negro male is saying to this country: 'I know that I'm a man at this time and I know that I have dignity. . .

ATTY. ELLIS *McNair*

Community Education Dept.
CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE

Bill Berry, Executive Director of the Chicago Urban League, likes to share some of the thoughtful mail he receives from time-to-time. The following letter from Eugene Winslow, who lives on Chicago's South Side, came to Berry along with Winslow's contribution to the League.

"Dear Mr. Berry,

"Here is a thought which you, with your keen sense of humor, might appreciate.

"Today there is much anger and tension over the racial situation even though this situation has existed for hundreds of years, and is improving now at a faster rate than ever before. This apparent contradiction puzzled me until I pictured the situation as one person with his foot on another person's neck. This situation causes no tension as long as the supine person doesn't attempt to get up.

"But when the attempt to get up without disturbing the relationship of foot to neck is made, it means that both persons must expend much energy and effort. It is even harder to try to allow the prone person to get up by inches. It is particularly hard on both persons at about the half-way up position. The erect person is apt to develop severe cramps in that one leg, and the rising person's pain moves from his neck to his back — or lower.

"Naturally, both parties are apt to get very angry at this point. And, unfortunately, it is practically impossible to shake hands at this point without the erect person losing his balance — unless it's a very perfunctory handshake. (Try it.)

"It appears to me that the obvious solution for both would be a quick removal of the foot from the neck. The already erect person would then be free to use both legs to accomplish things which, as a one-legged man, he found impossible to do. (Need I name them?) And the formerly prone person could then have the opportunity to make positive contributions to the relationship as a man instead of the negatives as a worm (the prone position) or as an animal (the half-way up position).

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DR. KRETZMANN *McNair*

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Published by the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America.

EDITOR PRO TEM.: K. Lutze

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LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Officers: President, Rev. Clemonce Sabourin; Vice-President, Rev. Joseph Ellwanger; Secretary, Mrs. Georgia Falwell; Treasurer, Mr. H. Dixon Hemma. Other board members: Rev. Robert Graetz, Mr. William Ellis, Dr. Robert Miller, Rev. W. L. Herzfeld.

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PASTOR HILL *McNair*

Will he wilt "in resignation," Dr. Hill continued, "or lash out at Whitey as one beating his unavailing palms against a stone?. . .and he reasons in his frustration (as Channing Tobias once put it): 'If you discriminate against me because I am bad I can reform and be good. If you discriminate against me because I am ignorant, I can learn. If you discriminate against me because of my color you discriminate against me because of something God Himself gave me and over which I have no control.' "

Dr. Hill's summating plea contended that we must see the Negro child—for in a sense he is a symbol of all his people—as a person with a yearning heart, with an impulsive hunger to be a part of the humanity from which he is segregated but to which he belongs.

Institute Points to Lateness of Hour

President of Valparaiso University, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann, was keynote speaker for the Institute. With his topic, "The Hour is Late," he showed that our troubled world is largely the result of people having cut themselves from their roots. In an effort to serve self, men have chosen to disclaim and set aside their spiritual, moral and social heritage. "The ambition, the fear, the hatred, the ignorance which produced these hours in this year are now moving toward the horizon of history. The hour IS late!"

As he continued to discuss today's world, with its "built-in injustices" crying out, Dr. Kretzmann observed, "a part of that world is already done, and another part is dying and being born on the streets of Chicago, Cleveland, New York and Jacksonville. Let it die! Let it die just as quickly and just as quietly as possible. I accept with joy the fact that the hour is late. . .time is running out. . .God is in all of this."

This, he asserted, is the forgotten truth: that this world is still God's and that if light is to be found in the midst of the darkness, it is to be found in Jesus Christ and the life He gives to men even in this late hour.

responsible stance towards government in this present day.

"Christians trace their heritage. . . to a people who did not submit to the outrages of Pharaoh but followed Moses in taking their complaints to court and eventually deserted their slave labor for freedom. . .We dare not pass by the prophets who called for radical changes. . .We remember Jesus who went about doing good, though it led to crucifixion. We remember St. Paul who continued his ministry even when he fell afoul of the law and became an offense to the government."

Dr. Marshall, President of the Illinois Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, pointed out that in this country, "where Christians are part of a people who rule, they are obliged to assert their power on the side of good. They cannot withdraw, as though withdrawal were the pattern God approves. Withdrawal would mean a commitment to anarchy or tyranny as non-Christians might decide."

Dr. Marshall suggested that those who oppose civil rights legislation on the ground that "you can't legislate morality" should be continually reminded that, "We have been legislating morality since the beginning. I trust we have not been legislating immorality, or not wanting to. But there is a chance that we in our day are coming very close to it by having laws that perpetuate discrimination."

"The problem with housing has developed in America with respect to those people who have worked and have accumulated the wealth to buy better houses, but who cannot because of race or nationality. . .

DR. MARSHALL *McNair*

Think of the familiar story of the Good Samaritan. The story embarrassed the faithful of Jesus' day because a Samaritan would not have been accepted as a neighbor. Yet one of the faithful found himself befriended by a Samaritan. The Samaritan had become a neighbor by showing mercy, in spite of the prejudice that had prevented him from living next door. Because of Jesus' teaching, the Christian is always haunted by the possibility that God will make somebody his neighbor whom he does not recognize nor accept as a neighbor. Then the Christian would be living the 'bad life,' and should expect judgment and correction from God."

LHRAA Board of Directors, served notice that the Church dare not tolerate a self-righteous feeling that suggests that court actions and legislative developments have guaranteed everything that is really important in achieving human rights and decency, and now we have only to sit and wait for the benefits to accrue.

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ATTY. ELLIS *McNair*

This means that I'm not interested in any more paternalism. I'm interested in working. But if we work, we work as equals.' "

He continued, "How much must this man do to prove to you that he is a man? Must he fight in Viet Nam? Well, of course 18% of the men who are fighting now in Viet Nam are Negroes. Must he fight in wars? is that it? Must he pay taxes? What must he do? Must he, in order to prove his manhood, go into the streets with guns?"

He added that although churches at the national level have said the right things, it remains now for church members at local levels to get the message across, and if today's "young men and young women who grow up in a Christian home observe total, utter irrelevance and at points cowardice in the church," they will "see no reason why they should remain a part of it."

Is it status that we are really all concerned about? Mr. Ellis wondered. Are the important questions where we live, with whom do we associate? "Does our status depend on this or do we derive our dignity and status from the fact that we are recipients of the love of Christ and this cannot be taken from us?" How we answer this will determine whether or not we as individuals can speak to our day, showing in our conduct that we care about other people—all people, very much.

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CHURCHES

Honest Catholic Can't Back A Segregationist---Hallinan

AC 10/6/66

By MARGARET HURST

Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan declared Wednesday that no honest Catholic can support a segregationist, obviously referring to segregationist gubernatorial candidate Lester Maddox.

The Atlanta Archbishop said it is the policy of the Archdiocese neither to support nor denounce political candidates or parties, but he said: "This is not politics. It is morality."

In a clear reference to Maddox's candidacy, Archbishop Hallinan said the issue of segregation was not introduced by the church but has been introduced "as the official stand, name and policy of a political candidate and the movement that has suddenly espoused him."

He said the teaching of the church cannot "fail the people of God by silence in moral issues."

When asked if his statement applied to Maddox, the Archbishop said: "It applies to any political candidate with that stand (segregation)."

There are approximately 83,000 Catholics in Georgia.

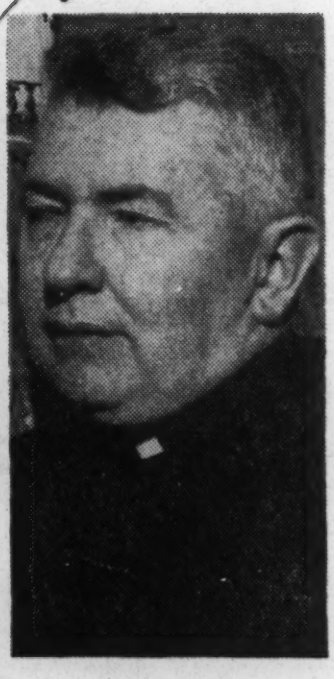
In an editorial which appears Thursday in the Georgia Bulletin, the archdiocesan newspaper, the Archbishop wrote:

"As 1966, ends, it is time for Catholics to look again, to look closely and often, at the racial teaching of their church. Protestant and Jewish congregations, we presume, are doing the same."

He said that when white Catholics of the Archidiocese of Atlanta accepted and supported the integration of schools, hospitals and other church-related programs in 1962-63, they were "loyally responding to a basic Christian norm—justice."

Archibishop Hallinan said that now, four years later, events have occurred which have

Continued on Page 15, Column 5



'GRIM LOSSES'
Archbishop Hallinan

Archbishop Forbids Voting for Racist

Continued from Page 1

"shaken the emotional core of the problem for people of many faiths, both white and Negro."

He continued:

"The progress made, Negro moderation, non-violence as a tactic, necessary laws and the enriching experience of life based on quality, not color — these have been gains.

"But the continued deprivation of many Negroes, both open and hidden discrimination toward them, the growing Negro discouragement over white complacency, injustices that provide ready fuel for rioting and outbreaks by racist Negro leaders, the discovery that the North knows even less than the South about racial justice, the growth of the Klan and the slogans and idols of political segregations—these are grim losses."

Archbishop Hallinan said that since World War II there has been no excuse for any Catholic to be unaware that Catholics have a "special obligation of justice."

He said:

"The American Catholic knows where his Church stands.

"The honest Catholic cannot support segregation in any way.

"The true Catholic cannot be a segregationist."

The Religious Newsweekly

ELSA KRUUSE, Editor

CHURCHES (C + daily)

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

This week's significant events in the cooperative church movement
—in the community, the nation and the world.

38RNW10/18/66 Tuesday, October 18, 1966

National Council Presses Efforts to Save CDGM

The president and the general secretary of the National Council of Churches have urged the Office of Economic Opportunity "to allow nothing to prevent the continued operation" of the Child Development Group in Mississippi. In a telegram addressed to OEO director R. Sargent Shriver, Bishop Reuben H. Mueller and Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy gave their assurances "of our belief in the integrity of CDGM as one of the groups which is representative of the people in Mississippi whom your program is intended to help."

The OEO cut off public funds from the two-year-old CDGM, the largest Head Start program in the country, on grounds of irregular fiscal procedures. This was challenged by the church agencies, which had helped establish the CDGM, in statements issued earlier by the Program Board of the NCC Division of Christian Life and Mission.

Acting on the request of the Executive Committee of the NCC General Board, which met last week, copies of the National Council's plea were also sent to President Lyndon Johnson; Vice President Hubert Humphrey; the Rev. James McRee, chairman of CDGM; Walter Reuther, chairman of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty; Senators Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania and Jacob Javits of New York; and members of the Inter-Religious Committee Against Poverty.

"On the basis of information available to us from six of our member denominations directly involved in the Christian ministry in Mississippi, we believe that the CDGM has rendered an unusually effective service during the past two years," said the National Council's message.

"Race and the Elections" Resolution Issued by NCC Division

"Profound concern" at mounting evidence of the exploitation of racial tensions in current political campaigns was voiced last week by the Program Board of the Division of Christian Life and Mission of the National Council of Churches. In a resolution adopted October 6, the Board cited the "desperate need for moral leadership" at a time when "backlash threatens to poison national political life."

The Program Board authorized its chairman, Dr. Norman J. Baugher, who heads the General Brotherhood Board of the Church of the Brethren, to organize a National Committee for Moral Integrity on Racial Issues in the November elections. In addition, it charged this committee with preparing "a basic clarification of the moral issues involved and mobilizing all available resources to bring these issues before churchmen, political leadership and the public at large."

The Board further resolved that this committee should present its analysis of the issue to the campaign ethics committee of each major political party, to Congressional candidates, and to the President of the United States.

"The utter urgency of creating a more sane and morally sensitive approach to race" was highlighted in the resolution, which called for making maximum use of the National Council's and its constituents' resources.

The Program Board also resolved to request the Executive Committee of the NCC General Board to draw up and distribute messages alerting them to the exploitation of racial tensions to all member communions, for circulation among their membership prior to the November elections.

Indiana Council Holds Statewide Legislative Institutes

For two weeks, beginning October 17, the Indiana Council of Churches has scheduled legislative institutes in 13 communities in the state. Among the issues to be discussed which are expected to come before the 1967 State Legislature are repeal of capital punishment, social welfare and mental health proposals, correctional reforms, the "implied consent" bill, and parimutual betting.

Planned by the Council's Department of Legislation and Civic Affairs, the institutes will enable churchmen and legislative candidates to study all sides of each issue. This is the first time, said department chairman, the Rev. Ernest A. Rueter of Gary, that these briefing sessions have been carried into the communities. Previously the Council has sponsored a one-day seminar in Indianapolis.

Among the many prominent leaders of the sessions will be the Rev. Dr. Grover L. Hartman, executive secretary of the Council; two State Representatives; a former mayor of Indianapolis; three attorneys; social welfare and civil rights leaders; representatives of community services and many others, in addition to clergymen expert in their fields.

Following those being held this week in Hammond, Kokomo, Batesville and Lafayette, institutes will be conducted from Oct. 24-27 in Jeffersonville, Evansville, Fort Wayne and Terre Haute.

Ohio Governor Proclaims "Combat World Hunger Month"

A proclamation was issued on Oct. 13 by Governor James A. Rhodes of Ohio declaring: "Whereas, through the Combat World Hunger Campaign of Church World Service-CROP, funds are used in helping people overcome the root causes of hunger...I do designate October 23 through November 24, 1966 as Combat World Hunger Month in Ohio."

The Governor cited the fact that the "gap between those who have and those who have not is widening, and that the common tradition of the three major religious faiths in America is to assist those in need," as reasons for his proclamation.

"The Wonderful World of Ohio," he stated, "along with the rest of our nation, has been abundantly blessed in that our productive capacity and our great agricultural industry is capable of producing more than our domestic needs require."

The proclamation urged citizens "to share in this program and to help provide the hungry people of the world an opportunity to help themselves."

San Diego Council Holds Open Forum on Controversial Proposition

Churchmen and other interested persons in the metropolitan area of San Diego last week heard both sides of a controversial anti-obscenity initiative which will appear on November ballots in California. Under the auspices of the Social Concerns Committee of the San Diego Council of Churches, they attended two public dialogue meetings at which Proposition 16 was aired.

Chairman of the discussions on Oct. 14 was the Rev. James Rees Hadley, secretary of Christian Social Concerns of the San Diego District of The Methodist Church. The following day, the session was chaired by the Rev. R. Scott Haasarud, pastor of Shepherd of the Valley Lutheran Church in Spring Valley.

The "No" position at both sessions was presented by the Rev. Lester Kinsolving, legislative chairman of the Council. The issue involves a question of the censorship of obscene literature. As it is now written, its objectors contend, even the Bible could be censored if the Proposition passes.

The death of the Rev. Dr. Robert W. Spike at 42, victim of a murderer on the campus of Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, on October 17, profoundly shocked and saddened the staff of the National Council of Churches, which he served until a year ago as director of the Commission on Religions and Race.

Speaking of his death, General Secretary Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy declared: "Robert Spike was a Christian minister who practiced what he preached. His life was committed single-mindedly to the service of God and man. His contribution in recent years to the cause of racial justice has been a landmark in the application of the Christian Gospel to an area of crying need in our society. The ministry of the church in the world has been immeasurably enriched by his courageous life.

In Brief: Church World Service has shipped six Quonset-type housing units to Haiti for those made homeless by Hurricane Inez. Also airlifted to the stricken country were 100,000 pounds of dried milk, flour, cornmeal and wheat and 1,250 blankets.

--- The Sixth Annual Conference on Religious Leadership for Peace conducted by the Northern California Council of Churches will be held Nov. 13-15 at Asilomar, Pacific Grove. One of the major speakers on "New Perspectives in Foreign Policy" will be the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, a former president of the National Council of Churches.

--- A service of the Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis is Dial-A-Movie. By phoning its number, parents are advised whether current films are appropriate for family viewing. Classifications are based on a consensus of leading religious and non-sectarian rating agencies.

--- Dr. H. Conrad Hoyer, associate director of the NCC Department for Councils of Churches, will be a resource leader at the Midwest Pow-Wow for Church Council executives at Green Lake,Wisconsin, Nov. 11-13. Other sessions are planned for the Northeast, South Central and West Coast areas. Chairman of the Midwest meeting is Ellis H. Dana, executive vice-president of the Wisconsin Council of Churches, which sponsors this session.

--- The Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, pastor emeritus of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, was installed on Oct. 16 as president of New York Theological Seminary. Attending the ceremony, among others, were Dr. John C. Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, president of the Lutheran Church in America.

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CHURCHES

DISCUSSION GUIDES

for use in preparation for the

CONFERENCE ON PEOPLE, RELIGION, AND A CHANGING VIRGINIA

John Marshall Hotel

Richmond, Virginia

November 28-29, 1966

PRE-CONFERENCE DISCUSSION GROUPS

A Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia, sponsored by the Virginia Council on Human Relations and a large group of the state's responsible religious leaders, will be held in Richmond on November 28-29, 1966.

The purpose of the conference is to provide the first statewide occasion for Virginians of various religious persuasions to work together in light of their common Judaeo-Christian heritage toward constructive solutions for critical human problems in a time of significant social change.

It is anticipated that 1,500 Virginians will participate in the conference. It is hoped that many other Virginians will participate in both pre-conference and post-conference discussions of the conference themes in their communities. This guide has been prepared to help persons in communities who desire to participate in discussion groups.

Discussion groups in a community may be formed in different ways: as an inter-faith group, as a group of men and/or women in a congregation, as a campus group of students and/or faculty, etc. If you do not know of a group in your community, consult your religious leader. He may need your help in organizing a local group.

This guide provides for four or more meetings of discussion groups. If meetings are to be held weekly, they will need to begin not later than mid-October. Groups should plan to meet for an hour-and-a-half or two hours, when possible.

It would help to have at least one person in each group who plans to participate in the conference itself, so he could bring to the conference the fruit of your discussions and back to the group the fruit of the conference. If your group raises a question which it is particularly eager for the conference to deal with, please send that question, as early as possible, to Conference Headquarters, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219.

I. The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community

(Conference Speaker: Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.)

1. Read and discuss these Biblical passages: Genesis 1:27; Deuteronomy 10:12--11:1; Malachi 2:10; Isaiah 58:1-12; Mark 12:28-34.

2. What theological bases for social concern do the three major religious traditions in America hold in common? What, if anything, is distinctive in each tradition?

3. What are the dangers involved when religious groups as groups get involved through public pronouncements, lobbying, etc., in public affairs? What are the dangers involved when they do not get involved?

4. What are the principal barriers to effective social action by religious individuals and groups? How can those barriers be overcome?

5. Comment on these statements;

   A. "God created but a single man . . . so that no one should say to his fellow-man, 'My ancestor was greater than yours.'"

   Mishnah, Sanhedrin 4:5

   B. "The unfinished task of securing full civil and human rights for the American Negro is still the most urgent social challenge that confronts religious leaders. All the pretensions of American democracy and of the Jewish and Christian heritage to a concern with brotherhood and the sanctity of the individual are tested in our response to this problem. The voice of religion should be heard proclaiming most persuasively and firmly those insights of American faith that brand prejudice and inhumanity as sinful. . . ."

   Commission on Peace and Justice,
   Central Conference of American Rabbis

   C. "Discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and as such injurious to human rights, regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity. . . .

   "We can show our Christian charity by a quiet and courageous determination to make the quest for racial harmony a matter of personal involvement. We must go beyond slogans and generalizations about color, and realize that all of us are human beings, men, women, and children, all sharing the same human dignity and nature, with the same desires, hopes and feelings. . . ."

   Catholic Bishops of the U. S.

D. "In a world society in which hate is institutionalized in war, and self-interest in our web of economic relations, we can hardly survive unless we also institutionalize the moral needs of man -- for community, for compassion, for dedication and, let us not fear the word, for love. . . .

"As Christians, how often we pray that the Holy Spirit 'will remake the face of the earth.' Yet how clottish or dull we are at the suggestion that we too have a part to play in this transformation and that we can hardly hope to storm heaven from the second swimming pool or the third car. Our new resources are, if we will, the instruments of a new society and a new liberation. But God does not act without us. We shall not recreate our earth by default. On the contrary, we shall destroy it. In the era of nuclear plenty and nuclear destruction 'we must love each other or we must die.'"

Barbara Ward

E. "The massive indifference of the ordinary white citizen of good intentions is the moral equivalent of the perfidy of the white racists. The profound apathy of the white 'moderates' is ethically tantamount to the radical impudence of the white racists."

William Stringfellow

II. The Role of the Religious Community in the Struggle for Fair Housing

(Conference Speaker: Father John F. Cronin, S. S., Assistant Director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington.)

1. What is the housing situation in your community: the condition of housing, racial patterns of residence, the coverage of fair housing laws, if any, etc.?

   (For help in gathering information, call on knowledgeable professionals, civil rights and other public interest organizations, local, state, and federal government personnel.

   (Reports 1 and 2 on Housing Patterns in Richmond are available from the Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219. Reports are free, but a contribution to cover costs would be welcomed.)

2. What are the basic arguments for and against "fair housing" laws?

3. What are some things which concerned citizens can do to support and encourage freedom of residence in their community so that all persons, regardless of race, religion, or national origin, can secure the housing they desire and can afford?

   (By far the best single resource available is the Fair Housing Handbook published by the American Friends Service Committee and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. This Handbook, containing facts about race and housing and concrete suggestions for concerned citizens, may be ordered from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016, for 50¢. Order enough copies for all members of your group.)

4. Comment on these statements:

   A. "The ghettoization of the Negro in American society is increasing. Three million Negroes -- roughly one-sixth of the nation's Negro population -- are now congested in five of the greatest metropolitan centers of the North. The alienation of the Negro from the mainstream of American life proceeds apace. The Negro is discovering to his sorrow that the mobility which he gained in the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution nearly a hundred years ago merely enables him to move from one ghetto to another. A partial apartheid -- economic, social, political and religious -- continues to be enforced by the white people of the U. S. They use various pressures -- some open, some covert -- to keep the Negro isolated from the nation's social, cultural and religious community, the result being black islands surrounded by a vast white sea. Such enclaves in American society not only destroy the cohesiveness of the nation but also offend the Negro's dignity and restrict his opportunity. These segre-

gated islands are also an embarrassment to white people who want an open society but are trapped by a system they despise. Restricted housing is the chief offender. So long as the racially exclusive patterns of suburban America continue, the Negro will remain an exile in his own land.

Editorial, The Christian Century

B. "I would address myself to the entire community and especially to the members of my own church to make it very clear that the sale or rental of a home is not merely a financial transaction. It is a moral decision as well. There can be no justification for rejecting a prospective buyer or renter because of his race or religion."

Roman Catholic Archbishop John P. Cody

C. "Now, there is simply no possibility of a real change in the Negro's situation without the most radical and far-reaching changes in the American political and social structure. And it is clear that white Americans are not simply unwilling to effect these changes; they are, in the main, so slothful have they become, unable even to envision them. It must be added that the Negro himself no longer believes in the good faith of white Americans -- if, indeed, he ever could have. What the Negro has discovered, and on an international level, is that power to intimidate which he has always had privately but hitherto could manipulate only privately -- for private ends often, for limited ends always."

James Baldwin

III. The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns

(Conference Speaker: Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta, Georgia.)

1. What is the extent of school desegregation in your community? What percentage of Negro students are in schools with white students? What is the degree of faculty desegregation?

2. Evaluate the "freedom of choice" plan used in the vast majority of Virginia school districts. What are its values? What are its dangers?

3. What is the responsibility of the church and synagogue in helping administrators and teachers to examine their own prejudices and to understand better the background, traditions, and problems of minority groups?

4. What is the responsibility of a parent who feels that the educational standards are being lowered in a particular school?

5. What are some things concerned citizens can do to improve the quality of public school education?

6. Comment:

   A. Although 89% of the school districts in the Southern and border regions were desegregated in 1965-66, only 16% of the area's Negro students were enrolled in schools with whites. Only 11% of Virginia's Negro students were enrolled in desegregated classes. Eighty-nine per cent were still in all-Negro schools. (Source: Southern Education Reporting Services, January 5, 1966.)

   B. "Schools segregated in fact teach only subject matter and fail to fulfill one of the traditional goals of public education; they fail to prepare youth to function in a multi-racial society as participating citizens."

   U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1963

   C. "Whatever the pace of (the) technological revolution may be, the direction is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

   Bayard Rustin

D. "The practical results of the de jure and de facto brands of segregation in education are essentially the same -- unequal education and mis-education for millions of minority and economically deprived young people. If education is concerned with the total person and his functional role in a democratic society, it cannot escape a major responsibility for providing concrete experiences of exposure and interaction with persons of various races, nationalities, religions, and economic classes. De facto segregation, at best, provides a kind of ghetto mentality that is separated from the 'real stuff' of life in the world. What will it profit us if we succeed in educating persons to function occupationally with computers and fail miserably to educate them to function with other human beings?"

Percel O. Alston

IV. The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set Its Own House in Order

(Conference Speaker: Mr. Warren H. Turner, Jr., vice-president, Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York City.)

1. It is often charged that "eleven o'clock on Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in America." Do you think this accusation is valid? What are the basic reasons most congregations remain segregated? What can be done to see that local religious units are genuinely (as distinct from merely officially) open to all persons?

2. What are the admission and service policies of the various health, educational, and welfare institutions operated and/or supported by your religious community? If any institutions still have segregation policies, what can be done to change them?

3. What responsibilities do religious institutions have regarding fair employment practices within their own structure, investment of funds in non-discriminatory undertakings, and the use of their purchasing power in support of their professed goals?

4. Why is the religious community often so slow in making desired changes in its own institutional life?

5. What are some things predominantly white and predominantly Negro congregations can do together in your community to break down the barriers of color within the religious tradition?

6. Comment:

   A. "A young freedom-rider from southern Georgia was told by her well-educated, prosperous, churchgoing and family-minded parents not to return home unless she got rid of this foolish notion of championing the Negro's cause in the attempt to overthrow the deep-rooted Southern tradition. The daughter said, 'I love my parents, but I cannot accept their phoniness. I have stopped going to church. The church has said, 'Love your neighbor and don't count the cost,' but it hasn't led or even permitted people to do what it says.'"

   Karl E. Lutz

   B. "Prayer and prejudice cannot dwell in the same heart. Worship without compassion is worse than self-deception; it is an abomination. Thus the problem is not how to do justice to the colored people, it is also how to stop the profanation of God's name by dishonoring the Negroes' name."

   Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel

   C. "For every person who disavows religion because some ancient and unre-

vised dogma outrages his intelligence, several become irreligious because the social impotence of religion outrages their conscience."

Reinhold Niebuhr

D. ". . . The greatest contribution the local religious unit can make is to seek and to find, nay, to be found of that inner life without which it is sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, without which it is nothing. Their greatest contribution is to preach and proclaim and live their own particular and peculiar message, that which they and they alone have. Unless we can say, 'We are not pagans, this is the way we behave because we are in this household of faith, this is what it means to be a Jew, this is what it means to be a Christian, this is how we behave because of what we believe.' Unless this can be said then I am convinced that all our techniques, all our gimmicks, program kits and human engineering will fail."

Will D. Campbell

CHURCHES

Church Strategy and Development

newsletter

CDGM - Child Development Group of Mississippi

FACT SHEET

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is a statewide Head Start program which was organized in the summer of 1965. It is currently concluding operation under its second grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

On August 25, 1966, CDGM submitted a proposal to OEO for funding for an additional year's operation. That proposal requests $20.3 million to serve 13,500 children in 170 centers in 37 counties throughout Mississippi.

This sum falls far below the needs of the poor community and considerably under an original request for $41 million which OEO rejected outright.

More than 16,500 children who applied for inclusion in the new program were rejected by us with great reluctance.

The new proposal is a statement of the *minimum* needs of the poorest people in the poorest state in the nation.

The following are relevant facts about CDGM's current program.

Basic Data

Size of present grant: $5,644,343 for 6 months of operation.

Number of children served: 12,145 (as of June 3, 1966)

Geographical coverage: 121 centers in 28 counties across the state.

Who Works for CDGM

Number of employees: 2,272 employees on payroll of which 2,112 are on local center staffs, 80 work in 15 area offices, and 62 work in the central office.

Composition: 98.9% of CDGM employees are local Mississippians (99 % in the local centers, 100% in the area offices, 80% in the central office).

Training

In its commitment to the elimination of the root causes of poverty, CDGM has attempted to employ poor people and provide them with new skills through which they can realize their full potential. Extensive opportunities for training were provided our staff at all levels, including:

- -Training of area social service coordinators: 162 hrs/person.
- -Training of area administrators by central staff and outside consultants: 162 hrs/person in workshops.
- -Training in systematic problem solving by Transolve, Inc.:
  - -for area staff: 24–36 hrs/person
  - -for eight selected area staff (who now conduct their own workshops): 80 hrs/person
  - -for center coordinators: 24 hrs/person
  - -for each community committee: 16 hrs/person
- -Training, instate, through workshops and consultants for area and local teaching personnel: 55,348 man hours
- -OEO sponsored teacher training courses in colleges and universities:
  - -189 teachers for eight weeks/person
  - -4 area teacher guides at a high level, six week training course at Peabody Institute, Nashville
  - -15 teachers at a one week training course at the University of Southern Mississippi

Opportunities for Decision-Making

A total of 1,006 people, virtually all of them poor, were accorded the opportunity to make decisions directly affecting their own lives and the operation of CDGM centers.

- -Serving on community committees (121): 945 persons
- -Serving on area councils: 44 persons
- -Serving on the CDGM board of directors: 17 persons

Volunteer Work

There are 49 centers, operating on an entirely voluntary basis, serving 4,365 children, which call themselves CDGM. They receive no funds from CDGM or the government, yet they constitute one of the largest Head Start programs in the country.

CDGM has far exceeded the 10% non-federal share which poverty agencies are required to meet through local funds or voluntary contributions. As of July 8, 1966, with more than 2 months before the program ends, CDGM staff contributed more than 380,000 hours of voluntary labor at a computed dollar value of $605,641.

Miscellaneous Data

-CDGM's cost per child per week is $19, considerably under national OEO guidelines and other Head Start programs in the state of Mississippi.

-The 12,147 children served by CDGM represent only 7% of the eligible children who could be getting a Head Start education.

-A random sampling of 150 CDGM resource teachers, who receive $75 a week average, indicates that their average wages prior to working with CDGM were $44 per week.

CONTEMPORARY GOALS FOR NEW CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Frederick J. Beebe
Director of New Church Development
Presbytery of Chicago

A few months ago, one of the New Church Development Pastors in the Chicago area who has been in the field since 1963, quipped that New Church Development is the new form of masochism for ministers. Apart from the fact that this statement was made by one of our most competent men in one of his more paranoid moods, it reflects a condition being felt by many men in New Church Development in these days. There are two reasons for this: First, the climate which once gave new church development its romantic flavor has passed, and second, the methodology which we have come to know so well, and which some have referred to as the "pre-packaged plan" for the most part is no longer adequate. If we have to think in terms of a package we need to take off the wrappings, review the parts, and then use with a great deal of discretion. Whatever we do will have to be much more in the nature of a venture in faith and a design in sensitivity. For the world set-

Contemporary Goals for New Church Development – cont'd

ting has changed, the church itself is changing, and those new points of ministry that we helped to bring to life under the label of New Church Development will have to be as new as the moment and as particularly conceived as the settings into which they are placed.

The former cliches are dull. The former stereotypes are deadening. Our once thought faithfulness is now being shown in the clear light of God's judgment upon the church, and our largely ghettoized suburban existence causes deep pangs of anxiety. For while Christ's prayer was for the unity of the Church, our efforts have largely been segregated geographically, economically, and ideologically and racially.

The point is that we are involved in a new reformation, and to go through this and be responsible or faithful is not easy. The demands are rigorous and the risks are many.

The past is well known to us. I don't need to review it. In capsule form it can be summarized by these phrases: Unprecedented growth in population and the population of religion. Households were formed between 1940 and 1965 at twice the rate they were from 1900 to 1940. The churches only had to place a man on the field and contact the local paper and the people came. Such was the flavor of our past, but not to be dismissed without one barb provided by a thoughtful writer in a recent periodical reflecting upon our past who said, "The church boom of the 50's disclosed the Church's shameless promiscuity, its willingness to entertain as many as could be seduced into joining, irrespective of faith or commitment." (1)

But it is the future to which we must look. And the present with which we have to deal now is in no small measure the proving ground for what the health and viability to say nothing of the faithfulness of the Church of tomorrow may be.

By way of looking to the future, we must reflect for a moment on the changes that are taking place now within the area for which we have responsibility. Each area has its own distinctiveness and the need for its own peculiar strategy. Yet there are also movements and conditions which are common to all our areas, movements and conditions in the real world with which we have tended to have too little vital contact and over which we have had inadequate perspective, movements and conditions which are calling upon the church in a real way to be what William Arthur, managing editor of *Look Magazine*, described his journal to be: "A joyful guest at reality's surprise party."

The movements and conditions to which I refer are heavily documented in various books, periodicals and papers. *I shall not try to do more than point to them by way of listing them as paramount concerns which must provide the grist for the mill by which we grind out the goals and objectives for the work ahead of us in the next ten to fifteen years,* goals and objectives which no doubt will change even within that period, but which must be set forth, clarified and refined, and then faithfully sought after to the extent of our human competence enabled by the grace that God may give us. Colin Williams so aptly put it, we have lived long with the symbols of witness and evangelism by which we have implied to the world that the church has the answers to life and the world must come to the church to find them, when in reality Christ is calling the church to turn out to the world, to listen, to be sensitive – and sensible – and then to join Christ there, to be present, remembering that there is in God's providence a time to be silent, a time to speak, a time to act, but never a time to be absent.

What then does all of this mean as we try to enunciate some goals for our efforts in the years ahead?

I believe that the following, if followed out and developed conscientiously, provide *a basic goal structure.*

1.

To provide points of ministry responsive to the working of the Holy Spirit.

By this I mean that we must establish or renew our various ministries so that the Holy Spirit will be unfettered to work his purposes among God's people wherever they may be gathered to worship, to train, and to act.

2.

To be free of traditional limitations to explore new forms of ministry.

The movements and conditions of our day cry out to us to make exploratory thrusts in ministry to occupational groupings, to points of leisure recreation, to issue-centered groupings, to disorganized communities, to low income communities and to many other points which you could name.

3.

To make provision for a more disciplined church.

As already implied, much of the turmoil within the church today results from inadequate expectations from those who have joined and thus too little effective awakening of faith and commitment. We must provide some form of discipline to which people will commit themselves and thus know what is expected of them.

4.

To provide adequate training for faith in action.

Here I focus upon adults and the need to emancipate our laymen to be the church in the world. Without saying more, this leads to the next goal –

5.

To assure an outward orientation for every new ministry.

This is the natural product of training for faith in action. It requires a teaching pastor who sees his task as preparing his people to meet the world and function in it as faithful ministers. This assumes full pastoral responsibility but it emphasizes the teaching function. Such involvement in issues and movements provides the context within which true Christian education can take

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New Church Development - cont'd

place. Training and involvement go together. They feed each other and build a wholeness of discipleship. Too long have we been content to believe that new churches must "mature" or get their "house in order" before they can begin to become involved with the life of the community. Nowhere is that lame excuse found in the New Testament.

6.

To provide vital worship

Our worship must be alive to God's judging and gracious presence and it must be engaged in with expectancy. It can only be meaningful if pastor and people are engaged with their world in such a way as to know the need of their common forgiveness, their searching of the word, and their renewal through the Sacraments.

7.

To resist the temptation to further pre-packaged approaches to new church development.

We have enough experience now to know, even if we are not ready to admit it, that stereotyped program structures, rigid financial patterns and automatic building expectations imposed upon a new congregation are detrimental to its spirit and its effectiveness. Certain procedures and methods may in fact be similar among a number of new fields, but to make requirements of these without adequate sensitivity to the uniqueness and the peculiar needs of each situation is in effect to kill where the spirit would breathe life.

8.

To break out of our suburban segregation and turn back again to the city.

By this I do not mean to abandon the suburb, but rather to become inclusive. In recent years, judicatory structures have tended to encourage this segregation by having separate departments or committees for urban work and new church development. It is illogical to parallel a geographically and a functionally defined responsibility in one judicatory. Responsible judicatory planning in this day should make haste to dissolve such barriers and structures for inclusive ministry in city and suburban parts of the urban areas.

9.

To provide personnel adequate for the task.

This is a truism except that I would urge a change in emphasis. Heretofore we have placed much more weight than was justified on a man's organizational ability. We wanted go-getters with all around abilities, but the go-getter qualities loomed large. I submit we need men who are theologically competent, able to teach, able to communicate, and able to work well with groups. For our need is not for organization, but for a community of people who know what it means to be the church and who know what they as God's people are to do.

10.

Conscientiously to initiate joint new projects with other denominations.

The climate within which new church development of traditional or new forms is taking place indicates the futility of prolonging our separated competitiveness. There are many obstacles in the way, but the future requires that we wrestle with these obstacles and find the way through, just as it is being done on the national level. It makes little sense now to be continuing separately in developing new starts where we can be safe in assuming that in the relatively near future we will be united.

11.

To engage established congregations in the process of new church development.

Operation spin-off immediately comes to mind. Certainly this is integral to our future efforts. For too long we have allowed congregationalism to penetrate our connectional efforts in new church work. New churches need neighboring support and established churches need the renewal that may come through responsible involvement in new church development.

Such a goal structure is never complete, never final, and always subject to debate. I believe, however, that to pursue such goals would enable us to bring to life ministries of the church which would have the quality suggested by George Todd. He speaks of the city but his words can well be a charge to the whole church.

1. "The church should be structured so that it is in touch with the people, institutions, issues, structures, events and crises of metropolitan life. It should be in a position to participate.
2. "The church is called not only to a role of listening, involvement and encounter in the city's life. Its mission is also to help the city gain a vision of what it is meant to be.
3. "Most important of all, the Church as a body of Christ is called to incarnate itself at the points where suffering and sin are most vividly manifest in the city. The Church is called to take into its own body through redemptive service the pain of the city...the crosses that are raised in the midst of the city's life." (2)

If you and I are serious about this business of new church development, no less a charge can be ours now, and in the future which we face together.

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(1) Ron Goetz, "The Power of Negative Action," *RENEWAL*, March 1966.

(2) George Todd, "New Strategy for the Church in Metropolis," *McCormick Quarterly*, March 1966.

ENCLOSURES

Enclosed in this mailing are:

1. A copy of *Renewal*.
2. An appeal from *The National Committee on Tithing in Investment*.
3. An article: *Area Church*, by Clark McKinney.

IN PERSPECTIVE

Dept. of National Priorities: The XB-70A research bomber that crashed June 8 over the Mojave Desert was one of two planes built at a cost of $1.2 billion. This sum is approximately as much money as the government will spend during 1966 on the anti-poverty program.

PASTOR'S COLUMN

Dr. T. W. Kirkman, Jr.
Pastor, 1st Presbyterian Church
Royal Oak, Michigan

In our country today, there is considerable emphasis upon the rights of the minority. We have a host of laws which forbid discrimination against almost every minority, and we protect the minorities' sensitivities in every way. Although the overwhelming majority of our people are religious, we cannot read the Bible in public schools because a small minority are atheists. Furthermore, we cannot send the atheist out of the room while the others listen to the Bible because this might make him feel inferior.

Minorities are not required to show good manners. Indeed, it sometimes seems as if the lack of good manners is a requirement if you are to be a successful minority. During the commencement addresses at which Vice-president Humphrey and Secretary of Defense McNamara were speaking, a small minority got up and walked out because they disapproved of the policies of our nation in Vietnam.

Now if the majority ever displayed the same lack of good taste and honesty to the minority that the minority shows the majority, the minority would find life intolerable. It is high time that the minority learns that minority status does not give them license to act in any way they desire.

What would happen if all the white people of our nation began to parade and to demonstrate in protest against the Negroes' high rate of crime and burdensome welfare costs? What would happen if every time someone in support of our nation's policies in Vietnam walked out when someone spoke against these policies? I am fearful that the orderliness of our nation would be overthrown.

In my judgment, the majority also has rights. I believe that it has the right to require certain things of minorities. I would suggest three areas in which the majority rightfully can make demands upon the minorities:

First, as a minority rightfully demands toleration from the majority, the majority can rightfully demand good manners from the minority. Being a minority is not an excuse to be obnoxious. Because you are a minority is no reason to behave in a barbarous way. All too often in our day, minorities have behaved obnoxiously in order to attract attention. I believe good manners are as much in order from the minority as they are from the majority.

Second, as a minority rightfully demands responsibility from the majority, the majority can rightfully expect responsibility from a minority. No society can long endure if individuals or power blocks refuse to be responsible for their actions. If a group creates a riot, it must be held responsible for the riot. Responsibility is the keystone of our republican form of government.

Third, as a minority rightfully demands that the majority be lawful, the majority can rightfully demand that the minority be lawful. Because you are a minority and do not like a particular law does not give you license to disobey it. If lawlessness becomes the order of the day, the minority has the most to lose since laws are designed to protect minorities.

It is high time that the minorities in our society understand that their minority status does not give them exemption from good manners, from responsibility, and from lawfulness.

EDITOR'S COLUMN

We are happy to have the response to some of the material that we have been sending out over the last few months from Dr. T. W. Kirkman, Jr., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Royal Oak, Michigan. Dr. Kirkman has been and continues to be a strong supporter of National Missions. He raises issues that are unquestionably concerns of many persons in the Church. While the editor of this *Newsletter* disagrees with almost every point in Dr. Kirkman's column, the function of this *Newsletter* is to open dialogue. We are anxious to have more responses to the articles that appear in this *Newsletter* and we would like permission to print your responses when you send them in.

Bryant George

A PRESBYTERY'S COMMISSION ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

Call to Involvement in Public Education

St. Matthew 19:14 – *But Jesus said, "Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of heaven."*

To take responsibility of baptism seriously means that congregations must have a continuing concern for the whole being of the child. A good public education is one of the foundations for the the church's total ministry to children and youth. The church school's teaching efforts are weakened when there are deficiencies in the public education system. A weak public education system leaves a crippling gap in the child's total experience, and further attention reveals that the lack of adequate education frustrates any hope of economic security in adult life, diminishes a child's estimate of his personal worth, and deadens his sense of hope for the future. This basic injustice to children, whether within or without the congregation, is a vital concern of the church.

We commend the efforts of all pastors and people who have attempted to deal responsibly with the crisis in education within the city. The crisis is not confined to that area of metropolis known as the "Inner City", but rather the crisis in education has implications for the entire society and needs the creative witness of the whole church.

The Commission on Public Education calls upon every congregation to give immediate continuing and comprehensive attention to the public education system of the local community, the metropolitan area, the State and the nation.

The Commission on Public Education strongly urges the following:

1. That every Session appoint a responsible body, a special or existing committee, to give major time to an analysis of existing conditions in public education, to mobilize resources to affirm or improve the system, to direct the attention of congrega-

A Presbytery's Commission on Public Education – cont'd

tions to full exploration of issues in public education (such as shared time, supplementary education, integration and adequate financing), and to develop appropriate methods for participating in decisions concerning the future of public education.

2. That this church committee attempt to put into action some of these specifics:

a. Get acquainted with teachers, principals and superintendents in the area
b. Invite them into homes of the congregation if possible and mutually convenient
c. Convene all the people in the congregation related to education – administrators, teachers, school board members, PTA leaders, county commissioners – to consider the current situation in public education
d. Analyze the racial enrollment of public schools and support civil rights leaders and community organizations in working to integrate schools.
e. Inquire about the rate and causes of school drop outs in the area.
f. Talk to young people about the dignity and high calling of the teaching profession. Encourage them to be willing and challenged to work in difficult schools.
g. Prepare for integration of your community and its schools.
h. Enlist people to attend Board of Education meetings with some regularity and get information about them to the congregation—more accurate than TV and newspaper reports.
i. Join with other churches in having a special superintendents' recognition service for teachers, principals in the area—perhaps in the Fall when school starts or at the end of the year.
j. Urge volunteers to aid in tutorial programs in underprivileged areas. Church committee could act as the clearing house—matching people to the specific needs.
k. If the local school administration permits, encourage people with talent and extraordinary backgrounds to offer services to enrich school program.
l. Give thought to ways of assisting segregated suburban schools to enjoy the benefits of "integrated education".

3. That churches send to the Commission on Public Education descriptions of action taken, or things they are now doing or planning to do in their involvement in the problems of education.

MIAMI REPORT - 1966 FALL

Dr. Gaspar Langella

One of the main issues confronting the Church in Miami is how to intervene creatively, as a factor of integration and reconciliation, in a community in conflict. The issue is complicated by the fact that the Church shares in the power order of the community and therefore is subject to the temptation of trying to buy a clear conscience through service organizations while still enjoying unshared privilege.

The drama developing in Miami reaches beyond the common problems of the central city versus the suburbs or the tasks and perplexities of urban renewal. The fact that Cubans-in-exile represent twenty percent of the urban population and that they are competing, job- and housing-wise, with the Negroes who are recent rural newcomers to the City, has profoundly changed an economy and a community which had in the recent past a fairly stable equilibrium. The relative financial success of the Cubans, in spite of its effect of reducing the seasonal character of the local economy, increases the pervasive sense of powerlessness and marginality felt by the Negroes. The issue is to be seen in relation to the problem of minorities in American urban life. This is really the focus of the issue in Miami which has become today the gateway of Latin America into the United States, thus repeating the pattern established by New York and other major eastern cities in the past.

The idea of America as a melting pot in which all races and cultures merged and fused is essentially based on the experience of the Europeans who emigrated to this country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cultural differences were gradually submerged, and the newcomers were successfully absorbed into the American fabric. This process took place mainly in the larger cities so that the stereotype of America as a melting pot was, in reality, drawn from what happened in those cities.

The assimilation process which characterized the European immigrants in America followed a rather fixed pattern. The newly arrived immigrants responded to the confusion and strangeness of the nineteenth-century city by forming solid residential groups. These ethnic enclaves, based on language difference and foreign origin, became a fixed aspect of American urban areas. Eventually, the dynamic quality of American life began to dissolve the ethnic communities which had constituted a pattern prevailing for over a century. With the end of large scale foreign immigration and the appearance on the national scene of a remarkable physical and social mobility, the ethnic concentrations lost their importance in the cities. But the stereotypes those concentrations created in the public opinion still remain our ideological tools today.

The "melting pot" ideology, although consecrated by tradition, fails us entirely in trying to approach realistically present-day urban experience.

The "melting pot" ideology dealt effectively with problems of immigrant relations, but has scarce or no validity on the plane of race relations. The European immigrant communities, more often than not, served for the rest of the city population as barriers against Negro mobility. The relationship between the Negro and the foreign-born in the context of the American city has been historically fraught with special difficulties. These difficulties are evident in Miami as a larger number of Cubans (with smaller numbers of Puerto Ricans and Colombians) continue to arrive in the "Tierra de Libertad" (the Land of Liberty).

Racial distinction among Cubans is mild. Yet the acute in-group feeling of the Cuban tends to

induce him to reject the Negro, because he is an outsider and a symbol and a target of a racial discrimination already present in the community. It would be dangerous and unwise for the Cuban to be identified with the Negro. Also, quite differently from New York where Puerto Ricans have preceded the Negro entry in many areas, in Miami the Cubans are Johnny-come-lately and, in the heated competition for jobs and housing, the Cubans' relative degree of success is seen as obtained at the expense of the native-born Negro. This explains the desperation of the Negro when he sees the "melting pot" ideology working for all immigrants except himself. The door to the good life seems, among all immigrants to the city, closed only to him. This feeling of alienation mounts in the persisting failure of the "melting pot" concept to work for the Negro, for whom only the city has functioned not as a place where they can lose their isolation and merge with the rest of society, but rather as the place where their separation and alienation are intensified. In desperation, the Negro does not see any way out other than taking power as a group and moving through self-direction to impose consideration of his needs and interests in communal decision making. This means conflict, because no power order which is entrenched will surrender its favored position without resistance.

The dilemma that faces Presbyterians in Miami is that, for their very belonging to the power order, they are increasingly forced to intervene in community organization. Will they wait until forced to do it at a remedial level when things will have gotten out of hand; or, will they consider intervening now when there is still left some latitude of freedom to guide the community development towards mutually accaptable goals of interdependence? If Presbyterians will want to fully discharge their responsibility as Christians, they will have to look beyond the present pattern of just participating in service agencies, which tend to create and maintain dependence on the part of those who are being served and are, for that reason, essentially self-defeating. We cannot simply do something *for* the underdogs. As participants in the power order, we must mobilize those who are marginal to this order so that they may achieve community power of their own which may be, more often than not, at variance with ours. Our action, rather than around some vague do-good goals, must be organized around the central frustrations and burning issues of the underdogs, well knowing that social conflict must run its full course until it has fully restructured society. In the steps of the One whose mission was "the more abundant life", we are called to humanize our human condition. The humanization of the city may well be the testing point of our Christian mission.

Pastoral Care and Public Ministry

Each must keep in the background of its specific focus a concern for the church's whole mission.

DON BROWNING
Instructor in Religion and Personality, University of Chicago Divinity School

Reprinted from *THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY*, Sept. 1966 issue by permission

Few would disagree with the statement that one of the most exciting religious developments in modern times is the new effort on the part of the church to discover its ministry in the arena of public affairs. Harkening to the summons of men like Gibson Winter, Colin Williams and Harvey Cox, the church has moved beyond residential and familial concerns and has embarked on a host of new experiments designed to implement a Christian witness in the market place, the real estate office, the chambers of city and national government. At present the church's involvement in the freedom movement constitutes the center of this emerging ministry.

Certain groups of clergy, however, seem averse to taking direct part in the major ethical struggles which face our society. Prominent among them are the ministers closely associated with the so-called pastoral care movement. I refer to professors of pastoral care psychology, chaplain supervisors connected with clinical pastoral education, and local pastors who have made counseling central to their ministries. Of course there are exceptions: individuals among these groups have responded positively to the call for a public ministry. Yet on the whole the participation of pastoral-care men has been limited. But it must be pointed out that their reluctance is matched if not exceeded by a pervasive skepticism about the usefulness of their possible contributions. To be sure, a few leaders who are deeply committed to nonresidential ministries see pastoral psychology and counseling as more than a slightly irrelevant clerical skill. More, however, see it as an enemy and consider it antithetical to the goals they pursue.

Is this hostile attitude toward pastoral counseling justified? Certainly many of the complaints against this discipline contain an element of truth. Some leading theoreticians of public ministry believe that pastoral psychologists are, as one of them put it, the "last of the pietists." They charge that pastoral counseling tends to produce what Philip Rieff calls "the psychological man"—the man primarily concerned with his own emotional well-being and totally without vital ethical concern. They declare that the one-to-one relation between pastor and client ignores certain dehumanizing secondary social structures and tends to result in adjustment to these structures instead of creating in the client the capacity to change them. In some quarters there is a deep suspicion that the counseling pastor meets people in one-to-one situations in order to satisfy his own intimacy needs; in the process he may actually frustrate growth by keeping clients dependent upon him.

Again, it is contended that pastoral counselors are themselves encapsulated in a middle class professionalism, entangled in the trappings of the culturebound disciplines of psychiatry and clinical psychology; they cannot make contact with the culturally deprived—Negro or white--through a labyrinth of office hours, appointment books and 50-minute conversations. Many view the recently formed American Association of Pastoral Counselors as a further sign of the counseling specialist's retreat into a limited and irrelevant professionalism.

Another *contra* argument is that the pastoral counselor, by his emphasis on release and emotional stability, is rendered totally naive about the importance of conflict in giving man a sense of dignity and power. Such antagonists point out that the civil rights and community organization movements have thrived on conflict, that in the process of fighting for their rights large numbers of people have been rehabilitated.

Finally, there are those who hold that pastoral psychology's use of the "shepherd" as its main image smacks of a stultifying paternalism which precludes full understanding of the meaning of ministry. Thus pastoral psychology and counseling are working with worn-out models largely irrelevant to an era of rapid social change. The discipline presupposes that you can save society if you can save the nuclear individuals and families which constitute its primary units. But since sociology has demonstrated the estrangement between the nuclear family and the secondary structures of society, the very premise of pastoral psychology has been rendered invalid—so the argument goes.

New Ways to Minister to Individuals

As against pastoral psychology, the champions of a public ministry believe that they have discovered new ways to bring individuals to health. Health, they say, can come when people are stimulated to take responsible action in behalf of themselves and their neighbors. Much of what passes for sickness is really the symptomatology of the mass loss of a sense of identity and self-worth in society's dispossessed. That loss has many sources. In the Negro it may arise out of a feeling of powerlessness consequent upon the discrimination which restricts action possibilities; or from the emasculating efforts of the advancing encroachments of an impenetrable and paternalistic bureaucracy. This absence of a sense of power and dignity is compounded by the subservient role which the white community forces upon the Negro and the resultant inability of many Negroes to identify with their own people as a reference group.

In view of these convictions, the prophets of public ministry are inclined to see pastoral care in terms of community organization. To bring health to the dispossessed is to organize them into neighborhood and community structures through which they can gain some control over their own destiny. The primary aim of such organizations is to effect social change. A major side-effect of social change, however, is a new self-image for those who discover that they can alter the forces which operate upon their lives. The philosophy of community organization envisions something more than equal opportunity for those who live in a depressed or rapidly changing environment: it leads to an attempt to develop human potential as a worthy goal in itself. It is hard to say what the energizers of community organization are more interested in: development of leaders in the fight for justice, or the fight for justice as a channel through which human potential can be awakened. The two goals are of course interdependent. The point is that the drive toward public ministry and ethical action through community organization is for many their way of expressing pastoral-care concerns. As such, it is not only good social action; it can also be good pastoral care.

One reason for the suspicion between specialists in these two branches of the practical ministry seems to center on the question of the proper use of conflict. Community organization, the civil rights movement and other forms of public ministry inevitably result in conflict. Whether this conflict is deliberately exploited as an organizational device, a la Saul Alinsky, is immaterial. Community organizers know that in order to gain their proper place in society the dispossessed must learn how to oppose those who, wittingly or unwittingly, are limiting their existence. Hence demonstrations, dissent, obstruction, complaints and counterproposals—which means that conflict sometimes has to be *increased* instead of *decreased*. But pastoral psychology (as well as psychiatry and psychology) is (or is thought to be) primarily dedicated to the reduction of conflict, internal as well as external. Therefore it seems irrelevant, if not actually dangerous, to the central strategy of those most deeply involved in public ministry.

Conflict and Pastoral Psychology

That pastoral psychology as a discipline with a discernible body of theory and practice has no stomach for conflict is partly true but mostly false. It is false in that all counseling, secular or pastoral, involves conflict—a threat to existing levels of organization and consequent attempts at resistance and evasion. It is true in that some counseling--generally very bad counseling--ultimately leads to an internal rearrangement of psychic components without much or any alteration in the external situation.

But counseling as a process leading to the internal rearrangement of psychic components for the simple enhancement of individual comfort finds few advocates among contemporary counseling theorists. Rather, counseling is now understood primarily as a process of implementing a relationship that will free the client from a whole range of absolutized values upon which he feels his worth and justification as a person depend. Understood in these terms, counseling sets in motion a conflict with overdetermined value constructs which sharply limit a person's capacity to deal with reality. Increasing the person's capacity for autonomy and agency must go hand in hand with liberating him from the "conditions" of worth which circumscribe his range of free and constructive action.

This view of pastoral counseling is consonant with the biblical view of Jesus' ministry as a battle or conflict with the princi-

palities and powers. Pastoral counseling is often misunderstood because its "shepherd" metaphor has not been related systematically to the Son of Man and Suffering Servant images which undergird the biblical doctrine of ministry. If Gustav Aulen and Hans-Ruedi Weber are correct, the New Testament's dominant image of the ministry is an exorcistic one—battle against the forces of evil being its central motif. With this motif pastoral counseling has never come to terms, though it is quite consistent with the dynamics of much counseling work. On the other hand, Harvey Cox, a major proponent of public ministry, makes exorcistic images focal to this theory of the ministry (in *The Secular City*, expecially chapter seven, "The Church as Cultural Exorcist," and part three, "Excursion in Urban Exorcism"; see also his *God's Revolution and Man's Responsibility*, pages 15-36). Pastoral counseling and public ministry will find a point of contact when both take their stance within a truly New Testament concept of the ministry as battle and conflict with the forces which rob man of his sense of autonomy.

Pastoral Care and Public Ministries

The Negro protest movement aims at justice; but it aims also to free Negro and white from the false values which imprison them both. So the community organization movement is not only a method for bringing social change; it is also—if it is in any sense Christian—an effort to liberate oppressor and oppressed from the false absolutes which inhibit both from acting for the good of all. As a form of public ministry community organization has gone full circle and is now moving back into the residential and neighborhood context, attempting to liberate human energies and develop human potential. Deep in the heart of the drive for a public ministry is a concern for individual dignity and worth which, to be effective, must be carried to the back door and into the kitchen of the dispossessed. Such a ministry must ultimately get involved with the individual.

On its part, pastoral counseling must awaken to the potential of public ministry for expressing its own concern for individual human potential. In the midst of a protest demonstration—at the center of the ghetto's fight for better housing, better education, better employment, cleaner streets, more representation—there are great opportunities to free men and women, oppressed and oppressor, for humanizing action and responsibility. The avant garde of our public ministry need not fear that, by admitting a systematic and professionally informed concern for individuals, they will be watering down the fight to demolish the structures of oppression. And the specialists of the counseling ministry need not fear that, by involving themselves in the fight against society's injustice, they will lose their concern for individuals. Pastoral psychology as a discipline may have to get rid of some of its preoccupation with the 50-minute hour, the appointment book and the structured interview—necessary as these are in their right place. It may have to begin theorizing about the dynamics of community action, the effects of different kinds of conflict on human growth, the psychological efficacy of a sense of community power, the consequence of the ideology of the freedom movement for the self-image of the Negro, the mental health increments which may result for the oppressed when they learn more about the workings of the bureaucratic forces which influence their lives. These are legitimate concerns for pastoral psychology. If it turns its knowledge of individuals and groups to them it can make an immense contribution to the church's public ministry.

At the same time, the practitioners of public ministry must be ready to admit that a ministry to individuals does exist, even in the arena of public witness. In the years to come ministry will become more and more specialized —rightly so. But specialization will be fragmentation unless each ministry can keep in the background of its specific focus a concern for the whole gospel, the whole mission of the church. That is, for the one group, a concern that sees individuals against the background of the social structure; for the other, a concern that sees the social structure against the background of the struggle of the individual.

BOOK REVIEW

TENSION: Security or Mission? An Empirical Study
By: Donald W. Zimmerman and Arleon L. Kelley, Ecumenical Center of Renewal & Planning, Merom. $1.00, 1966.

The major thesis of this study is that the problems being faced by the church in Spencer County, Indiana are not the wanton serving of old values or institutional structures, but are in reality from an ideal normative expectation viewpoint a misunderstanding of the nature of the church. The authors have attempted to scientifically evaluate the beliefs, attitudes, and kinds of persons who are involved in the church of that Ohio River County.

After establishing theoretical sociological foundations, Kelley and Zimmerman set out to show that prosperous farmer Jones approaches his economic and educational problems rationally, but social problems and the church in a very parochial and emotional manner.

With references to the literature of rural-urban differentials and social stratification, it is hypothesized that because of the parochialism of churchmen in Spencer County there is little relationship between the concept of the church held there and that which is current in the mainstream of the denominations.

The authors see two alternatives for strategy. In face of local resistance, change could be directed by administrative decision to bring about mergers, federations, etc., and to provide more adequate clerical leadership. This will mean a loss of some individuals unwilling to change, while the other alternative of maintaining the status quo will mean the loss of the youth and young adults. As with many such studies, the reader appreciates having the problems so succinctly defined, but longingly hopes for guidance in the techniques and processes of change, conflict resolution, and development.

CHICAGO PRELATE BACKS SLUM DRIVE

CHURCHES

Cody Demands That Realto Help Wipe Out 'Blight'

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 10 — Roman Catholic Archbishop John Cody gave sweeping support today to the newly formed Freedom Movement. He demanded that real estate boards "support open occupancy laws" and work with all "constructive forces of our community to eliminate once and for all the blight and disgrace of our slums."

His message to the civil rights rally at Soldier Field was read by Aloysius J. Wycislo, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago. Archbishop Cody is visiting church missions in Panama.

It was the strongest support the church has yet given the civil rights movement in Chicago. The Archdiocese includes more than 2.3 million people.

Archbishop Cody said:

"I would address myself to the entire community and especially to the members of my own church to make it very clear that the sale or rental of a home is not merely a financial transaction. It is a moral decision as well. There can be no justification for rejecting a prospective buyer or renter because of his race or religion."

The Archbishop reported that the Chicago Archdiocese had set up fair employment clauses in every contract between parishes and other institutions and builders and contractors.

He reported a "trifaith" conference with Jews and Protestants in seven "distressed districts" of the city.

He also announced approval of several plans for housing developments under Catholic church sponsorship to provide nondiscriminatory and "superior" housing for low- and middle-income families. This housing would be built with 100 per cent federally guaranteed mortgages.

"I salute and encourage fair housing committees and human relation councils in the outlying and suburban areas of our community for their efforts to bring this message to our people," Archbishop Cody declared. "I pledge that the Archdiocese of Chicago will support high-quality integrated education in both public and parochial schools."

He also urged trade unions, in what he called a special plea, to open their membership and apprentice rolls to all qualified applicants regardless of color or creed. He said that he would "exhort" the business community to push forward merit-employment projects to increase job-training programs for minority groups.

Earlier today a letter from the Archbishop backing the civil rights rally was read in all Catholic pulpits in Chicago. In the letter he said that Catholics must join the "social revolution [that] is taking place in America."

The Catholic Interracial Council is one of the organizations that makes up the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, the local federated civil rights movement.

Archbishop Cody wrote that "millions of our fellow citizens seek freedom, equality and respect."

"They call upon us to join them in their legitimate aspirations," he declared, "and join them we will lest injustice be allowed to continue and the very fabric of our society be rent apart."

Archbishop Cody also said that discrimination because of color, "accent" or country of origin would be an "affront to the one Creator."

The reference to "accent" was interpreted as being related to riots in a Puerto Rican district here last month that pointed up the language barrier between Puerto Ricans and the rest of the community, especially with policemen who sometimes call them "spiks" or "porkchop."

Colorado Police Seek Clues On Campus in Coed Murder

BOULDER, Colo., July 10 (UPI)—The police questioned students and faculty today in the rape and murder yesterday of a college choir girl in a tower of a campus building.

The partly clothed body of Elaura Jeanne Jaquette, 20 years old, was found beneath an organ in the University of Colorado's Mackey Auditorium.

"She must have put up a hell of a fight," District Attorney Rex Scott said of the 5-foot-9-inch senior, a zoology major. He said the killer "must have some marks on him.

"But there are no suspects, and that's straight," Mr. Scott said.

The Church Speaks

Work and Leisure

The Church Speaks

The Good Faith and Integrity of Our Church

The Church Speaks

Capital Punishment

Cxd
CHURCHES

The Church Speaks

The Theological Basis for Christian Social Action

The Church Speaks

Policy Statement on Viet Nam

C+d CHURCHES

AREA CHURCH

Rev. Clark N. McKinney

Ennis, Montana

1. Introduction

I am writing this discussion of the Area Church at the request of several people of several denominations. Because of this, some introduction is necessary. I am the pastor of an area church in Montana. The Madison Valley Community Presbyterian Church was organized in 1955 by the former Presbytery of Helena, Synod of the Rockies, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. This area Church followed the organization of the Church of the Big Hole in the same Presbytery. The Church of the Big Hole, an area church, follows the course of the Big Hole River in South-western Montana for about 35 miles. This organization served as the pilot project for the Madison Valley Community Presbyterian Church. The Madison Valley Community Presbyterian Church follows the course of the Madison River near Ennis, McAllister and Norris then follows the main highway, U.S. 287 North, into the watershed of the Jefferson River to Harrison and Pony. It is 34 miles from Pony to Ennis the most distant towns in the parish, but we have people related to the church living as far as 35 miles South of Ennis and 15 miles North of Pony. This makes the effective range of the church something over 80 miles. Both churches are now in the Presbytery of Yellowstone.

One of the major reasons for the scope of the involvement with people so widely scattered is the sparseness of the population and the fact that I serve an area Church within an area ministry. Let me explain. My responsilibilities as a Mobile Minister working for our Board of National Missions charges me with an area loosely defined as the watershed of the Madison. In my work I cover a one-hundred and thirty mile route from highway U.S. 10 on the North to 25 miles south of West Yellowstone on the South. I also serve as pastor of the Community Protestant (Presbyterian) Church of West Yellowstone. As I fulfill my responsibility to Mobile Ministries, it is only natural to relate people to the nearest organized church where this is possible. This in part explains the wide area that both of these churches cover. There are also the before mentioned population factors.

The normal flow of trade is from the South or upper end of the Madison Valley, north to Ennis, and then on to Bozeman or Butte. Ennis is the only place where any shopping can be done until you reach West Yellowstone which is 75 miles South or Bozeman which is 55 miles North-east. The enclosed map will make all of this more meaningful.

I can see how this concept of an area church could be very serviceable in an area that is more densely populated and thus covering much less geographical area. The people involved in a more normally rural situation would be more closely related, there would be more leadership potential, the administration would not be so scattered, and more common equipment could be used. There would be more common ground on economics and trade areas.

II. Structure

The total responsibility for the administration, the program and the ministry of the church should be under one Session or governing Body. This governing body should be large enough to allow representation from each population center being united in the area church. The governing body should be also large enough to allow a system of rotation to be

established that would provide for representation from various points within the Church. With all points represented you have decisions in the best interest of the whole church. The reasons for this are obvious. In the Presbyterian scheme of things the congregation elects elders and these elders, with the pastor as moderator, constitute the Session. The Session is charged with the responsibility of administration, program and ministry. Trustees can be charged with the care and maintenance of local church property or this can be done by the members of the Session or governing body that represent that local area.

One of the most important things for the governing body to do is to accept the responsibility of governing the church. In this Area Church concept this idea goes beyond our normal thought patterns concerning the local church. In other words it calls for absolute Christian concern in order for the church to perform her best ministry. We need to remember that in an area church we have but one congregation composed of a group of people who are banded together over a large area to perform a ministry of Jesus Christ in a far more productive way than they could have expected to do as small separate congregations.

III. Advantages of the Area Church

One of the clear advantages is that you have everything under a central administration. There may be several church schools with each one adapted to the local need, but each one has the support both financially and spiritually of the whole church. Teachers will have the opportunity to share in training programs that go across the face of the church thus providing for broader experiences and better training. If there are individuals with a particular talent, these persons can be of greater service then they could be if confined to one small congregation. Likewise audio visual equipment and some of the other physical needs of the congregation can be shared over the total church where as they would be unavailable to anyone small unit. This is of course true also for all matter of teaching aids, materials for church interpretation and items for public service. The local situation in most cases can be better served both in terms of programs and equipment. Perhaps the greatest advantage of the area church is the opportunity, through adequate training, to involve a high percentage of laymen in the ministry of the church. The concept of the area church will only work when laymen assume their responsibility for ministry.

IV. The Disadvantages of an Area Church

Perhaps the chief disadvantage of the area church is the fact that the pastor must cover a larger geographical area than what is usually considered normal. As weather and health are serious factors this can hinder the ministry. If the distances are too great or if the program develops to the point of placing severe limitations upon the pastor's time, this too can be a very damaging situation. Another severe disadvantage is having several worship services on a given Sunday and finding times that are acceptable to all concerned including the pastor. I have always believed that the church must have absolute confidence in its laymen, however; in the government of an area church responsible action is demanded in a very high degree. If you do not have it the church will founder and struggle, perform little or no ministry and eventually fail. Another disadvantage is that in some cases the smaller units of the church may feel a lack of identity with the total church. This disadvantage, like the others, may be avoided and overcome.

Perhaps the most controllable disadvantage is in the area of geographical limitations. When such a parish is organized serious consideration must be given to the geographical boundaries. You can only drive so far in a given amount of time, people are only willing to be away from home for what they term a reasonable length of time and if the geographical boundaries are too large the church can choke to death on its own mileage.

V. Criteria for Organization

In terms of organization I would suggest three major areas. In the first place I would say there should be no major separations within the area to be served by the church. I would break these areas of separation into geographical and economic. In terms of geographical separation, mountain passes that must be crossed in the winter, unbridged rivers or lakes, or vast areas of undeveloped terrain that would form a natural barrier separating areas of the church are to be considered. These geographical separations can greatly limit the effectiveness of the pastor by requiring too much time to be spent in travel and increasing the difficulty of bringing the church together for common worship. In terms of economic separation the disunity that occurs among people who go into different trade areas creates problems in conveying the sense of unity that is so helpful in the development of the Area Church. Usually where you have different trade areas represented you also have the children of the people involved going to different schools and generally related to a whole different set of activities. These areas of separation are not critical in the organization of the Area Church, but they are factors that should be considered especially the geographical separations.

Churches or communities to be united in an area church should have certain common factors. I would suggest where possible they be about equal in terms of size and wealth. I believe that communities to be united in an area church should if at all possible have mutal economic interests.

For example, here in the Madison Valley one of our difficulties is a geographic separation in the form of a high pass that divides the parish north and south. Because of this separation the trade areas of the people in the north and south portions of the parish are different. Also related to the geographical separation is the economic separation where by those in the South half of the parish are mostly related to large cattle ranching and the tourist industry. Those in the North half of the parish are generally related to cattle ranching on a small scale and general farming.

This brings me to the third criteria for organization and perhaps the most important. The area church demands a flexibility in terms of meeting and unifying the diverse interest and needs of the people in the area which it is to serve. This flexibility must recognize that even though an area church is formed the initial boundaries can and should be changed to meet shifts in population, industry, or recreational development. This means the area can get larger or smaller depending upon the demands of the situation. Another area of flexibility that must be considered is more in terms of the developing program. One part of a church may grow and prosper while another area may wither and die. The church must be ready and willing to face a very changing situation because the area church by its very nature will never be static.

VI. Program

The regular worship of the church should probably be carried out in as many points as is possible. This is to be determined by attendance and practical factors of distance and the age and health of the worshipers. I would suggest at least one common worship service for the whole church a year.

A church school program should be carried out in as many points as the governing body deems necessary. At each church school there should be a real effort made to remain flexible enough to adopt it to that local situation, to grade it to the levels of the children, and to keep it under supervision of the governing body. These are not isolated church schools but rather a part of the total program of the church. The needs of each part of the area should be considered and efforts made to meet their particular situation.

It may be that a young couples club is needed at one point, women's study group at another, a youth program at another and it may be that they are all needed at one or more points in the parish. Again the key word here is flexibility moving to begin where the people are and meeting their needs. This is a very broad statement on the program because no specific statement can justifiably be made, the guiding line is that the program is the program of one church meeting the needs of one people even though they are scattered over a large area.

VII. The Ministry of the Church

The pastor of an area church cannot do everything or be every place that the pastor of a typical church can. In other words, the real work of the church is done by the laymen. The pastor must be freed from the trivial, clerical, administrative tasks that are usually his, so that he can perform a Pastoral Ministry. Because of the distance that is usually involved in an area church the pastor's regular visitation and his concern for the people is what establishes some of the unity in the congregation. The governing body of the church must really and truly assume the responsibility of policy and program.

The pastor, because of the far flung nature of the church, will have to have some form of under shepherd plan. The laymen in the separate points that are served by the church must be charged with the specific responsibility of notifying the pastor in time of need. Another responsibility these people might carry is the making of appointments for the pastor as he calls in the particular portion of the church. Members of the governing body from one particular point in the church could very well fulfill these functions. An area church must be ready to explore new ways of doing the ministry of Jesus Christ. The church must go beyond its own doorstep in terms of being an evangelistic, concerned, body of believers. I am not speaking of the old concept of evangelism, but rather of the new, where man seeks new and better ways to express the love of God and to bring others into its fellowship.

The concept of the ministry of the area church is fundamentally a ministry of Christian concern to people to whom the church has no meaning or the meaning of the church is badly distorted. This becomes many times an unorthodox ministry. The church tries to reach those within its area who have been unable to understand the previous expression of the Gospel by the Church.

Conclusion:

The Madison Valley Area Church works quite well in spite of having several real disadvantages. Basically, the reason it works and the reason that any area church will work is that this structure allows the church to be the church. The minister cannot do all the things that must be done. If he is to do his job the laymen must also assume great responsibility for the machinery of the church.

The minister becomes in the true sense the pastor. He is the teaching elder or the teacher of teachers for those who do the actual work in Christian Education. He is the administrator in guiding the governing body of the Church in making decisions regarding program and policy. Because he is the pastor and because he is the teaching elder he can know the needs of the people and he can help the church move to meet those needs. In the area church if the pastor should disappear for six months, he certainly would be missed, but the program and ministry of the church should continue undisturbed because the people of God are doing his ministry in their time and their place.

file

Rec'd 2/3/67

CC 4P CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

February 2, 1967

Dear Friend:

The enclosed news release, containing the comments of Reverend James McRee, Dr. Kenneth Neigh and Mrs. Marshall Field, is being provided for your information. As you may know, the Office of Economic Opportunity signed a contract amounting to $8 million for a year-round Head Start program with the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM).

Many of you have worked hard to get this outstanding preschool program refunded in the face of the opposition of segregationists who are against not only CDGM but all anti-poverty and civil rights legislative programs.

The Citizens' Crusade deeply appreciates the support of those who rallied to save what is perhaps the Nation's prime example of a self-help program.

Enclosed also is information about a growing crisis in Texas involving poor migrant laborers.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Dick Boone

Richard W. Boone

Enclosures

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 234-3645

February 1, 1967

BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN BULLETIN

The eyes of the Nation are beginning to sharply focus on Rio Grande, Texas where an effort to improve the conditions of life for migrant farm laborers has been under way. As in the case of Cesar Chavez and the Delano grape strikers, the brave Texas poor are running into bitter opposition.

Last week six persons were arrested for allegedly disturbing the peace and placed in the Rio Grande jail. Included in these arrested are Reverend James Drake, Administrative Assistant to Cesar Chavez and Gil Padilla, the father of seven children. Rev. Drake was arrested on the Rio Grande courthouse steps as he was saying the Lord's Prayer. Reports indicate that Chief Deputy Sheriff Raul Pena may become as notorious as ex-Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Alabama. The situation in Texas is becoming very critical. Your help is needed!

Write to:

Farm Workers Organizing Committee
Box 54
Rio Grande, Texas

to indicate your support (financial contributions are needed) and to find out how you can help.

news CCAP
CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
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Walter P. Reuther *Chairman*
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Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CHURCH GROUPS, CDGM, CCAP HAIL SIGNING OF OEO GRANT

WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 30, 1967 -- The following remarks were made at a press conference here after the signing at the Office of Economic Opportunity of a one-year grant of $5 million out of this fiscal year funds, and at least $3 million more out of next fiscal year funds, to the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM). The grant is for the continuation of the Head Start program being carried on by CDGM in fourteen counties in Mississippi.

Highlights of Statement by Reverend James McRee, Chairman of the Board, Child Development Group of Mississippi :

> We know CDGM has never been a perfect program. We have made honest mistakes. Through money received from OEO, it has given hope to thousands of poor children in hundreds of communities in Mississippi. Children now have an opportunity of getting a head start in life. We feel this is the goal of all Americans to offer hope to the impoverished throughout the nation. The staff in the communities that compose the CDGM are dedicated in helping themselves

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and people within the community to realize their full potential.

Our purpose is to make this program as close to perfect as we possibly can. We are asking for support of the Negro and white community of Mississippi. We need them. We are still trying to get support from local, state and county governments of Mississippi. This program is for the people. We hope all the Congressmen and Senators will support the anti-poverty program in this effort -- to help impoverished people help themselves.

Highlights of Statement by Dr. Kenneth G. Neigh, General Secretary, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the USA :

We applaud the grant which has been signed today by Mr. Shriver and Mr. Mudd for CDGM. It has been the result of some very serious and earnest negotiations for some days. It is important to explain why the Mission organization and the National Council of Churches and others should be interested and involved. We believe that CDGM is a clear cut and dramatic example of how the poor themselves can work out new and different kinds of patterns of living and a new image for themselves. We feel that when you have stood by the poor in their need they will hear the evangelical message. Dr. Arthur Fleming, President, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and Dr. Truman Douglass, Chairman, Division of Christian Life and Missions, National Council of Churches, felt in terms of their commitment that

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the Child Development Group of Mississippi should be supported.

CDGM was not without its problems. There has been a great deal of commitment on the part of many within OEO, just as there has been a deep commitment from the people who have been interested in CDGM. We should express confidence in Mr. Shriver. We look upon him as a dedicated public servant and intend to support him in future Head Start programs with the same kind of strength we mustered for CDGM.

The church discovered poverty long before the U.S. Government did. This is an old battle for us. We believe that the efforts of the Administration to deal with this realistically not only deserves, but requires, the support of the church.

Statement by Mrs. Marshall Field, Chairman of the Board of the Field Foundation:

As Chairman of the Board of the Field Foundation, I came here to offer the congratulations of that Foundation to Mr. Shriver and the Office of Economic Opportunity, to Mr. Mudd and the Child Development Group of Mississippi, to the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and to all others who have assisted in bringing about the negotiations leading to the signing of the agreement by OEO to refund CDGM.

The Field Foundation has been deeply concerned and

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involved in the problems of CDGM because, since its establishment, the Field Foundation has been committed to the improvement of race relations and child care. We have observed that the best and most enduring results in both fields come from the support of self-initiative at the local level. The CDGM operation, judged on theory and practice, is, in our opinion, one of the most successful projects we have been privileged to support. It is an operation which represents precisely the type of program which the President has called for, and principles for which the President and Vice President have stood for two decades.

We believe that it is conceivable that the War on Poverty can be won by a partnership of the poor with government, and we are certain that today's wise decision signifies a major advance for the forces of reason and progress, and will lead to a major victory in the War on Poverty.

Mr. John Mudd, Executive Director Director of CDGM, stated that there will be no duplication with Mississippi Action for Progress and hopes that a workable relationship will develop. He also stated that CDGM expects to open centers within four weeks.

Jobs and Careers

News of developments in the new careers field

MAY, 1967
Volume 1, Number 1

WASHINGTON REPORT

President Johnson's Concentrated Employment Program (formerly known as the Urban Slum Employment Program and Jobs in the Ghetto), marks a growing push to commit available anti-poverty funds in programs that provide jobs and income for poor persons. The Concentrated Employment Program is an amalgam of existing manpower programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor. It will pool some $100 million in funds and concentrate in approximately 18 cities with high levels of unemployment and high riot potential. About 60,000 jobs are expected to be created in a variety of projects to be funded by the Labor Department which has been given the job of administering the CEP program.

The four programs which make up CEP - the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Kennedy-Javits Program, the Scheuer Subprofessional Career Act, and the Manpower, Development and Training Act, were designed by Congress to address the problems of job creation and work training. Under CEP they will have an important political task as well: to keep the ghettos cool and thereby avoid the riots that caused last year's backlash vote.

Because of the haste with which CEP programs are being prepared, however, they are in danger of laying an egg in many cities: reports from the field indicate that most of the programs being prepared consist largely of low-level jobs which have traditionally been held by minority group members anyway. Career opportunities and training for meaningful jobs are not being built into the programs.

In one city, for example, a plan has been suggested which can only be called downward mobility; trainees would receive a pay cut of 25¢ per hour at the time of their employment.

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The Office of Economic Opportunity is currently developing a proposal for a "Federal Training Insurance Program." The basic objective of the several "TIP" plans being considered is to make job training of poor people more attractive to private employers by reducing their financial "risks." The primary plan would reimburse employers a portion of the wages and training costs of each employer-trained poor person who quits his job within two years. For employees who leave their jobs before three months, employers would be reimbursed up to $250 training costs and the total wages paid to the employee. The reimbursement would decrease on a sliding scale until the end of the two year period. The proposal also suggests possible positive payments to employers for a six month post-training period, if the insurance program is not a sufficient inducement for employers to keep the newly trained workers on the jobs.

Such a program would be fine for employers, but 1) would not guarantee all trainees jobs; 2) could drive wages down to the lowest level; 3) would encourage

file

employers to keep these employees in low-paying training slots as long as possible because the proposed insurance would cover "informal on-the-job-training."

To subsidize training at higher skill levels the OEO proposal suggests an "incentive program." This plan would allow employers, upon a signed agreement with an employee, to withhold a portion of the worker's wages for a two and a half year period. Under this kind of industrial serfdom the employee must stay with the firm until the end of the two and a half years to collect this part of his wages which have, in the meantime, been tax-free investable funds for the employer.

ON THE LEGISLATIVE FRONT:

Senator Joseph Tydings (D-Maryland) has introduced a bill (S.1361) called the "Employment Opportunity Act of 1967." Its purpose is to have the Civil Service Commission "to the maximum degree practicable: conduct program of recruitment and develop training program for unskilled or low-skilled workers to meet employment shortages in the Federal Government. Tydings' bill carries the important provision that any individual who successfully completes the training program would be automatically eligible for Federal employment in the classifications for which he was trained.

Congressman James Scheuer (D-New York), author last year of the Subprofessional Career Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act, has introduced two new amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The amendments have been accepted by the House Committee on Education and Labor. One would require local educational agencies which receive grants involving the use of education aides to set forth "well-developed plans providing for coordinated programs of training in which education aides and the professional staff whom they are assisting will participate together." The second amendment provides for grants to state education agencies for "programs and other activities specifically designed to encourage the full and adequate utilization and acceptance of auxiliary personnel (such as teacher aides) in elementary and secondary schools on a permanent basis."

The proposed 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act will merge the Scheuer subprofessional Career Amendment to provide career public service employment for the adult poor and the "Nelson" (after Sen. Gaylord Nelson, D-Wisconsin) Amendment of 1965. The merger came about after the House Labor and Education Committee concluded that the Nelson Amendment was "too limited in the scope of its activities and the size of the program it envisions to reduce substantially the many who are hard core unemployed." Instead, the House recommended a combined program to secure entry level positions for unemployed and underemployed persons in the public service sector of the economy with built-in opportunities for training and experience.

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NEW IDEAS

"Institutes of Medical Technology" have been suggested by Brendan Sexton as (possible) permanent training facilities for new careerists who would work in hospital-connected, out-patient treatment centers scattered throughout urban poverty communities. From the outset, a complete new careers programs would be operated at each of the centers and at the hospital. Even before becoming degree-granting institutions, such Institutes would attract to poverty communities large numbers of middle class professionals, such as physicians, nurses, technicians, professors, and others. Mr. Sexton proposes to induce these people to live in the poverty area by offering housing allotments of 10 to 15% of salary, applicable only in cooperatives

of condominiums built by the employing institution. Mr. Sexton, Director of Training for CCAP, says the same allotment could be used to encourage advancing new careerists in their communities.

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One of the paradoxes found in the health programs of the developing areas of the world is that "the smaller the difference in educational level between health auxiliary workers and the general population, the more effective those workers will be." This statement is from an article titled "Three Paradoxes in Health Development" by Donald T. Rice, M.D. MPH, which appeared in the October, 1966, issue of Public Health Reports, published by the U.S. Public Health Service.

Dr. Rice says that in the United States the "really exciting advances in the training and use of auxiliaries have been in the health programs among some minority groups." He cites work in health services for Indian and Spanish-speaking people, and programs aimed at lower economic groups and seasonal agricultural workers. "Perhaps their (auxiliary, or subprofessional, health workers) greatest value is that they have greatly facilitated communication," writes Dr. Rice.

In developing countries, Dr. Rice says "it has been repeatedly demonstrated that leaders with native intelligence but with minimum educational qualifications can be trained to be effective health workers, either curative or preventive." He cites work done in Java, Peru and Ghana and quotes a report from the latter which concludes: "There is little doubt that the well trained and experienced auxiliary can show standards of skill which are comparable with that of the average medical man in performing his particular work, whether it be in examining slides for trypanosomes, in giving injections or in the performance of lumbar puncture."

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News from the Field

The Labor Department has granted a $2.1 million contract for the training of 6,000 sub-professional health workers over an 18 month period. The training will be done in hospitals and other health institutions in 13 states. The contract to administer this "Health Services Training Project" was made with the Social Development Corporation, a non-profit social planning agency, with funds from the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The Project is designed to upgrade, on a career ladder basis, employees at all kinds of health institutions through on-the-job training programs. Institutions may also include new employees in the training, but they must be hired by, and actually working at, the institution. Training for virtually all occupations found in health facilities will be included with the exception of occupations requiring a state license.

In San Francisco, the Planning Committee for New Careers has found considerable interest in private agencies to prepare poor persons for "second level" jobs in the human service field. Because of the training investment involved, agencies do not want to take trainees at the entry level. The Committee has participated in the planning of San Francisco's federally supported Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)

and has come up with a plan that calls for the restructuring of the city's civil service system, to include several thousand new career positions. Mayor John F. Shelley is honorary chairman of the committee, and is backing the move to open up new career positions in city jobs, as is the Civil Service Commission which has a full-time staff member assigned to developing such new career opportunities.

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty will devote a major effort to developing new careers opportunities in education, economic development, housing and physical rehabilitation. The Crusade will specifically work to build support for new careers programs in these fields among labor unions, grass roots organizations, churches and civil rights groups. In addition, the Crusade will keep track of legislative developments on the hill, report on them in a regular newsletter.

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The New Careers Development Center at New York University has received a one year grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to train the trainers of subprofessionals in the human service field...

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The National Education Association has joined the New Careers field, declaring 1967 "the year of the non-conference" for its program on "The Teacher and His Staff." The nationwide program has involved 10,000 participants - teachers, board members, and PTA representatives - in trips to schools making effective use of subprofessionals. School personnel in 106 cities are learning how properly trained and supervised subprofessionals can free the teacher to make fuller use of his professional training...

The Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth at New York University's School of Social Work with Howard University's Center for Youth and Community Studies are providing technical assistance to Community Action Agencies in 18 cities in planning their concentrated employment programs.

AVAILABLE FROM THE CCAP TRAINING PROGRAM

"Three Paradoxes in Health Development" by Donald T. Rice, M.D., M.P.H., from Public Health Reports, October, 1966. A summary of the article, as it relates to the use of subprofessionals, is included above in this issue of Jobs and Careers. Single copies available without cost from the Training Program.

Jobs and Careers

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Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

August 15, 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Per your request, we are adding you to our "alert" list.

As you are undoubtedly aware, we have set up another independent Board of Inquiry. And in its work, it will be calling upon the knowledge of the Southern Regional Council.

I look forward to keeping in touch with you.

Sincerely,

RWBoone

Richard W. Boone

cc: Randolph Blackwell

F

C O M M U N I C A T I O N
C O N F E R E N C E

DuBose Conference Center
Monteagle, Tennessee
October 13-16, 1966

- Sponsored by the Episcopal Dioceses of Alabama and Tennessee -

The Purpose of a Communication Conference is to make it possible for those participating to communicate themselves in new and more satisfying ways with other people. It is not primarily to learn something about communication. Its objective is behavioral, aimed at helping participants convert their intentions into action.

Specifically, each person attending may expect to have an opportunity:

- to increase his knowledge of how he communicates to others (How do others see you as you communicate? What do you lead others to think you want as a response to what you say?)
- to increase his knowledge of how others communicate themselves to him (Do others see you as being open to communication or closed? How do others shape their communications to you? What kinds of communication are you likely not to get from others?)
- to increase his understanding of how a group influences what is communicated among its members (What patterns do groups set as to what is permissable and what is unacceptable? How can these patterns be examined? How can they be changed?)
- to experiment with new ways of communicating with others in order to develop community among the members of a group.

How Does It Work? A Communication Conference differs from many other kinds of learning situations in that the individual participant is responsible for setting his own learning goals. Participants work primarily in groups, varying in size from two to twenty, in which the primary emphasis is placed on learning from what is being experienced in the group "here and now." The intent is for each person to learn how to examine his own behavior as he engages in communication with other people and to experiment with new forms of behavior. There are consequently few lectures, as this is not a "subject-centered" conference in the usual sense.

It pays off! A growing number of men and women have found a new freedom and openness in their relationship with other people as a result of this kind of learning experience. It has begun to make a marked difference in their home life, their relationships on the job, and the quality of life in their churches and other organizations of which they are a part.

Time: Beginning with supper at 6:30 p.m. on Thursday, October 13, 1966, and concluding after supper at 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, October 16. Every participant is expected to arrive on time and remain for the entirety of the conference.

Place: DuBose Conference Center is located just off the main highway through Monteagle, Tennessee. All linens and towels are provided, and DuBose serves exceptionally fine meals.

Cost: $25.00 per person, to be sent with registration form in advance.

NOTE: Persons who have previously participated in a Communication Conference or similar learning experience may make application for the ADVANCED SEMINAR ON ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE to be held at the same time and place as this conference. See separate informational sheet and registration blank.

COMMUNICATION

CONFERENCE

DuBose Conference Center
Monteagle, Tennessee
October 13-16, 1966

REGISTRATION

NAME_____ PARISH_____

ADDRESS_____ CITY_____

By whom were you contacted about participating in this conference?

Have you previously participated in a Communication Conference or similar learning experience? Yes_____ No_____

(If your answer is "yes", you may apply to be a participant in the ADVANCED SEMINAR ON ORGANIZATION CHANGE to be held in connection with this conference. See separate information sheet and make application on blank provided.)

Send with $25.00 fee by October 10 to:

William A. Yon
521 North 20th Street
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

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Communism

U.S. REDS TO JOIN CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

NYT 6/25/66

Convention Here Warned on 'White Chauvinism'

By PETER KIHSS

The Communist party, U.S.A., declared yesterday it intended to move openly into civil rights struggles. The head of its Negro commission asserted "we will allow no one in the civil rights movements or the white power structure" to block this

Claude Lightfoot, identified also as leader of the party in Illinois, contended that time had shown that economic equality for Negroes was "only possible in a socialist reorganization of society." He said the party supported "self-defense for Negroes," but "we are not advocates of violence."

The party's 18th national convention at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street, adopted a new Negro program including a call for more determined struggle against "white chauvinism," even within the party.

Mr. Lightfoot said this was a call for "inter-racial living" to make Communists a "model in overcoming arrogant attitudes."

Earlier in the day, the party acknowledged in self-criticism that its appeals to labor and Negroes were weak. In a briefing for newsmen on the closed-door sessions, George Meyers, a Maryland leader, reported that delegates had sent a draft of a labor program to the incoming national committee.

Roscoe Proctor, a 45-year-old Negro from Berkeley, Calif., who said he had been in the party 24 years, observed: "There's a gap in activities that have taken place among the Negro people."

The party, he said, enjoys prestige among large numbers

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The party, he said, enjoys prestige among large numbers of Negroes, but they are not joining up for fear of persecution and loss of jobs.

Non-Communist Observers

Among "discussion material" circulated to delegates was a statement from the "Echo Park Section" in an integrated area of Los Angeles complaining that "physically, in its makeup, our party is a white party."

The statement also asserted that unions and political leaders who had helped civil rights in the South often resisted Negro advances in the West and North.

Mr. Lightfoot, a 56-year-old Chicagoan, described as having spent 35 years in the party, asserted that "the argument that we could win the struggle without Communists had failed." He declared the Communists "will not sit on the sidelines as we sometimes have in the past."

As to Negro strength among the party's claimed 12,000 members, Mr. Lightfoot said it would be "hard to say—1,000, 2,000, merely an educated guess." But then he declared, "Take no solace from measuring membership," and likened the party's return to a public arena to the surge of early Christians.

The lengthy "resolution on the Negro question" called for building a Negro-labor alliance for legislative and electoral battle, for spending $100-billion to "eliminate the ghetto" (which Mr. Lightfoot said would require a halt of spending for "guns") and for unionizing workers, especially in the South.

One of some 200 non-Communist observers allowed in the closed sessions, James H. Forest, national secretary of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, told reporters "about half" the participants appeared to be young.

This did not surprise him, he said, because his experience was that collegians regarded the Communist party as "a moderate, well-established, well-known left-wing organization that had made some contributions to progress" as against more leftist groups that "aligned themselves with violence."

Mr. Forest, 25, is the son of a former Communist district organizer in St. Louis. He said he had never had any interest in joining the party, having been "horrified" by Communist attitudes toward the arts.

He said he had become a Roman Catholic and a pacifist while serving in the Navy, and believed "there may be an absolute contradiction between pure dialectical materialism and Christianity."

Communism

Hoover Says Communists To Push Negro Recruiting

WASHINGTON (UPI) —FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover predicts that the U.S. Communist party — "accutely embarrassed by its failure to adequately recruit among Negroes" — will step up its efforts to infiltrate civil rights organizations.

"To their everlasting credit, the vast majority of Negroes have recognized the falsity of communism and turned it down," Hoover said.

Nevertheless, he said, American Communists "will step forward even more boldly, hoping to infiltrate and influence civil rights organizations . . . (as) a hatchery for communism."

The FBI director's views were contained in a 12-page statement on the party's national convention last month in New York, its first since 1959. it was made public Sunday by the Senate internal security subcommittee, which requested Hoover's comments.

The party "undoubtedly is in a much stronger position" as a result of the convention, Hoover said, and "remains a serious threat to our national security."

"The convention actually was a 'coming out party,' signifying a new era in the party's life," he added. "The party will now be more aggressive, seeking allies among non-Communists. It hopes to disarm Americans ideologically."

Hoover attributed the party's new confidence in emerging from years of seclusion to a 1965 Supreme Court decision. The ruling said Communists could invoke the Fifth Amendment guarantee against self-incrimination and refuse to register with the government.

Locher Pins Cleveland Riots on Red Agitators

Mayor Disputes Katzenbach on Cause of Turmoil—Federal Aid Urged

COMMUNISM

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 26 — Mayor Ralph S. Locher of Cleveland "wholeheartedly" agreed today with grand jury findings that recent riots in his city had been fomented by trained agitators, assisted by Communists.

He thus disputed the conclusion of Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, who had said that poverty and despair, not Communists or black nationalists, were the "true agitators."

The Mayor told a Senate subcommittee conducting hearings into the crisis of the cities:

"I believe the Attorney General is wrong. I believe the grand jury is correct."

A Cuyahoga County (Ohio) grand jury charged on Aug. 8 that Cleveland's racial violence in mid-July was "organized and exploited "by a small group of "trained and disciplined professionals," aided by some "members or officers in the Communist party."

Four persons died and 40 others were injured in the riots in the Hough and Superior areas of Cleveland before the police and members of the Ohio National Guard restored order.

Questioned by Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, Mr. Lucher told the subcommittee:

"In my judgment, and this is pure speculation, we would not have had the turmoil we had if it had not been for Communist agitators."

Meetings Are Cited

However, the Mayor said that it "would be a tragic mistake for us to think that if we got rid of Communists, all our problems would go away."

Defending his efforts to eradicate the slums of Hough, the Mayor said that for more than two years he had sought to head off an explosion. He told of dozens of meetings held by city officials seeking to improve housing and to find jobs for the unemployed.

Interrupting him, Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut, suggested that "endless rounds of meetings" could lead only to frustration for the people of ghettos.

"The people are getting the run-around and nothing happens," the Senator said. "Nothing could be more inflammatory for people with problems."

Mr. Locher insisted, however, that the meetings had led to positive action on housing, urban renewal, job training, recreational facilities and other urban problems.

The Mayor, a Democrat, joined other mayors, who testified earlier this week, in asking for more Federal money and less Federal red tape.

U.S. Held at Fault

The Mayor of Omaha, A. V. Sorensen, who followed Mr. Locher to the witness stand, placed much of the responsibility for city riots, including one in his city this summer, on the Federal Government.

He said one of the seeds of rioting had been the failure of well-publicized Federal promises to match Federal performance.

"It's a question of nit-picking on details that would try the patience of Job," he complained.

Describing himself as "the most frustrated Mayor in all America," Mr. Sorensen, a Republican, said that depite 15 months of trying and the vast resources of the Government, he had been unable to get a single low-income housing unit built in Omaha.

"I've just about made up my mind to try to get private industry to do the job and forget the Federal Government," he declared. "It's a sad fact of life."

"The Negro wants first-class citizenship now and he is tired of a lot of headline promises from Government," Mr. Sorensen added.

The subcommittee hearings, which began two weeks ago, are expected to recess for the remainder of the year after testimony next week from a number of witnesses.

Among those scheduled to testify are Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, and two Negro writers, Claude Brown, author of "Manchild in the Promised Land," and Ralph Ellison, author of "Invisible Man."

40 Witnesses Heard

When the Cuyahoga County grand jury issued its report holding trained agitators and Communists responsible for the Cleveland riots it cited as evidence the testimony of 40 witnesses taken during seven days of hearings.

The panel, which was headed by Louis B. Seltzer, retired editor of The Cleveland Press, said in its findings:

"It is no casual happenstance or coincidence that those throwing firebombs, or bricks, or bottles, or pillaging or generally engaged in disorder and lawlessness were in the main young people obviously assigned, trained and disciplined in the roles they were to play in the pattern of these dual outbreaks separated by less than one month."

The Hough and Superior areas of Cleveland were hit by waves of rioting and violence on June 23 and 24 and again beginning on July 18.

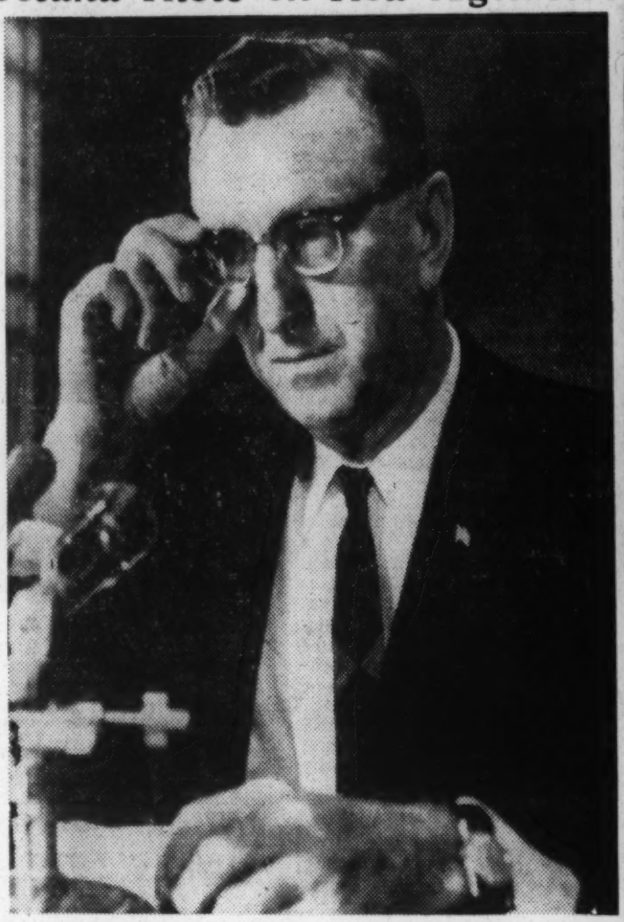
The jury singled out the W. E. B. DuBois Club, the Communist party and a black nationalist community center called J. F. K. House for their alleged roles in the rioting. The J. F. K. House is named for Jomo (Freedom) Kenyata, president of Kenya.

Negroes Score Findings

The jury's findings immediately provoked criticism from Negro leaders in Cleveland, who said the findings would "camouflage" the real problems of the city's Negro sections. One leader, Bertram E. Gardner, director of the Municipal Community Relations Board, described the jury's accusations as an attempt by the white community to escape responsibility for the plight of the Negroes.

"Actually, the living conditions were the things that caused the riots," he said. "They [the rioters] didn't need any Communists to tell them they're suffering."

Later, two policemen who had infiltrated local units of the Communist party—men whose testimony the jury had cited as the basis for its report—said they had no knowledge that Communists had either inspired the riots or played any direct role in them.



Associated Press Wirephoto

Mayor Ralph S. Locher of Cleveland at the Senate hearing

'Sacred Codfish' Made of Pine

BOSTON (UPI) — The so-called Sacred Codfish hanging at the rear of the House of Representatives chamber in the Massachusetts State House dates back to the late 1700's and is carved from a solid block of pine, says the travel department of the Automobile Legal Association.

agency

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

FISCAL YEAR 1965

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CONDITIONS

BY ELIZABETH HERZOG

Is There a "Breakdown" of the Negro Family?

■ ***Recent events have reactivated controversy concerning two questions: (1) Is the low-income American Negro family showing "rapid deterioration" or continuance of long-standing patterns? (2) Are its patterns mainly rooted in the legacy of slavery? This analysis sees a long-standing picture rather than drastic change and relates family pattern primarily to postslavery conditions.*** ■

MUCH HAS BEEN said of late—and often with great heat—about the Negro family. Despite prevailing consensus on a number of points, controversy has been generated with regard to other points because one man's fact is another man's fiction. Some points of consensus deserve mention before points of controversy. First, it is generally agreed that a harmonious two-parent home is better for children than a one-parent home—and better for parents, too, in this society. It is agreed also that fatherless homes are far more frequent among Negroes than among whites and that in both groups their frequency rises as income falls.

Another point of firm consensus is that strong action is needed to remedy adverse conditions that have existed far too long, especially for low-income Negroes; and that these conditions bear especially on the low-income Negro man, whose disadvantaged situation takes heavy toll of himself, his children, their mother, and the family unit as a whole. All these statements have long been accepted by serious students of Negro family life.[1]

The controversy centers mainly on the following points: (1) whether "the" Negro family is "crumbling" at a disastrous rate, (2) whether the amount of breakdown that exists is primarily due to poverty, or to cultural inheritance, or to a cycle of self-perpetuating pathology, (3) whether the

ELIZABETH HERZOG, Ph.B., *is Chief, Child Life Studies Branch, Division of Research, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.*

[1] St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1945); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); Hylan Lewis, "The Changing Negro Family," in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children, Vol. 1: The Family and Social Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964).

26 CONDITIONS

NYT 3/23/66

Young Says Ingredients Remain For Summer Negro 'Explosions'

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said yesterday there was a strong likelihood of racial riots and "explosions" in Negro ghettos this summer despite antipoverty programs and civil rights laws.

"We are not immune or free of the possibility of riots," the civil rights leader said after an appearance on "Page One" over WABC-TV. "The ingredients that precipitated the riots of the past are still here. There is more impatience, more anger and more willingness to express one's feeling."

During his television interview he was strongly critical of some antipoverty programs, saying they lacked coordination and complaining that they were not sustained throughout the year.

"The Negro," he said, "is getting terribly upset about the fact that along about April or May of every year you see a great flurry of activity to produce something for the summer to keep it cool."

"The Negro of the ghetto today is increasingly of the notion that the powers that be are more interested in peace and order than they are in the promotion of justice and equal opportunity."

Mr. Young said the funds made available to Negro communities by the Federal war on poverty were disappointing" and "in many cases had led to frustrations where expectations were high and tangible results were not seen."

"The Negro no longer can be appealed to on the basis of love and non-violence and being patient," he said.

Earlier yesterday, William H. Booth, chairman of the City Commission of Human Rights, said the commission would soon establish a "clearing house" of housing vacancies for members of minority groups to bring about "true open occupancy in the city of New York."

No Reports from Labor

Interviewed on the radio and television program, "Direct Line," over WNBC, Mr. Booth said the commission had been working on an informal basis with the Urban League and the city Department of Relocation in finding homes and apartments for minority group members.

He said a proposal for the "clearing house" would be made at a meeting of the commission on Wednesday.

Mr. Booth said he had not received reports from two powerful labor groups to show how they had moved toward full integration of their memberships since 1963.

Last Sunday, Mr. Booth had set a deadline for the New York Central Labor Council and the New York Building Trades Council to come forth with such reports within a week. Later, Peter Brennan, president of the building group, said he had no reports to give Mr. Booth.

The commission chairman said yesterday the labor groups' refusal to turn in reports would be taken up at the Wednesday meeting.

"If we don't get this compliance I will certainly ask the full commission to order a public hearing to air the condition with reference to membership [of Negroes] in the craft unions.

Associated Press

Whitney M. Young Jr.

The ultimate, of course, is the cancellation of [city construction] contracts.

...presented his sum... Thursday. Shown are the "Neptune" ...oom. She wears a bikini in white organdy and ...s a bathing suit and white gloves. (Associated Press Wirephoto)

USE ON FUGITIVES SEEN

~~Humans May Test Tranquilizer Gun~~

CONDITIONS

AC 5/13/66

By United Press International

A report by two human relations groups Thursday warned that continued "white lawlessness" could bring "retaliatory violence" from Negroes in the South.

"The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn," said a document released in Atlanta by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and in Washington by the American Jewish Committee.

The regional council has its avowed aim the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is a pioneer group in the fight against bigotry.

VIOLENCE REPORTED

According to the joint report, 10 killings and "uncounted" beatings, burnings, bombings and shootings were recorded in the South during a six-month period following the start of "peaceful" desegregation in the region in September, 1965.

It said Americans have been "deluded" about the facts of southern school integration, and were wrong in the assumption that "federal money and southern honor" would carry the day for peaceful acceptance of classroom desegregation laws.

The report said that between 5 and 6 per cent of the south's 3,014,025 Negro children are now attending classes with whites. And, it contended, the parents have been subjected to violence and economic pressures.

EXPRESS HOPE

It expressed hope that the tightening of federal desegregation guidelines and better law enforcement would step up desegregation of southern schools next fall.

In reviewing accounts of violence on the part of whites in the south, the report said that "a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination" had been found.

The report said the most compelling factor of the continuing crisis "has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the south, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the south's greatest disgrace."

2 Georgians Picked As Postmasters

WASHINGTON (AP)—Two Georgians were among persons nominated for postmaster positions by President Lyndon Johnson Thursday.

They are James B. Young of Clermont and Thomas L. Exley of Springfield.

The nominations were sent to the Senate for approval.

Travel Act Tabled in Penn Case

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A section of the 1966 civil rights bill forbidding interference with rights to travel "would not reach" the slaying of Lemuel Penn in Georgia, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission said Thursday.

Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach had said earlier that another section of the bill would authorize prosecution in cases similar to the Penn slaying. Katzenbach named the Penn case as an example.

The Civil Rights Commission, in a written statement submitted to a House Judiciary subcommittee by staff director William L. Taylor, recommended addition of a provision clearly "making criminal any interference with a person using any road or highway in interestate commerce."

SLAYING RECALLED

Taylor said the section as now written "would not reach, for example, the wanton murder of Lemuel Penn in Georgia last year while he was driving through the state returning from duty with the National Guard."

Taylor said the section "is limited to travel by common carrier."

Katzenbach told the subcommittee Tuesday that killings such as in the Penn Case would be covered under a provision allowing prosecution for random use of force or violence against Negroes to discourage civil rights activities.

"I think that would be similar to Colonel Penn's," Katzenbach told the subcommittee.

ON HOUSING BIAS

Other Civil Rights Commission recommendations to strengthen the 1966 bill include:

1 Withdrawal of federal charters for banks and savings and loan associations which practice discrimination in housing transactions.

2. Give a federal agency the administrative authority to investigate and to make prompt determination in cases involving housing discrimination in order to prevent lagging enforcement.

3. Permit persons damaged by violation of their civil rights to sue for recovery against individuals or governments responsible for losses.

4. Permit individuals to obtain injunctive relief from prosecutions brought against them while exercising First Amendment rights.

A. dro

D. Ric cold size, pink,

G. Rich's shampoo, 1

RICH'S DOWN

CONDITIONS

THE 'TRAGIC GAP' IN RIGHTS SCORED

N.A.A.C.P. Fund Notes Lag on Schools and Jobs

By ALFRED FRIENDLY JR.

On the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, only one Southern Negro child in 20 attends an integrated school, a civil rights group reported yesterday.

Twenty months after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to assure equal job opportunity, the Negro unemployment rate is "twice that of whites," the annual report of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., declared.

And in the entire field of civil rights, there is a "tragic gap" between the law and its enforcement, "a gap between the promise and the reality," the fund's director-counsel, Jack Greenberg, said.

"The gap is far too large in every aspect of life that you can think of," he told a news conference in the New York Hilton where the fund will hold a two-day convocation today and tomorrow on the theme of "The Tragic Gap."

Among the scheduled speakers at the conference on civil rights progress and future programs are Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolf Institute; Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the psychologist; the Solicitor General Thurgold Marshall and Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Annual Report released

A yesterday's news conference, Mr. Greenberg released the fund's annual report, also titled "The Tragic Gap." The 30-page pamphlet cited "tokenism" in Southern school integration; "meager compliance' with efforts to desegregate some Southern hospitals and "blatant segregation" in most; "racial bigotry" in the conduct of Southern justice, and a national Negro rate of unemployment "twice that of whites."

The summer of 1966, Mr. Greenberg said, may expose the bitterness Negroes feel about the slow pace of civil rights enforcement.

"Unless there is rapid progress, we are going to have a damming up of disillusionment, and at some point the dam will break," he said. "If there are vigorous efforts to move ahead and if there's involvement of the Negro community in this effort, it can be a productive summer."

'Painful Disadvantage'

According to the report, "a mere 5.2 per cent of Negro children in the South (are) attending integrated schools," and many of those schools "maintained segregated classrooms, white-only extracullicular activities and separate school buses."

"At every juncture where justice is secured or tempered with mercy," the report said, "the Negro is at a painful disadvantage." Ninety per cent of the 451 persons executed in 17 Southern and Border states and the District of Columbia since 1930 were Negroes, it added.

Noting that the Legal Defense Fund's activities had moved to "wholesale treatment" of civil rights problems, Mr. Greenberg said the fund had filed 900 complaints of job bias before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission since last July, had helped register 4,000 Negro children in formerly all-white schools in the South and filed 175 complaints abou discrimination in health car services.

In addition, Mr. Greenberg said, part of the 1966 budget of $2-million was being spent on handling some 385 pending legal cases.

CONDITIONS

'BEST PLACE IN THE WORLD'

U.N. Aide Likes Future of South

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Dr. James Madison Nabrit Jr., this country's No. 2 man at the United Nations, says the South is "going to be the best place in the world."

Nabrit, 65, voices his opinion from this vantage point: He is one of the world's top leaders who has traveled extensively; he is a Negro who was born and reared in the South.

The deputy to Ambassador Arthur S. Goldberg is a native of Atlanta. He has lived in Americus and Augusta and practiced law in other parts of the South.

Southern racial conditions have hurt the United States a "great deal" in international politics, said Nabrit.

"WESTERN countries for a long time didn't think much of colored people," he explained. "It was in the period when the Western countries were dominating the world."

Independent African and Asian countries do not fear the United States as a colonial power, Nabrit said, but they are apprehensive about whether the United States will assist its friends in that role.

"The question is," said Nabrit, "can these Western countries be for freedom and self-determination? We have faired good in the last 10 years because we are trying to come to grips with the Negro problem.

"My view is, the South, once it gets this thing off its back, is going to be the best place in the world. The ones standing in the way of it now will be the largest benefactors.

"While they have been witch hunting and holding the Negro down, the North has been holding them down. Anybody who did anything had to leave the South. I meet people (from the South) all over the world with great talent."

Nabrit points to President Johnson as an example of what a Southerner can accomplish once he is freed from the political burden of the Negro problem.

"A Southerner, if he makes up his mind to do something, is going to do something," said Nabrit. "Not only that, he has the training." The U.N. delegate again referred to President Johnson as the best evidence.

DR. J. M. NABRIT JR.
On Leave from University

Nabrit is another example of a Southerner who left this na- Morehouse College at Atlanta in tive region in order "to do something."

HE WAS graduated from 1923 and received a law degree from Northwestern University in 1927.

Nabrit entered law practice and found legal work in the South a frustrating chore.

"I would go into court and everybody would say I was right, but the law was not on my side," said Nabrit.

"In 1936 I came to Washington to begin training lawyers to change the law. . . ."

Coming to Washington meant teaching law at Howard University. He is now on leave of absence as president of the institution. That's where his heart still is, and he hopes to return to Howard in September.

In fact, President Johnson and Ambassador Goldberg had a tough time breaking his tie temporarily with the university. Nabrit was on a two-month leave of absence from Howard University and was on the Far East leg of a world tour when Goldberg telephoned him last September.

Goldberg informed Nabrit that the President wanted him to assume the post of deputy representative to the U.N. Security Council with the personal rank of ambassador.

Nabrit turned down the appointment. Goldberg telephoned the next night to say the President was "disturbed" at Nabrit's answer. Nabrit said no again.

GOLDBERG called the next night to report the President insisted that Nabrit take the appointment. Nabrit finally agreed to do so. He had been backed into a corner.

"We have been saying Negroes have not been getting these appointments," explained Nabrit. "Then, when the President called on me, I refused. I felt I would have to take the appointment to back up what I was saying."

President Johnson named Nabrit last April 26 as the representative to speak for this country at the United Nations when Goldberg is busy elsewhere.

Nabrit believes the United Nations has demonstrated unusual strength in the past year. His point is that on the heels of the settling internal strife over financing of the organization, the Pakistan - India conflict popped up.

"While it has not solved the Kashmir problem," said Nabrit, "it has eased the situation. This (handling of the Kashmir issue right after the internal crisis) is an indication of immense strength."

"The world is so constructed and the dnagers of war are so catastrophic, that nations must have a place of discussion," Nabrit said. "Just to let off steam is a great factor in human relations as in industrial relations.

"We need the United Nations to gather numbers to go along with our power. We've got the power. We can go out here and wipe out everybody. . . . This is the problem that faces the American citizen: You have all this power and you have to decide how to use it".

Nabrit, interviewed in his 10-room brick home located on the rolling, carefully landscaped northwest side of Washington, had this advice for a young Southern Negro today.

"I would get all the training his brains and talent would take, at the best schools he could get, and to make as many contacts as he could with people in various aspects of life in the South."

Nabrit doesn't expect the South to get "this thing off its back" immediately. But his advice says the young Southerner will have opportunity to develop his talent within his native region.

Additional Race Related Deaths in the United States

Sept., 1965 - June, 1966

These are cases involving violent death between the races in the South. The list is of course not complete; it is not restricted to cases involving civil rights. It is compiled from newspaper accounts, and in some instances, where cooperation could be obtained, reports from officials.

1965

Alvin Lamar Brown (N) 10/14/65.	Chattanooga, Tennessee. A Negro neighborhood youth corpsman was shot and killed by a white fellow worker. The young Negro was seated on bleachers the corpsmen were building near a high school, when the white youth walked up and opened fire with a .22 caliber pistol.
Willie Joe (last name not given in press accounts) (N) 10/6/65.	Hampton, South Carolina. An elderly Negro junk dealer was shot and killed apparently after an argument over money. The sheriff said the old man had been "a fixture in the town. He made his living by collecting and selling junk from a moveable cart." A white man was charged with the murder.
James Robert Smith (N) 11/9/65.	Nashville, Tennessee. The ten year old Negro was brutally beaten to death. A fifteen year old white youth was being held in the affair.
Joseph Robert McNair (N) 11/8/65.	Pelahatchie, Mississippi. Shot by a white constable who claimed the 30 year old McNair "came at him with an open pocketknife."
Willie B. Tucker (N) 12/12/65.	Liberty, South Carolina. A Brooklyn, New York, Negro was traveling through Liberty with his wife and family en route to Alabama. After a fruitless search for a place to spend the night, the man was taken to the police station, where officers made calls to help find a place. According to press accounts "When he (Tucker) was asked questions . . . he was shot by a policeman after a brief scuffle with officers."
Edward Culbreth (N) 12/7/65.	Hamburg, Arkansas. The fourteen year old Negro youth was shot while standing in front of a cafe on the main street of Portland. Two white brothers were held in the shooting. The county sheriff told reporters that as far as he could determine there was no provocation for the shooting."

1966

Samuel Younge, Jr. (N) 1/6/66.	Tuskegee, Alabama. The victim, a freshman at Tuskegee Institute and field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot to death . . . following a dispute at a service station.
Vernon Dahmer (N) 1/11/66.	Hattiesburg, Mississippi. A leader in Negro voter registration died of burns when his home and store were fire-bombed. Fourteen Ku Klux Klansmen were charged by the Federal government with violation of the victim's civil rights.

CONDITIONS

Negro Gangs Hurl Bombs At Chicago Police Cars

AC 7/13/66

CHICAGO (UPI)—Roving gangs rampaged through a near West Side Negro neighborhood Tuesday night, tossing Molotov cocktails at police cars and looting scores of stores. Civil rights leader Martin Luther King rushed to the scene.

The plate glass windows of every store in one large shopping plaza were shattered and the shelves of a food supermart emptied before police arrived.

Mechanicsville teen-agers block Pryor Street to protest lack of play areas. Page 6.

Several gangs of up to about 250 youths each formed throughout the area after police turned off two fire hydrants being used by children during the hot afternoon.

The gangs broke into stores, broke windows and street lights as they roamed the area. One police squad car was set afire by a flaming Molotov cocktail and police in another car said they were the target of five fire bombs.

Three squad cars were hit with bricks. Shattered glass

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Roving Gangs Hurl Bombs in Chicago

Continued from Page 1

fragments littered the sidewalks and streets.

EMERGENCY PLAN

Police headquarters immediately put Emergency Plan 6 into effect and dispatched Cmdr. Holzman, "Hero Cop" of Chicago's recent Puerto Rican riots, to the scene.

A total of 21 persons were arrested, but police said nobody was injured.

Six Negro youths were arrested, almost immediately, police said, and taken to the Racine Avenue police station. They were there only a short time when King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who led a gigantic Chicago civil rights rally Sunday showed up.

King, accompanied by A. Raby, head of a Chicago civil rights organization, persuaded police to release the youths on the recognizance of the Rev. Columbus Ewing, a civil rights figure in the area.

Death of 3

Walter Lippmann

American Negro In Unique Position

AC 7/15/66

WASHINGTON—The cry about "black power" which is dividing the Negro population so sharply has occurred, we must note, as the bright hopes of last year have given way to a bleak realization that progress is stalled. The argument about "black power" is an argument about how the Negroes can restore the momentum of progress in obtaining better housing and better schools, which were the promises of 1965.

The Negro militants, who speak to the deep poverty and wretchedness of the ghettos, are arguing that progress can be pushed along only by the use of Negro votes, boycotts and angry defiance. The Negro moderates stake their hopes on votes, persuasion and nonviolent civil disobedience and demonstration.

The cruel fact of the matter is that neither tactic will work under present war conditions. The basic reality is that the 22 million Negroes, though a large number, are only about 10 per cent of the nation. Obviously they cannot coerce the huge majority, and they have no power of any kind which, if exercised recklessly, will not bring on severe reprisals and repression.

The position of the American Negro is in important respects unique. Thus, unlike the Indians who followed Gandhi, the American Negroes are not a huge majority resisting a small alien group of rulers. All forms of partition, liberation and independence which have been practiced by other racial communities in Africa and Asia are unavailable for the American Negro.

In the end there is for black and white Americans alike no alternative to coexistence, and there is no basis for coexistence except a genuine and sustained progress toward better conditions of life. This progress is possible only if the great white majority supports the progressive reforms and approves of active collaboration between the races in carrying out the reforms.

In other words, there is in the deeply interrelated problems of urbanization and Negro progress no alternative to a politics of consensus. The great promise of the Johnson election of 1964 was that our most serious internal problems would be treated by persuasion and debate and peaceful argument and that we would avoid racial and class warfare.

The hope that this highly rational and civilized way was possible rested not merely on the political skill of Mr. Johnson, but on the prospect that with proper management the expansion of the economy could continue.

As we know, the tax surpluses which were to finance the internal progress do not exist. The war is consuming them.

The Indo - Chinese war (it is no longer merely a South Vietnamese war) has destroyed the material foundations of all the hopes that preceded it. The foundations of a progressive society will not soon or easily be rebuilt.

For the President has never explained to the nation, and may not himself have fully appreciated, what are the commitments and the costs of the global crusade into which he has plunged us and of the forward strategy in the Pacific which he seems to countenance.

CONDITIONS AC 7/28/66

Black Power a Blow to Rights, Allen Says

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said on nationwide television Tuesday night that the black power violence here and across the country has brought on the country's strongest reaction against the civil rights movement in recent history.

"I've never seen stronger reactionism," Allen said. "It has upset the status quo of established voting patterns."

Mayor Allen was one of the major personalties interviewed in an hour-long CBS News report on "Black Power—White Backlash."

SHOWS RIOTS

The broadcast was laced with film clips of this summer's urban race riots, strong demands by outspoken militants of the black power movement, and comments that "dramatic shifts" are becoming evident and may "tear the Democratic party apart at the teams" this election year.

Snick leader Stokely Carmichael of Atlanta said he and his followers will use "any means necessary" to achieve their ends. He said the white power structure should turn property ownerships over to the slum-dwelling Negroes.

Carmichael told a white newsman he had one message for the white community:

"The white man's burden should not have been preached in Africa but among you. . . . You are the killers of the dreams. You are the savages. Yes, it is you who have been uncivilized. Civilize yourself."

WON'T CHANGE

But the leader of non-violence among Negroes, Atlanta's Martin Luther King Jr., said that if every last Negro in the country turned to violence "I will never change" He asserted that Negroes favoring violence are a "numerical minority."

He said there would be more summers of violence and demonstrations and that the future depends "on white America to a large extent."

King was criticized by another black power advocate, New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who said Negroes will "meet violence with violence—for our manhood; for our dignity."

WANTS POWER

"Let the whites keep their civil rights if it's such a precious commodity," said Daniel Watts, a Negro magazine publisher who has supported black power. "Give us money and power." He called King a "house nigger" of "neurotic liberal whites" who have built a wall between the white power structure and the Negro community.

A national poll taker, Lou Harris, said that the white backlash vote this November probably would decide as many as 20 races for congressional seats now held by freshmen congressmen.

A BIG SHIFT

This, he said, is because in 1963 about two-thirds of the educated whites favored the civil rights movement, but by the end of this summer the number had fallen to "scarcely more than one in four."

Daniel P. Moynihan, director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said the impact of the white backlash already had been felt.

"We lost the Civil Rights Act (of 1966)," he said. "The most powerful Democratic liberal voting majority . . . of the century probably . . . didn't do what it ought to have done. And the reason it did not has been fairly clear—the withdrawal of sympathy around the country."

CONDITIONS

NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 11, 1966.

CLEVELAND STUDY OF RIOT DEPLORED

Negroes Call Social Ills, Not Agitators, the Cause

By WALTER RUGABER
Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Aug. 10 — Prominent Negro leaders were dismayed today by the charge that recent riots here were the work of agitators and revolutionaries.

The Negroes said that this appraisal, made by a county grand jury, would "camouflage" the real problems and prolong the search for a solution of serious social ills.

Several authorities, including Gov. James A. Rhodes, indicated today they were looking into the possibility of enacting stiffer laws against future upheavals.

Bertram E. Gardner, Negro director of the Municipal Community Relations Board, asserted that the grand jury accusations were an attempt by the white community to escape responsibility.

Living Conditions Noted

"Actually, the living conditions were the things that caused the riots," the city official said. "They [the rioters] didn't need any Communists to tell them they're suffering."

The grand jury spent seven days investigating the racial disorders that erupted in the Hough area and other sections of Cleveland's deteriorating East Side Negro ghetto.

Four Negroes were killed and more than 40 persons injured in the rioting, which began July 18. Nearly 2,000 National Guardsmen were called in to help restore order.

It appeared from the report that the grand jury drew heavily on information supplied by two police undercover agents and by the police subversive squad.

The head of that squad testified at length and received an ovation from the grand jury.

The grand jury outlined a number of the social problems found in the Negro areas and said these "served as the uneasy backdrop for the Cleveland riots."

But mainly its report, which

Tensions Ease in Chicago Area As 2 Marches Are Postponed

By DOUGLAS ROBINSON
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 10—Negro civil rights leaders announced today that they had temporarily postponed plans to hold demonstrations in two white neighborhoods.

The announcement eased tensions in the communities of Bogan, some nine miles southwest of downtown Chicago, and in Cicero, a suburb six miles to the west.

Officials of Cicero had warned that marches protesting alleged housing discrimination would set off violence that would have to be controlled by the National Guard. In Bogan, there had been unconfirmed reports that whites were arming.

In making public the decision to put off the marches, the Rev. James Bevel, a top aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., said the move did not mean that plans for the demonstrations had been abandoned.

"Keep your walking shoes, don't get rid of them," he told some 200 cheeing supporters meeting at the Congregational Church in the West Side Negro ghetto.

Realty Interests Scored

Albert Raby, another aide to Dr. King and the leader of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations here, also addressed the group in the church.

Mr. Raby said that demonstrations would come to an immediate halt once the city's real estate interests announced publicly that they accepted the city's fair housing law and "treat all Americans as human beings entitled to buy or to rent any properties listed by their agencies."

He blamed the real estate interests for the past week's demonstrations that led to attacks by whites on civil rights marchers.

"Those who continue to treat the Negro as less than a man by denying him access to housing must bear the responsibility for what happens in the present civil rights demonstrations," Raby said.

Civil rights forces picketed

lion Roman Catholics, also appealed for an end to the marches.

"With a heavy heart," Archbishop Cody said in a statement, "I would call upon the leaders of the Chicago Freedom Movement to take counsel among themselves and with their supporters concerning the continuation of marches and demonstrations at this time."

Archbishop Cody, a stanch supporter of civil rights movements in the last several years, said he deplored the necessity for the appeal. He said violence by whites had caused him to issue it.

He decried what he called the "shameful reactions" of some to the "exercise of a basic freedom of our land."

"It is truly sad, indeed deplorable," the Archbishop continued, "that citizens should ever have to be asked to suspend the exercise of their rights because of evil-doing of others."

"However, in my opinion and in the opinion of many men of good will," he said, "such is the situation in which we now find ourselves."

'The Test Case'

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 10 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that the firebombs of Watts had blasted the civil rights movement into a new phase and that Chicago was now the main testing ground.

"The most significant event of this year is the spread of the Negro revolution from the sprawling plantations of Mississippi and Alabama to the desolate slums and ghettos of the North," Dr. King said in his annual report to his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in convention here.

"Chicago is the test case for S.C.L.C. and indeed the freedom movement in the North," Dr. King said. "But even though Chicago is an experiment in faith, it is also a social experiment in which the ingredients of nonviolence and justice are destined to triumph over those of injustice.

"Just as Mississippi stands as the largest bastion of crippling de jure segregation in the

LANSING PACT SET TO EASE TENSIONS

Officials and Negro Leaders Act to Prevent Violence

LANSING, Mich., Aug. 10 (UPI)—A pact between community leaders and residents of a violence-scarred Negro neighborhood gave Michigan's capital city an uneasy peace today.

But Police Chief Charles Straiger warned, "we're not about to turn out backs on it —not until this thing cools off a bit."

City officials met once again with Negro leaders to decide whether to seal off a 36-square-block area within walking distance of the Capitol building.

Such action last night coupled, with the peace agreement, gave the area a relatively calm night after two straight evenings of hit-and-run vandalism by Negro and white gangs.

"I think we have eased the tension a great degree," Chief Straiger said.

There was one arrest last night, compared with 31 on the two previous nights. Only one incident—a fire-bomb attack on an unfinished apartment building—was reported.

The blockade was set up to keep cruising white gangs out of the area and to prevent anyone without business in the area, white or Negro, from entering.

In addition to the blockade, the pact also included promises from the city to investigate all charges of police brutality. The County Prosecutor's office was assigned the duty of checking such charges.

The city also promised to extend a recreation center program in the neighborhood from the present five-day-a-week schedule to six days. The civic center will also be opened for dances, a practice that was halted two years ago after violence broke out.

City officals said their long-range plans included building five community centers to handle recreation needs in various parts of town.

By WALTER ROBB

Special to The New York Times

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The grand jury outlined a number of the social problems found in the Negro areas and said these "served as the uneasy backdrop for the Cleveland riots."

But mainly its report, which was issued last night, asserted that the riots were "organized and exploited" by a group of "trained and disciplined professionals at this business."

The report said most of the trouble was caused by "young people obviously assigned, trained, and disciplined in the roles they were to play."

Agitators Present

Negroes and some white observers agreed that there were indeed agitators present during the riots and that a pattern had developed during the violence and destruction.

But, they argued, there was no solid evidence of planning and no solid evidence that radical forces were at the root of the trouble.

"I think [the grand jury report] represents generally the average white man's emotional blindness against the real causes and leads him up the flowery path to other causes that will get him off the hook," Mr. Gardner said.

"There was a great desire to find some pegs to hang [the riots) on," Mr. Gardner said. "This simplifies it. But there's no desire to handle the real problems."

Frank L. Kelker, an official of the Young Men's Christian Association, complained that often "when trouble brews, the first thing they holler is 'Communist infiltration.' The reasonable white people are putting the blame where it belongs."

Clarence H. Holmes, a lawyer, who is a board member of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the report "missed the whole point."

"While I didn't hear the evidence, it does seem to me this report is likely to lead to offhand treatment of the problems and frustration that exist in the first place. They are very real," he said.

Cleveland has been widely criticized for a fumbling urban renewal program, poor enforcement of the housing codes, inadequate city services such as garbage collection, and second-rate schools for Negroes.

The grand jury commented:

"Impatience among the Negro people for the improvement of their citizenship is understandable, but the opinion has been expressed they may be attempting to expect too much too fast for the community to bear within an arbitrarily fixed time limit."

The panel said that because of inadequate laws the persons "responsible" for the rioting "cannot at this time be reached by specific indictments for their infamous activities."

The jury nevertheless named "some of the principal and recurring personalities" supposedly behind the riots. As did the police, it concentrated on Lewis G. Robinson and the "community center" he operates.

Mr. Robinson is director of the J. F. K. House (the initials stand for Jomo Freedom Kenyatta). He said today it had been raided by the police about a dozen times in the last two years and now was closed because of alleged health violations.

The grand jury said it had found "irrefutable evidence to the effect that Robinson pledged reciprocal aid to and with the Communist party of Ohio."

"In addition," it said, "Robinson attended many meetings at which imported Communist speakers talked and was arrested at one of these."

Mr. Robinson, who was dismissed from a city job when he announced the formation of a gun club to protect civil rights demonstrators, denied any Communist ties and branded the jury report "nothing but a lot of garbage."

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borhoods.

The announcement eased tensions in the communities of Bogan, some nine miles southwest of downtown Chicago, and in Cicero, a suburb six miles to the west.

Officials of Cicero had warned that marches protesting alleged housing discrimination would set off violence that would have to be controlled by the National Guard. In Bogan, there had been unconfirmed reports that whites were arming.

In making public the decision to put off the marches, the Rev. James Bevel, a top aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., said the move did not mean that plans for the demonstrations had been abandoned.

"Keep your walking shoes, don't get rid of them," he told some 200 cheeing supporters meeting at the Congregational Church in the West Side Negro ghetto.

Realty Interests Scored

Albert Raby, another aide to Dr. King and the leader of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations here, also addressed the group in the church.

Mr. Raby said that demonstrations would come to an immediate halt once the city's real estate interests announced publicly that they accepted the city's fair housing law and "treat all Americans as human beings entitled to buy or to rent any properties listed by their agencies."

He blamed the real estate interests for the past week's demonstrations that led to attacks by whites on civil rights marchers.

"Those who continue to treat the Negro as less than a man by denying him access to housing must bear the responsibility for what happens in the present civil rights demonstrations," Raby said.

Civil rights forces picketed the Real Estate Board this evening.

Yesterday, Mayor Richard J. Daley urged civil rights leaders to reconsider their plans to march in Bogan and Cicero. Today, the Most Rev. John P. Cody, who as Archbishop of the Chicago diocese is the spiritual leader of the area's three million Movement to take counsel among themselves and with their supporters concerning the continuation of marches and demonstrations at this time."

Archbishop Cody, a stanch supporter of civil rights movements in the last several years, said he deplored the necessity for the appeal. He said violence by whites had caused him to issue it.

He decried what he called the "shameful reactions" of some to the "exercise of a basic freedom of our land."

"It is truly sad, indeed deplorable," the Archbishop continued, "that citizens should ever have to be asked to suspend the exercise of their rights because of evil-doing of others."

"However, in my opinion and in the opinion of many men of good will," he said, "such is the situation in which we now find ourselves."

'The Test Case'

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 10 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that the firebombs of Watts had blasted the civil rights movement into a new phase and that Chicago was now the main testing ground.

"The most significant event of this year is the spread of the Negro revolution from the sprawling plantations of Mississippi and Alabama to the desolate slums and ghettos of the North," Dr. King said in his annual report to his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in convention here.

"Chicago is the test case for S.C.L.C. and indeed the freedom movement in the North," Dr. King said. "But even though Chicago is an experiment in faith, it is also a social experiment in which the ingredients of nonviolence and justice are destined to triumph over those of injustice.

"Just as Mississippi stands as the largest bastion of crippling de jure segregation in the South," he said, "Chicago holds equal status as the most hostile bastion of de facto segregation in the North."

Dr. King was confined to his hotel room during the day with a virus infection and a temperature of 102 degrees, but his report was read to the convention.

(UPI)—A pact between community leaders and residents of a violence-scarred Negro neighborhood gave Michigan's capital city an uneasy peace today.

But Police Chief Charles Straiger warned, "we're not about to turn out backs on it —not until this thing cools off a bit."

City officials met once again with Negro leaders to decide whether to seal off a 36-square-block area within walking distance of the Capitol building.

Such action last night coupled, with the peace agreement, gave the area a relatively calm night after two straight evenings of hit-and-run vandalism by Negro and white gangs.

"I think we have eased the tension a great degree," Chief Straiger said.

There was one arrest last night, compared with 31 on the two previous nights. Only one incident—a fire-bomb attack on an unfinished apartment building—was reported.

The blockade was set up to keep cruising white gangs out of the area and to prevent anyone without business in the area, white or Negro, from entering.

In addition to the blockade, the pact also included promises from the city to investigate all charges of police brutality. The County Prosecutor's office was assigned the duty of checking such charges.

The city also promised to extend a recreation center program in the neighborhood from the present five-day-a-week schedule to six days. The civic center will also be opened for dances, a practice that was halted two years ago after violence broke out.

City officals said their long-range plans included building five community centers to handle recreation needs in various parts of town.

Precautions Set in Detroit

DETROIT, Aug. 10 (AP)—Leaves were canceled for policemen and officers were placed on 12-hour shifts today in an effort to prevent a repetition of last night's disturbances in a racially mixed area of Detroit's East Side.

The precautions were announced by Police Commissioner Ray Girardin, who said, however, that he did not expect trouble.

Commissioner Giarardin also said that ministers and other civic leaders, both Negro and white, of the section that borders the exclusive Grosse Point area had been asked to urge parents to keep their children off the streets.

A routine arrest resulted in a fight last night that drew a crowd. Windows were broken, cars belonging to both Negroes and white were stoned during a 90-minute period in which 150 policemen sealed off the area and cleared the streets.

The commissioner termed last night's incident, the first sign in a long time of any trouble involving Negroes and whites in this city of nearly two million people, as "isolated but serious."

"This could have been a big thing if people had lost their heads," he said, praising his police officers for having no physical contact with the persons involved and also praising adults in the section for taking no part.

"The older people did not subscribe to this at all," he said, adding that although the few people arrested were members of an extremist group there was "no evidence this disturbance was staged."

REISCHAUER CRITICAL OF VIETNAM POLICY

TOKYO, Aug. 9 (AP)—Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer said Tuesday that the United States must find a better way to handle the Vietnamese problem, based on local nationalism and "very much broader international support than we are able to muster today."

Mr. Reischauer, who has resigned as Ambassador to return to teaching history at Harvard University, said in an interview that though he supported and would continue to support United States policy in Vietnam, the situation there was not a satisfactory one.

The root of the United States's difficulties in Vietnam, Mr. Reischauer declared, go back to "its grave mistake" in helping French colonialism return in 1945. He said it did not help the French to return to Indochina or the Dutch to Indonesia, both possessions before the war.

Mr. Reischauer said that in his five years as Ambassador he had "carefully avoided ever saying anything I did not myself believe."

Court Refuses to Dismiss Suit on Oath for Medicare

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 10 (AP)—Federal Court declined today to dismiss a civil action challenging the Communist disclaimer required of Medicare applicants.

The United States Attorney's office, which sought the dismissal, said some 6,000 Medicare applications a week were being held up pending court decision on the question.

A. L. Wirin, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, who filed the suit, said the disclaimer violated constitutional rights of freedom of speech and association.

But District Judge Thurmond Clarke refused to dismiss the case. He also upheld a temporary restraining order barring the question until a three-judge panel rules at a hearing on Aug. 15. The action was filed in behalf of Mrs. Alda T. Reed.

CONDITIONS

Race Conflict Isn't All Bad, Urban League's Young Says

"Racial conflict does not mean we're going backward," National Urban League director Whitney Young Jr. said here Thursday night.

Whitney Young

"The riots make us all look bad," Young told newsmen after he addressed 46 graduates of the E. K. Jones Volunteers in Service to America (Vista) Training Center.

"The counter reaction—whites stoning Negroes—that's going on in Chicago is good in one way. The real hate there is now coming into the open," said Young. "Their real attitudes are now being revealed."

"Here were people who were telling us that all they were interested in were things like local schools," he said. "They had told us, 'Sure, we're for civil rights.' We've found racists in the North just as brutal as any in the South."

Asked about the Negro participation in the riots, Young replied, "I never said that social change would be painless. All that these Negroes want is some tangible evidence of progress."

"We know now that no community can feel immune to these riots," he said. "There will always be someone to stir them up. We learned how from white demagogues in the South who did the same with the poor, uneducated whites.

"Now, people tell us that they're not going to support civil rights because of the riots," Young said. "No one talks about the disproportionate number of Negro boys dying in Viet Nam and says that they'll back civil rights because of it."

Georgia Fifth District Rep. Charles L. Weltner, the main speaker at the graduation, said afterward that he was dismayed by the qualification of klansman Calvin Craig for a seat on the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee. "Our party disavows extremists," Weltner said.

Whites and Police Clash in Chicago

~~RIOTS~~ CONDITIONS

AJ 8/15/66

By The Associated Press

Thousands of rioting whites clashed with club-swinging policemen in Chicago Sunday night after three separate civil rights marches into all-white neighborhoods.

At least 16 persons — including five policemen — were injured and police arrested 21 persons during the melee.

Police swarmed into Marquette Park on the city's Southwest Side and knocked several persons to the ground with clubs as thousands of white persons stormed through the park.

The park finally was emptied and officers denied anyone entrance.

The violence erupted after a leader of the American Nazi party called on white persons to march into Negro areas.

The violence came after the civil rights marches into Gage Park, Bogan and Jefferson Park nieghborhoods to protest alleged housing discrimination.

Marquette Park was outside the area of the civil rights marches, but the demonstrators were met with volleys of rocks and bottles which resulted in some injuries and several arrests.

John Patler of the American Nazi party earlier had told whites in the park they should prepare for "the white revolution."

Soon after his talk, riotin white persons roamed the par and hurled bottles and rocks a passing cars of Negroes.

Squads of policemen withdrew to regroup, and when reinforced, swarmed down a hill into the melee. Officers fired shots into the air.

Angry whites yelling, "We want white power!" and "Kill the niggers!" bombarded a caravan of cars carrying marchers into the Gage Park area.

As civil rights leaders prepared to meet tonight to discuss plans for their next demonstration in Chicago, Rep. Roman C. Pucinski, D-Ill., said he

Turn to Page 4, Column 1

Whites, Police Clash in Chicago

Continued from Page 1

would introduce a bill in Congress which would give courts the rights to limit the number of marchers in civil rights demonstrations.

Elsewhere on the racial scene:

More than 3,000 whites at a Ku Klux Klan rally in Raleigh, N.C., jeered a small group of Negroes who sat in on the meeting. But helmeted officers kept the session under control.

Six persons, including a klan security guard, were arrested.

All but two of the Negroes left during one of the speeches.

At Detroit, four Negroes charged with inciting to riot in the aftermath of three days of violence pleaded innocent before Record's Court Judge John A. Ricca. The judge set a hearing for the four, described by police as members of militant civil rights groups.

A relative calm settled over Detroit, Lansing, Ypsilanti and Muskegon, Mich., scenes of outbreaks of violence last week.

Police at Philadelphia, Pa., launched a search for three officials of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights group, on warrants charging them with the possession of explosives and conspiracy.

A fourth civil rights worker, Winston Early, surrendered to police and was questioned.

The warrants were issued after four other persons were arrested in police raids of four locations described as meeting places for civil rights groups. Officers said they discovered dynamite sticks in one of the locations.

The officers issued arrest warrants for Fred Meely, Morris Ruffin and George Anderson, all SNCC workers.

In Charlotte, N.C., a Negro man was shot to death and three other Negroes were wounded in a residential area. Police charged a white man, Charles W. Willis, 23, with murder and assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill. The dead man was Sylvester Patterson, 35.

In Grenada, Miss., police arrested 19 Negroes when First Baptist Church ushers complained the group would not leave after being blocked from entering the church.

A crowd of about 300 young persons jammed an intersection in a predominantly Negro area of Los Angeles and threw rocks, bottles and garbage. The group gathered as police attempted to remove a man standing in the middle of a street blocking traffic, officers said.

In New York, police said a Negro guard at a Far Rockaway, Queens, diner allegedly struck a white man and his pregnant wife with his nightstick, precipitating 20 minutes of insults and punches among a large crowd of Negroes and whites.

Associated Press Wirephoto

YOUTHS IN WHITE CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOOD SPIT ON CARS
Civil Rights Demonstrators Rolled Up Windows as Protection From Jeering Crowd

Small Earthquake Hits Texas Town

KERMIT, Tex. (AP) — A small earthquake, centered about 30 miles west of the Texas-New Mexico border, caused minor damage in this West Texas town Sunday.

Windows were broken and several street signs were knocked over. There were no injuries. The quake was recorded at 9:26 a.m. It also was felt at Wink, eight miles south of here.

The quake lasted from two to five seconds, said Nick Brown, news director of radio station KERB at Kermit. He said earthquakes are not uncommon here, but this was the most severe one he had experienced.

(Paid Political Advertisement)

LESTER MADDOX

WILL NOT RECEIVE ALL THE VOTES—BUT CAN YOU NAME ANY TWO CANDIDATES WHO TOGETHER WILL RECEIVE AS MANY VOTES AS LESTER?

WHITE OPPOSITION TO NEGROES RISES

8/16/66

Survey Finds Even Peaceful Protests Are Opposed

CONDITIONS

By EDWARD C. BURKS

White prejudice against the Negro has not slackened substantially in the last three years, and the white man, resentful of rioting, now opposes even peaceful Negro demonstrations, a nationwide survey has indicated.

The survey, conducted by Newsweek, was published in the magazine yesterday.

Although most of the Negroes interviewed reported gains in their status and the whites interviewed expressed sympathy with Negro aspirations, the questioning revealed a number of sore points. These had to do with such critical issues as the Negro's drive for integrated housing and the white objection to social contact.

Newsweek sent teams of the Louis Harris polling organization across the country — including 113 Negro interviewers—to question 1,059 Negroes and 1,088 whites from widely varying economic and geographical backgrounds.

Poll's Findings

They found that:

¶About 88 per cent of whites object to having a Negro family next door. (A similar survey in 1963 showed 51 per cent opposed. In the South, 69 per cent are now opposed).

¶About 88 per cent of white would resent it if a teen-age child of theirs dated a Negro.

¶About 16 per cent of whites in general and 42 per cent of Southern whites object to sitting next to a Negro in a restaurant; 21 per cent and 56 per cent object to using the same restroom; 16 and 44 per cent mind sitting beside a Negro on a bus; 28 and 54 per cent object to trying on clothing a Negro has tried on.

¶About 63 per cent of whites think all demonstrations are harmful. (Three years ago it was 53 per cent.)

¶About 79 per cent of whites would have strong objections to the marriage of a friend or relative to a Negro (84 per cent three years ago).

¶Although upper-income and suburban whites tended to be far more liberal—57 per cent of them supported protest demonstrations compared to 24 per cent among "underprivileged" whites—45 per cent of the upper-income whites felt that Negroes "small differently."

¶Half the whites believe Negroes have looser morals and 43 per cent believe "Negroes want to live off the handout."

Summarizing, the magazine found that "tolerance flowers in the suburbs" but shrinks among the poor whites of the city, who feel even more abandoned by Government than Negroes.

The Negroes interviewed rejected by a large margin any black power program that means going it alone, without white support, or abandoning integration as a goal.

Two of every three Negroes questioned (and three out of four in the South) said things had improved for them since 1963, especially in schooling, jobs, voting registration freedom and public accommodations. But housing, especially in the Northern big city ghettos, remained a sore point that for the majority had not been alleviated.

Tiny Church in Britain Seen As Chancel of Earlier One

EASTBOURNE, England (Religious News Service)—Lullington Church, which has for ages been celebrated as England's smallest parish church, has been found to be the remaining part of an earlier church destroyed by fire some time around the 12th century.

The discovery was announced by an archaeological team headed by Alec Barr-Hamilton of Sussex County Archaeological Society.

Layers of newly-found ashes are evidence of the fire that destroyed most of the original church, which had a tower, a nave and a chancel. The chancel escaped and the archeologists say they have now confirmed that the existing Lullington church is part of the original chancel.

Lullington church is Anglican and measures only 16 feet by 16 feet. It seats 20 people. Set in a peaceful glade, it is still used for monthly services. Although the village of Lullington disappeared centuries ago, the area attracts hundreds of tourists.

G. Mennen Williams in Hospital

DETROIT, Aug. 15 (AP)—Former Gov. G. Mennen Williams entered Jennings Hospital today for what his physician described as diagnostic tests and treatment of a mild kidney infection. He is expected to remain in the hospital for "a few days." Mr. Wiliams is 57 years old.

Poll Finds Bias Still Is Rife

CONDITIONS AC 8/16/66

By EDWARD C. BURKS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK—White prejudice against the Negro has not slackened substantially in the last three years, and the white man, resentful of rioting, now opposes even peaceful Negro demonstrations.

These are major findings of a new national survey on American racial attitudes conducted by Newsweek Magazine and published Monday.

Although most of the interviewed Negroes reported gains in their status, and the whites expressed their sympathy, detailed questioning revealed a number of extremely sore points. These had to do with such critical issues as the Negro's drive for integrated housing, and the white objection to social contact.

Newsweek sent Louis Harris polling teams across the country, including 113 Negro pollers, to interview 1,059 Negroes and 1,088 whites from widely-varying economic and geographical backgrounds. They found that:

— 46 per cent of all whites object to having a Negro family next door. (A similar survey in 1963 showed 51 per cent opposed. In the South 69 per cent are opposed).

— 88 per cent would resent it if a teen-age child of theirs dated a Negro.

— About 16 per cent of whites in general and 42 per cent of southern whites object to sitting next to a Negro in a restaurant; 21 per cent and 56 per cent object to using the same restroom; 16 and 44 per cent mind sitting beside a Negro on a bus; 28 and 54 per cent object to trying on clothing a Negro has tried on.

—About 63 per cent of whites think all demonstrations are harmful. (Three years ago it was 50 per cent.)

—About 79 per cent of whites would have strong objections to the marriage of a friend or relative to a Negro (84 per cent three years ago).

—Although upper-income and suburban whites tended to be far more liberal—57 per cent of them supported protest demonstrations compared to 24 per cent among "underprivileged" whites—45 per cent of the upper-income whites felt that Negroes "smell differently."

Half the whites believe Negroes have looser morals and 43 per cent believe "Negroes want to live off the handout."

Summarizing, the magazine found that "tolerance flowers in the suburbs" but shrinks among the poor whites of the city, who feel even more abandoned by government than Negroes.

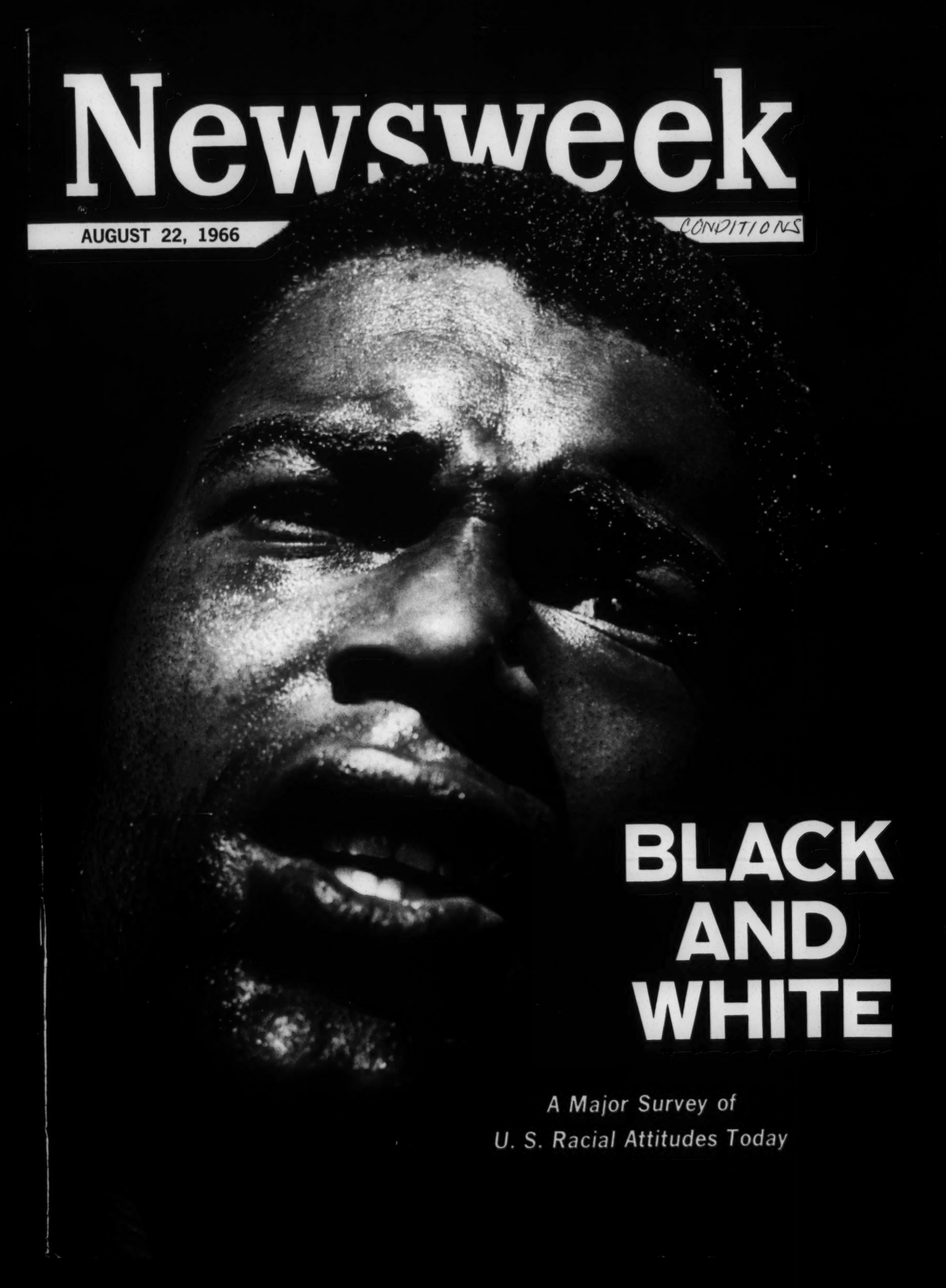
The Negroes interviewed rejected by a large margin any black power program that means going it alone, without white support, or abandoning integration as a goal.

Two of every three Negroes questioned (and three out of four in the South) said things had improved for them since 1963, especially in schooling, jobs, voting registration freedom and public accommodations. But housing, especially in the northern big-city ghettos, remained a sore point that for the majority had not been alleviated.

Newsweek

AUGUST 22, 1966

CONDITIONS



BLACK AND WHITE

A Major Survey of U. S. Racial Attitudes Today

NYT 8/30/66

BLACK POWER PARLEY MAPPED FOR OCTOBER

Representative Adam Clayton Powell announced Sunday that a national conference on black power could be held sometime in October.

Planning sessions for the conference, which the Harlem Democrat likened to a "black constitutional convention," will be held Saturday at the House Office Building in Washington to "set up definitions, goals and guidelines which can operate within the framework of the concept of black power,'" he said.

The Negro Representative told reporters in the Abyssinian Baptist Church at 132 West 138th street that 53 of 71 Negro leaders he had invited had agreed to attend adding, "but I don't think any of the old civil rights leaders are coming."

Asked which leaders would not attend, Mr. Powell mentioned only Whitney M. Young, executive director of the National Urban League, whom he first referred to as "Whitey." "I mean Whitney," Mr. Powell said amid laughter from aides.

Representative Powell said the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was going through an "agonizing reappraisal" of his previous stand against "black power" and had changed his position on the parley "twice this month." Mr. Powell said he believed Mr. King would eventually join the "black power" movement.

Commenting on Bayard Rustin's recent remarks that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality were on the wane, Mr. Powell said:

"They are cutting the umbilical cord between themselves and the white liberals. "Whenever you cut the umbilical cord there is a chance of infant mortality but unless it's cut the child will never grow up."

Section 4

NEWS REVIEW
EDUCATION—SCIENCE

SUN

NYT 9/18/66

THE NEWS

CONDITIONS

Race Pressures

On the Streets And in Congress

On the surface, as the events of the past week unfolded in Washington and in the South, it was as though the clock had been turned back to September, 1957.

Then, Federal troops were rushed to Little Rock, Ark., when Gov. Orval E. Faubus defied Federal court orders to integrate schools and mob violence was turned against Negro children. Then, Congress was embroiled in debate over a civil rights bill; its passage marked the first major piece of legislation in the civil rights field in 82 years.

Last week there was mob violence in Grenada, Miss. (pop. 8,000), over school integration, and in Washington there was acrimonious debate over civil rights legislation.

But there are vast differences between 1957 and 1966. The nation —including the South—has come a long way in the past nine years in the civil rights area. At the time of Little Rock, school integration was just beginning and the crisis was over 12 children. Today, integration — while still of the token variety in most communities—is making steady progress in much of the South. Nine years ago, there was a direct confrontation between state authorities and the Federal Government; in Grenada, a combination of state forces and Federal presence—in the form of Justice Department agents — armed with laws, not troops, quickly put down the local resistance.

When Grenada's schools opened last Monday morning, they were under court orders to integrate, and 150 Negro children were in the classrooms. But outside there was an angry white mob, and when the classes recessed at noon, the men —egged on by cursing women and watched by city policemen who made no move to intervene—attacked the children and reporters with chains, ax handles and pipes. Gov. Paul Johnson dispatched state patrolmen to restore order; and Federal District Judge Claude F. Clayton, calling the mob violence "savage, senseless and futile," ordered city officials to protect the Negro children and arrest rioters in conformity with Federal laws that have been upheld by the Supreme Court. By last night, more than a dozen Grenada whites had been arrested and warrants were out for others.

Grenada may have substantiated what many persons — including some civil rights leaders — have been saying recently: that most of the legislation to handle Southern problems is now on the books and that—insofar as legislation itself goes—only loopholes need to be closed. The legislative attack that lies ahead is on Northern, and national, problems. This year Congress made its first major move in that direction and then backed off.

Last April, President Johnson proposed the Civil Rights Bill of 1966. Much of it was directed at closing the Southern legal loopholes — among them, jury discrimination and new penalties for interfering with civil rights activities. But Title IV was aimed at a major national dilemma—discrimination in the sale or rental of all types of dwellings. In the House of Representatives, this was watered down before passage to exclude private residences and certain types of apartments, removing from coverage about 60 per cent of the nation's dwellings.

In the Senate, however, the bill, even as amended, was in trouble from the start. The past combination of forces and events that had produced legislative redress—public demand for action stirred by anti-civil rights violence in the South, the unity of the civil rights movement, a feeling of a need to right old wrongs—was not present.

Instead there were signs of a strong "white backlash" fueled by riots in the Negro ghettos during the summer, and by the rising cry of "black power" from Negro militants. Some Senators said their mail—and this is an election year —was running 40-to-1 against the bill.

Moreover, the unity of the civil rights movement had dissolved, both on the question of general tactics, and on the specific value of the housing bill, as amended. Last week, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. declared, "They feel we are split up. We can't say to Congress anymore: 'You've got to pass this bill.'"

When debate started in the Senate week before last, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield found he could not even raise a quorum—51 Senators — on some days, something he called "disgraceful." The fate of the bill seemed to hinge on two men—President Johnson and Republican Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen who, if he favored passage, could round up enough Republican votes to break a Southern filibuster and insure the margin of victory.

President's Role

But while the President urged support for the bill, there was little of the sense of urgency and fervor he displayed when he demanded passage of previous civil rights measures.

And Senator Dirksen, who had supported the last two civil rights bills, was strenuously opposed this time. He called the bill "a package of mishchief," and said it was "unconstitutional."

Some critics, in fact, felt that both the President and Mr. Dirksen, sensitive to the political winds, were doing a bit of buck-passing on the question of responsibility for getting the bill passed.

Thus it was without any hope for victory that Senator Mansfield called late Wednesday for a vote on closure—to cut off a Southern filibuster. The motion failed, by 10 votes, 54 Senators for and 42 against. With 96 Senators in the chamber, Mr. Mansfield needed 64 ayes, or two-thirds of those present and voting. Though Mr. Mansfield has called for another vote on closure for tomorrow, he has scant hope of picking up enough new votes for victory.

What are the gains and losses, political and otherwise, in the conflict that led to the Congressional defeat of the Civil Rights Bill of 1966?

White backlash sentiment is certain to be pleased by the outcome. "It would be strange," Senator Dirksen said in talking about Republican prospects in November, "if we didn't gain and gain substantially."

But others are not so sure. Civil rights groups are angry, and their weight may be felt in big-city states. Liberal Republicans, like New York's Senator Jacob Javits, are convinced that the "party of Lincoln" can only suffer by identification with the white backlash.

Times Square, New York, N. Y. 10036

CONDITIONS

Civil Rights Drive Is Slowing

9/19/66

This article is the first of three on the recent setbacks for the civil rights movement.

Support for Negro and His Problems Found to Wane

By GENE ROBERTS

Public support for the Negro and his problems is waning, white opposition is growing, and the civil rights movement is falling into increasing disarray.

Many white liberals are confused; others have become preoccupied with Vietnam. And white moderates, disturbed by Negro riots and mounting pressure for housing desegregation, are becoming apathetic, or hostile.

These developments, which emerged clearly in a recent series of interviews across the nation, have touched off a wave of unease among politicians.

In Washington, Congress is ready to kill a civil rights bill for the first time in three years, and some Presidential advisers say Mr. Johnson is convinced that the public mood will not permit any "big and bold" programs for Negroes.

It appears to be a major turning point for the Negro, who until this year had been gaining momentum in the social "revolution" that he began in late 1955 with the Montgomery bus boycotts.

For many civil rights enthusiasts, the question now is not whether the Negro can win major new legislation, but whether he can muster enough political strength to force strong enforcement of existing civil rights legislation and prevent the erosion of the gains he made when the revolution was at its peak.

Already, some who want the revolution to rush on to "completion" see parallels between now and the end of last century's Reconstruction period, when the North lost interest in the Negro.

"One of the fundamental things that didn't happen in Reconstruction was land distribution," said the Rev. Mr. James Breeden, assistant director of the Commission on Religion and Race for the National Council of Churches.

"That would have its parallel today in our failure to turn over significant economic resources to the dispossessed," he said, adding that, with the mood of the country as it is, "there is not going to be any meaningful economic program" for Negroes.

With uncertainty rippling across the political scene, there is little reason to think he is wrong.

In California, the possibility of a white backlash is a major concern of Gov. Edmund G. Brown in his campaign for reelection against Ronald Reagan. In Maryland, open housing was the major issue in the Democratic gubernatorial primary.

Politicians Uneasy—New Aid Plans Are Held Unlikely

Only a few months ago, Georgia Liberals were saying proudly that the state had "turned the corner" on the race issue. But a little later, Liberal Ellis Arnall, a candidate in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, was concerned over a reaction to Negro riots and was lacing a plea for "law and order" into almost every campaign speech.

In Alabama, advisers to Gov. George C. Wallace say mail from Northern admirers is "piling in" and that the ardent segregationist is certain to seek the Presidency in 1968.

"Backlash" is the word many politicians use to describe what is happening among the electorate. But the term implies a sudden reversal of sentiment, and there are indications that attitudes on race are more subtle.

"It's not so much a backlash," said Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, a social psychologist at Harvard. Rather, he said, it is an "out from under the rocks phenomenon."

He said the nation was seeing a "real mobilization of the hate that was always there," and that it was having a political impact because it was "coming

Continued on Page 36, Column 3

Support For Civil Rights Drive Waning As Backlash Increases

MANY MODERATES LOSE ENTHUSIASM

Protests in the North Evoke Hostility as Some Liberals Shift Focus to Vietnam

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

during a period in which the civil rights coalition has lost its mobilization."

Many liberals remain committed to the Negro, but speak out less because they do not know how to solve the newer, more difficult, problems. Many say they are not getting the leadership they had expected from civil rights organizations.

Meanwhile, many Northern whites, who were silently opposed, or indifferent, to civil rights demands are speaking out because they feel themselves personally challenged.

For others, liberals and moderates, Vietnam has replaced civil rights as the No. 1 issue. Some Northerners have "cooled on civil rights because of opposition from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to the war in Vietnam.

Still others, who identified with the Negro when he was under physical attack in the South, switched their identification when riots erupted in Northern cities.

"Civil rights leaders," said Nathan Perlmutter, director of domestic affairs for the American Jewish Committee, "usually say that it [the lack of momentum] is due to whites thinking the battle is over and sitting back."

"This may be part of the problem," he said, "but another part is white reaction to black nationalism, riots and 'hate whitey' talk."

"The liberal white man knows that he is as much 'whitey' to a maurading hater as the bigoted white man and this realization is having its effect," Mr. Perlmutter said.

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Organized labor is wrestling with some of the same problems as the church groups, although the civil rights effort of the industrial union department of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations is increasing.

The department has assigned full-time workers to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights campaign in Chicago and has stepped up its drive to organize migrant farm workers.

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Certainly, popular support is fading after reaching an emotional pitch during the crisis in Selma, Ala., early last year.

"There is something about the Western mind that makes us believe that suffering purifies," an intellectual who, was in the Government said, continuing:

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"After Selma, there was more than enough support to get the voting rights bill through Congress," he continued, "but then what happened within 48 hours after the bill was signed into law?"

"Watts blew up, and there were the Negroes — the very people we had loved because they were oppressed — in the role of the aggressor. The mental adjustment was just too much for some white people and we lost them after that."

The big question among white liberals is: How deep does white disengagement go, and where does it leave the Negro?

Could it be the first step toward the kind of almost total disengagement that took place in the late nineteenth century when the North stood by while the South stripped away the gains that the Negro made?

Dr. Pettigrew of Harvard believes that, while the country may hesitate for 10 years or more, it will be reluctant to go backward.

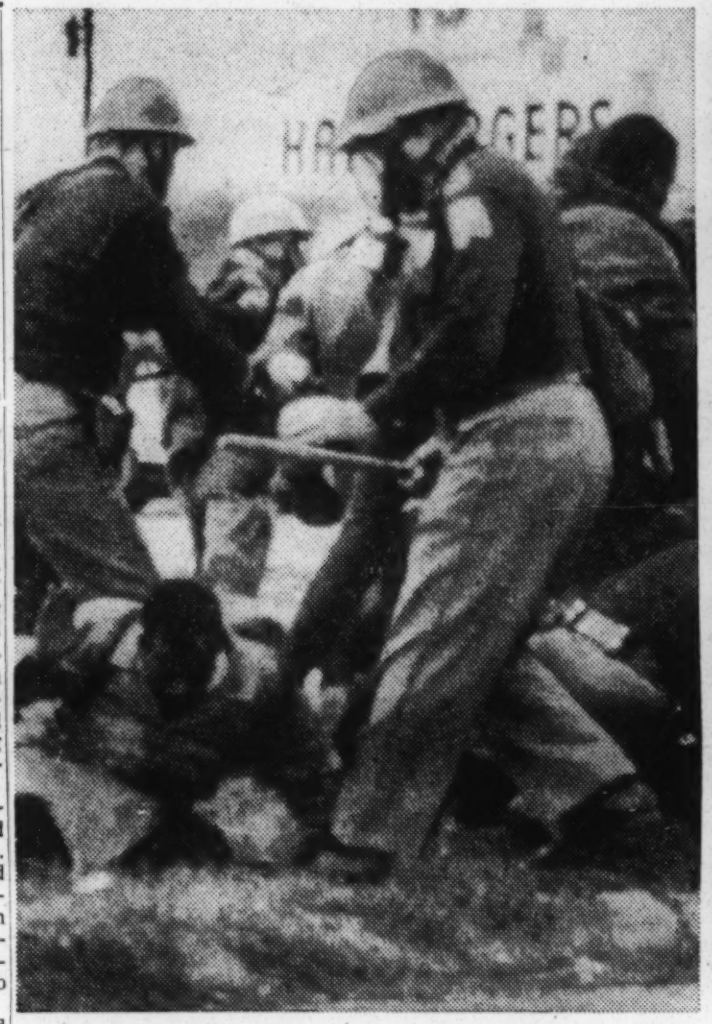
"For one thing," he says, "the Negro has learned to riot and that may serve as a brake. And then there is a matter of the Negro vote, which is strategically placed in Northern cities. The politician may be able to avoid giving the Negro all he wants in the next few years, but he will not be able to offend him."

But among other liberals there is concern that there may be serious slippage for the Negro.

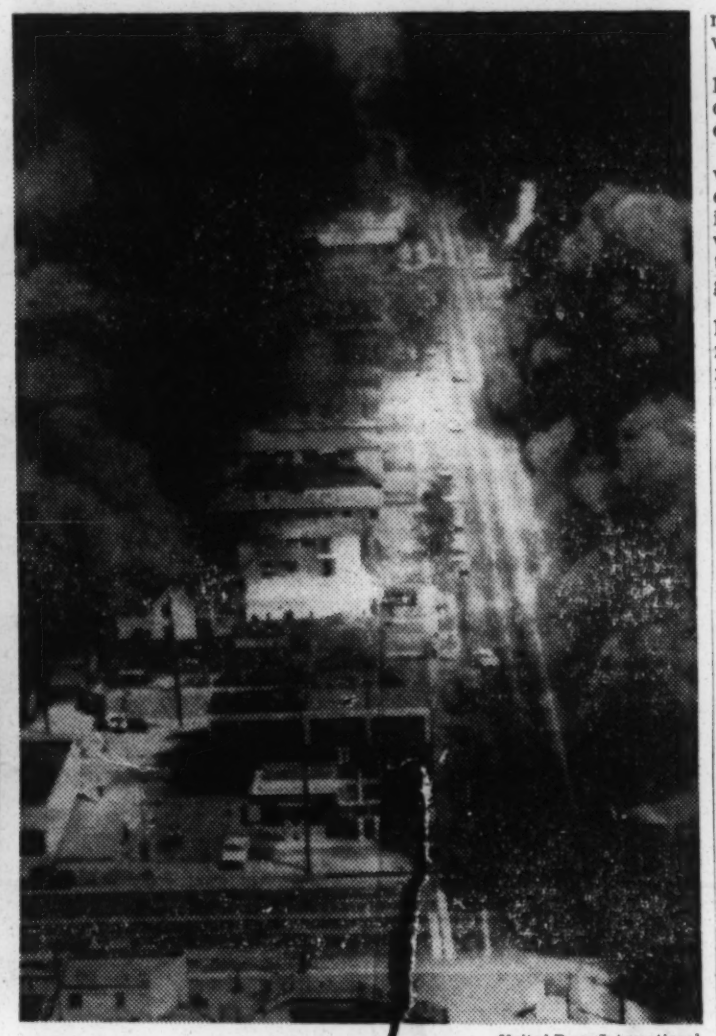
"The fearful thing is that whites might come to look on the racial problem as mainly a law enforcement problem, and that they will use the police to contain the Negro to the ghetto," said Mr. Dunbar of the Field Foundation.

"That way, whites would be able to sleep peacefully in the suburbs and let Negores riot among themselves. The tragedy is that we might be able to rock along that way for a generation or so."

Tomorrow: Congress and civil rights



MARCH 3, 1965: John Lewis, former leader of Southern Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, on the ground during attempted march on state capital from Selma, Ala. Such incidents built public support for Negro movement.



United Press International

AUGUST 13, 1965: Smoke hangs above Watts during the rioting in the Negro ghetto of Los Angeles. Rioting and the mounting pressure for housing desegregation have been alienating many of the movement's supporters.

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At Harvard University, Bernie Franks, a graduate student, plopped into an easy chair to relax from an exam and talked about a "lack of goals and direction" in the civil rights movement.

"A lot of students here would like to do something, but they don't know what to do," he said. "I think you could get as many volunteers out of here today for civil rights projects as you ever could. The problem is — nobody is asking for volunteers."

In many parts of the nation, however, liberal enthusiasm is ebbing. In New York, anti-Semitism among Negroes disturbs the Jewish community, which has long been the financial backbone of the civil rights movement.

"It isn't so much that the anti-Semitic remarks of a LeRoi Jones are appalling," said Mr. Perlmutter, "it is the silence on him by Negro leaders."

At the headquarters of the American Synagogue Council in New York, Rabbi Henry Seigman, the executive vice president, said the "Mount Vernon incident" [in which a Negro member of the Congress of Racial Equality said the trouble with Hitler was that he did not kill enough jews] had a "tremendous impact on the Jewish community."

"Most of us realize that we can't use incidents like this as an excuse and that we have to face up to our own responsibilities," he said, "but Negro leaders could make our job easier by recognizing that anti-Semitism is a real problem."

Financial support by Christians for church-related human relations organizations, as well as for the civil rights movement, has also declined.

The Delta Ministry, which was organized two years ago as a civil rights arm of the National Council of Churches, fell $150,000 short of meeting its budget in its first year of existence. It has not made up the deficit and it is cutting back its programs.

Contributions to the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches have plunged 25 to 50 per cent this year.

And contributions to the Commission on Religion and Race of the predominantly white United Presbyterian Church have yet to reach $100,000 this year, compared with $131,000 last year and $196,000 in 1964.

"There is no doubt that we are in a cooling-off period as far as the white community is concerned," said Gayraud S. Wilmore Jr., the Negro executive director of the commission.

"What I have seen," he said, "is a kind of sadness on the part of white liberals—a sadness that their contribution was not highly regarded by the civil rights organizations."

In some of the letters reaching the Rev. Mr. John Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, there is not only a note of sadness, but also of disenchantment.

In part, he said, this is because of the black power philosphy of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and of CORE, and in part because of demonstrations in the North.

"As long as the civil rights movement was confined to the South, you got few complaints," he said, "but when there's activity in the North, someone's toes usually get stepped on."

For years, Rabbi Seigman said, the American Synagogue Council had no special commission on race because it was not needed to arouse Jewish support for civil rights activity in the South. But recently one was established to prepare Jewish neighborhoods for "integration in their own backyards."

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The department has assigned full-time workers to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights campaign in Chicago and has stepped up its drive to organize migrant farm workers.

But, says Jack Conway, the department's executive director, "when you get into things like fair housing or raising taxes to meet the needs of the cities, labor people react just like individuals in general."

"I think the nation has to face up to the fact that it has to do more for the Negro—particularly in terms of economic programs — and I think it will face up to it," he said.

However, Mr. Conway said that a program just had not emerged yet. This failure by civil rights leaders to agree on an economic program is a constant complaint of white liberals.

"What happened at the last White House Conference on Civil Rights?" one influential liberal snorted. "They came up with a $100-million price tag and 80 pages of proposals and stuff. You can't sell a price tag, and how in the hell do you sell 80 pages of anything?"

His complaint is only a part of the disenchantment, much of it still voiced in whispers, that is developing among white liberals.

Congress and the President would have accepted a civil rights bill "twice as sweeping" as the one just put aside by the Senate, a man colse to the White House declared, if civil rights leaders had put aside their differences and given legislation their "all out" support.

But, the man said, "people like Stokely Carmichael [chairman of S.N.C.C.] and Floyd McKissick [executive director of CORE] blew it by taking the attitude that they had had enough of the white man's laws — that the laws didn't do any good. Even Martin Luther King sounds like that at times."

Still, there is a reluctance among many liberals to criticize the black power philosophy, which they often interpret as an understandable feeling among Negroes that they cannot rely on whites and must work within their own community to develop skills, economic strength and political power.

Much liberal frustration is caused by President Johnson, who, in a speech at Howard University in May of 1965, said the time had come for an all-out national effort to eradicate poverty and to shore up Negro family life. Now, however, many feel he has retreated from this position.

"Everywhere you look with people in positions of power and authority, they have things they regard as more important," said Leslie Dunbar, director of the Field Foundation, which has underwritten much civil rights work. "With President Johnson it's Vietnam. The situation now requires the kind of educational effort and leadership that only the President can give."

And Dr. Pettigrew of Harvard added:

"The team is gone. You go to Washington and you find people milling around in confusion.

One occasional adviser to the President contended that Mr. Johnson had been thinking in terms of an economic program "on the order of the family allowances that the Scandinavian countries have." But then, he said, "all of those people pulled the rug out from under him by ganging up on the Moynihan report."

The "Report on Negro Family Life," which was prepared for the President by Daniel P. Moynihan, a former assistant Secretary of Labor, was widely attacked for putting "too much family was disintegrating and blame" on the Negro for his problems. It said that the Negro was becoming increasingly matriarchal.

Although Mr. Moynihan declines to comment on his conversations with Mr. Johnson, he heatedly denies that the report did anything more than to describe the dilemma of many poverty-stricken Negroes and to set the stage for Federal action.

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RIGHTS BACKERS FEAR A BACKLASH

CONDITIONS

Liberal Bipartisan Forces Are Thinning as Voters Score Negro Violence

9/21/66

Following is the last of three articles on recent setbacks for the civil rights movement:

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20—"Go into Chicago today in any home, any bar, any barbership and you will find people are not talking about Vietnam or rising prices or prosperity. They are talking about Martin Luther King and how they [Negroes] are moving in on us and what's going to happen to our neighborhoods."

The speaker was a liberal Democrat, Representative Roman C. Pucinski, and he was explaining how it had become a political burden for him to support even watered-down civil rights legislation.

Mr. Pucinski, who represents a white district in northwest Chicago, has strong ties with organized labor and the Johnson Administration. In the past he has voted for strong civil rights bills.

This year, he supported the Administration's civil rights bill, which was killed in the Senate yesterday. But he also supported the amendment that exempted most individual home sales, or 60 per cent of the nation's housing units, from the nondiscrimination provisions of the legislation. Furthermore, he openly condemned street demonstrations for open housing.

Continued on Page 33, Column 1

Fear of Backlash Thinning the Ranks of Liberal Bipartisan Supporters of the Civil Rights Movement

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

Now, in a district that previously had been considered safely Democratic, Mr. Pucinski is reported to be in trouble in the November election, and housing segregation is the chief issue. He and his opponent, John J. Hoellen, a Republican, are debating who will do the most to preserve the character of the neighborhoods in the 11th District.

Mr. Pucinski's changing role in racial matters is indicative of a new political climate spawned by another long hot summer.

Violence in the cities, the new militancy among Negroes, increased white resistance to racial integration in the North and the disaffection of white liberals with the civil rights movement have had these effects in Washington:

¶Republican leaders have made "riots in the streets" a political issue. And, in a departure from bipartisan support of civil rights, they opposed open housing legislation. This has been interpreted by some as a new appeal to the "white backlash."

¶For the first time the Administration has taken sides in the civil rights movement, joining moderate Negro leaders in opposition to advocates of "black power." President Johnson has coupled pleas for law and order with his call for social programs that attack the cause of unrest.

¶Some liberals in the House now talk like Southern conservatives as they condemn demonstrations and charge that subversives have infiltrated the civil rights movement.

¶Racial turmoil has had a chilling effect on civil rights legislation, notably the civil rights bill that died in the Senate yesterday.

A Western Republican, whose district is 92 per cent white, watched a television program the other day in which Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and other civil rights leaders talked of the possibility of Negro uprisings.

"What those fellows said shook me up," the Congressman said. "I'm sure it shook up the people in my district, too, and I expect they will register their protests by writing me letters cussing at me for voting for the civil rights bill."

In an election year, the House reflects to some degree the mood of the country. Members spend time in their districts and are sensitive to the demands of the voters.

Interviews with Congressmen from all regions of the nation show that, in many districts outside the South, whites are upset. Generally, it is violence, not the advancement of civil rights, that disturbs them.

United Press International

Representative Roman C. Pucinski is among the legislators whose role in racial matters is now changing.

But some Representatives say they are having more and more trouble explaining to their constituents that the two do not go together. And white reaction is strongest in areas where there has been violence or militant efforts by Negroes to integrate housing.

An analysis of the voting on the civil rights bill showed that the traditional posture of the House had not been greatly altered. But many liberals are much less enthusiastic about the cause now than when the struggle was confined to the South.

Mr. Pucinski is an example. He is a member of the House Labor and Education Committee and, according to Americans for Democratic Action, he voted the liberal position last year 74 per cent of the time.

Nevertheless, when Mr. Pucinski thinks of his district he thinks of row after row of small houses occupied by Poles or other ethnic groups from Eastern Europe who spend Sundays manicuring their homes and lawns.

"They came to this country with the love for the land and that 30-by-125-foot lot means everything to them," he said. "I know people in Chicago who have moved three or four times [to escape deteriorating neighborhoods] and now they are saying, 'I'm not going to move again. I'm going to make my stand here.' "

"It's fear," Mr. Pucinski said, "and lack of communications." He said Dr. King's demonstrations had attracted unkempt people and that when whites in Chicago see them "they think these are the people who want to move in next door."

Mr. Pucinski introduced legislation to authorize Federal Courts to limit demonstrations by number of participants, times and places.

"The demonstrations may be intended ot be nonviolent," he said. "But can the organizers truly be nonviolent, knowing in their minds and hearts that their conduct will assuredly precipitate violence in others?"

This, or course, is precisely what Southerners have been saying for years as demonstrations in that region attracted violent whites on a rather regular basis. Southerners are amused and somewhat pleased to hear Northern liberals take up the arguments they had made without avail.

The Cleveland riots this summer stirred a wave of white reaction throughout Ohio, according to Congressmen from that state. The most outspoken on the issue is Wayne L. Hays, a Democrat who represents a district along the Ohio River.

Americans for Constitutional Action said Mr. Hays voted with conservatives only 5 per cent of the time last year, while Americans for Democratic Action rated his liberal voting record at 63 per cent. He voted for the civil rights bill after opposing the open housing section in fiery speeches.

The other day, after reading in The Washington Post that Negroes who participated in a disturbance in the capital lived in hot, crowded public housing infested by roaches, Mr. Hays made this statement on the floor:

"I would just like to say that when these homes were built they did not come furnished with roaches. I have public housing in my district, and the administrator sees to it that the tenants observe simple sanitation, and if they do not, they find themselves without a place to live. What are we to do now? Go out and clean houses for these people?"

Many Representatives have expressed concern about the black power movement.

"Most members of the House consider Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick nothing more than anarchists," one Congressman said.

Because of this concern, Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem Democrat, met with Representatives and their aides one day in August to explain black power.

"These are a new breed of cats," Mr. Powell said. "They hiss A. Philip Randolph. They boo Martin Luther King. They even picket my church."

He said black power symbolized a new militancy that had caught the imagination of young Negroes, that established Negro leaders could not control it, and that the country would have to deal with it as best it could.

Local Ordinances Help

There seems to be less racial tensions in districts that have strong state or local civil rights ordinances. For instance, Weston E. Vivian of Ann Arbor, Mich., represents an area that contains both strong pockets of the new left and the John Birch Society, as well as transplanted whites from Alabama. Nevertheless, Mr. Vivian, a Democrat, supported a strong open housing bill.

He has seen an angry white reaction to this "in the virulent look on people's faces," but he said he had not found much expression in the political arena. He said an open housing ordinance in Ann Arbor took the edge off what could have been an ugly fight over the bill in Congress.

Republican leaders, meanwhile, are blaming the Administration for the violence this summer. After voting against the open housing section, Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, the House minority leader, spoke at the Illinois State Fair and called the Democrats "the party with the big riots in the streets."

"The Democratic party promised big but failed to deliver," he said. "That's why we are in trouble now. . . . How long are we going to abdicate law and order — the backbone of any civilization — in favor of a soft social theory that the man who heaves a brick through your window or tosses a fire bomb into your car is simply the misunderstood and underprivileged product of a broken home?"

Before he submitted his civil rights bill to Congress last May, President Johnson called Negro leaders into his office and told them the legislation faced strong opposition in Congress.

In appealing for their help, the President told them about his school days in Texas. He and other schoolboys ganged up one day to "whip the teacher," but when young Lyndon opened the attack he discovered to his horror that the other boys had turned and run.

"Now don't leave me to whip the teacher alone," Mr. Johnson pleaded with the civil rights leaders.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an affiliation of organizations interested in human rights, lobbied as usual for the bill. But more militant Negro leaders opposed it as too weak and many of previous advocates of civil rights were silent.

Meanwhile, violence in the streets continued. Late in the summer, a spokesman for the Administration said, the White House became concerned about widespread discontent and disorder.

"People in and out of Government, many of them Negro leaders, said they felt that the President, as the nation's political leader, should say more about responsible civil rights action," the spokesman said.

On his tour through New England on the weekend of Aug. 21, President Johnson said people had the right to "protest the conditions of their lives," but that social progress was difficult in a "society torn by violence and discord."

Meantime, the ambitious recommendations of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, which called for vast expenditures for education, welfare and public works, were shelved, at least for the time being. An interdepartmental committee has been appointed to study them.

A Democrat in the House, who has been close to the Administration and has supported the President, says:

"I predict that civil rights and social legislation has passed its zenith. The Democrats will lose at least 30 or 40 seats in the House this year, and it is likely that next year, the President will really have a reluctant Congress."

Close observers believe there is at least the possibility that the nation is moving into a vicious cycle in which Negroes riot because whites do not do enough and whites do not do enough because Negroes riot.

U.S. Voids Charges In Rights Death Case

V+2 9/28/66

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27—The Justice Department agreed today to the dismissal of Federal indictments against 17 white men accused of conspiracy in the murder of three civil rights workers two years ago in Neshoba County, Mississippi.

In a motion filed in Federal District Court in Jackson, Miss., John Doar, head of the department's Civil Rights Division, conceded that the indictments were defective and asked that they be dismissed.

Ironically, the indictments were found to be void because Negroes and women had not been fairly represented on the grand jury that indicted the men.

A Justice Department spokesman here said the Government

Continued on Page 24, Column 3

U.S. VOIDS ITS CASE IN RIGHTS DEATHS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

was "obliged" to seek dismissal of the indictments.

"This does not mean that the matter is closed," he said. "The case will be taken before a legally constituted grand jury as soon as possible."

The men were scheduled to have gone on trial in Jackson yesterday on charges of conspiring to violate the civil rights of the three dead men.

However, in arguments last Tuesday before United States District Judge W. Harold Cox, defense attorneys invoked the Rabinowitz case, a recent landmark decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Under that ruling, grand juries must represent a fair cross-section of the community.

After the arguments were completed, Judge Cox postponed the trial pending a response by the Government.

Mr. Doar acknowledged in his memorandum today that the grand jurors who indicted the men in January, 1965, had been selected in a way that did not comply with the Appellate Court's decision.

About half of the prospective jurors' names were submitted by county officials who had been asked for the names of males registered to vote. Mr. Doar offered figures to show that few Negroes were registered to vote in Neshoba County prior to last year.

The rest of the names were recommended by so-called "key men" in the community who had been asked to suggest reliable prospective jurors. The Rabinowitz ruling specifically denounced this method as unconstitutional.

Agrees Case Is Void

Agreeing that the indictments are void unless the grand jury meets the Rabinowitz standard, Mr. Doar said:

"In a community composed of men and women and a large percentage of them Negroes, this standard can only be met if jury officials take steps reasonably needed to assure representation of both sexes and the members of the Negro race in the 'universe' from which jurors are obtained."

He concluded that Judge Cox "has no choice" but to dismiss the indictments to assure that "the case of every defendant will be considered by fair, impartial and intelligent grand and petit jurors."

It is the second time that Judge Cox has dismissed indictments against the men, making their case one of the most tangled in the recent series of Federal civil rights prosecutions.

Initially, 18 men were charged with violating an 1870 civil rights conspiracy law in connection with the murder of Michael H. Schwerner and Andrew Goodman of New York and James Earl Chaney of Meridian, Miss.

Jury Awaits Case Against Klansman In Liuzzo Slaying

HAYNEVILLE, Ala., Sept. 27 (AP)—A jury of eight Negroes and four whites heard state attorneys set out today to convict a Ku Klux Klansman of killing a white civil rights worker.

It was the fourth trial growing out of the slaying of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, and the first in which Negroes were chosen for the jury.

The accused Klansman, Eugene Thomas, 43 years old, of Bessemer, Ala., a steel company employe, is charged with first-degree murder, which could bring the death penalty.

Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers directed the prosecution. His key witness was expected to be an undercover agent for The Federal Bureau of Investigation, Gary Thomas Rowe Jr. In the three earlier trials Mr. Rowe testified that he was in a speeding car from which the gunshot was fired that killed the Detroit housewife the night of March 25, 1965.

Mrs. Liuzzo, mother of five children, had taken part in the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march.

The first prosecution witnesses today were state and Federal officers who investigated the slaying. From their stories, the state sought to identify the bullet that hit Mrs. Liuzzo.

The bullet, found at the base of Mrs. Liuzzo's brain during an autopsy, was traced step by step through the officers who handled it until it reached the F.B.I. laboratory in Washington for ballistics tests.

There were 21 Negroes and 11 white men on the list of prospective jurors when the court reconvened today. The state struck seven and the defense 13.

Mr. Flowers got seven white men off the list, including one who had told the court earlier he was a former member of the Klan. Among the 13 Negroes stricken by the defense attorney, Arthur J. Hanes, was John Hulett, county chairman of the all-Negro Black Panther party.

The party running nine candidates for county office in the Nov. 8 general election.

Thomas is the second of three accused Klan members to be tried in state court in the killing. One other, Collie Leroy Wilkins, was acquitted here after his first trial ended with a deadlocked jury. The third, William Orville Eaton, died of a heart attack before he could be tried on a murder indictment.

However, all three defendants were convicted in Federal court on conspiracy charges growing out of the slaying and have appealed 10-year prison sentences.

CONDITIONS 9/28/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER

'White Backlash' Becomes a Major Coast Issue

It Helps Reagan Even When He Doesn't Mention It, His Supporters Say

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 27—The whole subject of open housing and "white backlash" has become a key issue, either stated or implied, as an increasingly bitter California campaign for the governorship enters its final six weeks.

"The backlash is a formidable problem," declared a leader in the re-election campaign of Gov. Edmund G. Brown, a two-term Democrat.

A spokesman for Ronald Reagan, the Republican nominee, said the former actor had a basic, residual issue in housing and in civil rights ramifications "even when he is not saying a damn word about it."

This means that strategists for both candidates recognize that many votes on Nov. 8 will hinge on the feelings of residents about the racial backgrounds of their neighbors, about the nondiscriminatory sale or rental of property, and about the Watts riots last year and racial violence elsewhere.

"White backlash," a resentment often not apparent before, is being detected by party workers among many white Californians.

An Issue for Both Parties

Both the Republican and Democratic state conventions grappled last month with the issue, whose implications Californians generally recognize when they hear the phrase "Rumford Fair Housing Act."

This law was, in effect, repealed in 1964 with a one-sided "yes" vote on proposition 14, which was then declared unconstitutional this year by the state Supreme Court. It covers most sales or rentals involving apartments with five or more units, forbidding discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin. The matter is now on appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Reagan is on record favoring repeal of the act. Fellow Republicans at the convention argued successfully for a platform plank calling for "repeal or amendment" and the act's "replacement or amendment by constructive legislation which protects the free choice and constitutional rights of all citizens."

The Governor originally supported the act vigorously, but has softened his position by proposing to appoint a bipartisan study commission to make recommendations to the next legislative session and "take this issue out of politics." The Democrats have followed up this approach with assurances to Californians that the Rumford Act does not take away an individual homeowner's "right to discriminate."

Reagan spokesmen say spot checks show that despite the Republican nominee's relative silence on the issue he is the beneficiary of a big vote originating in it and allied matters, including welfare payments to minority group members.

Reagan Retains Lead

Mr. Reagan is generally believed by influential persons in both parties to be still ahead of Mr. Brown, despite a marked loss of support indicated by straw polls since the primary election in June.

"We still have problems," a Brown campaign leader confessed "including the general mood of the state—frustration and dissatisfaction in the face of affluence. But we've got quite a head of steam and the polls have shown voters are deserting Reagan in droves."

A significant change has been noticeable in the Brown camp in the last two or three weeks. Whether justified or not, campaign workers have undergone a metamorphosis from despair to optimism. "The corner has been turned" is a common slogan, and the Governor has joined the chorus.

Mr. Reagan, on the other hand has been completely confident of victory all summer. He and his leading strategists huddled here last Friday to discuss the course of the campaign, especially in the light of urgings of "some sophisticated observers" that the nominee should go into much greater depth in discussing issues.

'Average Voter Satisfied'

"We concluded," a spokesman said, "that Reagan is communicating with people in great enough depth so that the average voter is satisfied."

Nor did the Brown managers this week predict any change in the Governor's campaign direction. His big campaign issue is what he calls Mr. Reagan's "inexperience" in government.

"Every index we have," a spokesman reported, "indicates this is the No. 1 cutting issue, but it's not a dramatic headline producer. If we identify Reagan with the Birchers it gets publicity. So we keep up the extremism issue."

The Brown campaigners contend that Mr. Reagan's "nearest thing to a positive proposal" so far is his promise, if elected, to appoint John A. McCone, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency to be chairman of a blue-ribbon commission to investigate the University of California at Berkeley.

Yorty's Votes Sought

Both parties have dissension. Both candidates are seeking the nearly one million Democratic votes that went to Mayor Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles, Mr. Brown's leading primary opponent.

Mr. Reagan's principal Republican rival, former Mayor George C. Christopher of San Francisco, and some other moderates are sitting on the sidelines. The sideliners so far also include Senator Thomas H. Kuchel who faces a re-election campaign in 1968.

Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh, often at odds with the Governor but state chairman of his campaign this year, is described as performing whatever functions the Brown campaign leaders ask him to undertake.

Although canvasses made by Mervin Field of San Francisco and Don Mutchmore of Los Angeles, both long-time pollsters, showed late last month that Mr. Reagan was leading the Governor by three or four percentage points, instead of the 15 or 18 registered right after the primary, a Democratic source outside the Brown campaign hierarchy said spot checks in Southern California showed a greater spread.

Los Angeles Is Key

Mr. Brown's greatest strength lies in northern and central California, Mr. Reagan's in conservative counties such as Orange and San Diego. A key county is the state's biggest, Los Angeles.

Vice President Humphrey was there last night speaking for the Governor. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall was in the state last week with Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. President Johnson and other leading Democrats are expected later.

Mr. Reagan has said that he will not ask for outside help, that the election is between "the people of California and the candidates." Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who took on Mr. Brown unsuccessfully four years ago, is to speak in Oakland, but principally to raise funds for Congressional candidates.

Same day as Maddox victory report

Negro Mobs Rampage in San Francisco

Continued from Page 1

this outbreak than for the Watts rioting in 1965.

The riot area near Candlestick Park quieted down late in the evening, but squads of Guardsmen, armed with rifles and bayonets, patroled the streets.

Then looting, burning and rock throwing burst out in Fillmore and authorities speeded about 1,000 troops, police and highway patrolmen into the area. Gangs of roving youths smashed windows and set fires in the streets before the area was sealed off.

"We cannot and will not tolerate any form of protest which endangers persons or damages property," the Gov-Brown declared.

Rioters had demanded that there be a confrontation in the poverty area. Four leaders met with Mayor John R. Shelley and Police Chief Thomas Cahill for about an hour before the peak of the trouble but left the Hall of Justice warning of a new outbreak.

ADULTS PLEAD

They were among youths who gathered earlier in the day at the Bayview Community Center. Adult leaders vainly tried to organize "Operation Freeze, Baby" to head off further violence but said later the "kids wouldn't buy it."

The corner was turned into a battlefield about 4:30 p.m. PST 7:30 p.m. EST as rioters attacked police and firemen.

A policeman was hit on the nose by a bottle and someone shouted, "A policeman has been shot." More officers massed two blocks away and marched to the center.

RIOTER FIRES

A half block away, a rioter ducked behind a parked car and fired a pistol shot at the officers. "All right, shoot," shouted an officer.

A volley of shots was directed at youths assembled in front of the center. At least three were hit in the legs by shotgun pellets while nearly a dozen were nicked with minor wounds. The officers stormed into the center and hauled out 30 to 40 youths.

Molotov cocktails splashed onto the street from rooftops and windows of houses. Police fired at the buildings with shotguns, rifles and pistols.

2 NEGROES FALL

At one point, a police officer slumped over in his squad car. Two Negroes were felled on the street during the crossfire.

A few minutes later, a white cloth was waved from a window. Officers stopped their fire as three persons, all wounded, emerged. They were hustled into a patrol car as more rioters surged to the corner.

At the Hall of Justice, San Francisco's weary police chief and mayor reached a decision earlier when the police radio crackled: "They're shooting at us. They've got rifles and guns and everything."

They conferred with Lt. Gen. Roderic Hill, state adjutant general, who earlier began moving guardsmen to temporary headquarters in Candlestick Park and Kezar Stadium. Orders were radioed to move the troops into Hunters Point and by 6:10 p.m. PST, 9:10 p.m. EST, a six-block area was cleared without resistance or gunfire.

FLIES TO SAN FRANCISCO
Gov. Pat Brown

Negro Violence Hits St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo. (UPI)—Shouting bands of vandals roamed downtown streets Wednesday night, smashing windows, following a Congress of Racial Equality demonstration in protest to the slaying of a Negro robbery suspect.

About 50 persons dispersed at the end of the rally in front of police headquarters and smashed windows in stores and autos. A street sign was thrown through the windshield of one parked vehicle.

Police moved out in an effort to corral the demonstrators, who appeared for the fourth straight night.

The crowd was described as being "apparently leaderless" and consisted of teen-age Negroes.

As youths from the roving bands left the scene of the demonstration at police headquarters, some walked on the tops of parked autos and a street bench was hurled into the path of a bus.

Earlier Wednesday, a coroner's jury of four white man and two Negroes ruled the killing "justifiable homicide." A dozen angry demonstrators were kept from entering the building where the coroner's inquest was being held.

The 12 demonstrators carried signs reading "Police Murderers Must Go" and "A Scared Cop is a Dangerous Killer."

There were shouts of "Bring Finnegan out of there"—a reference to Patrolman William Finnegan who last Saturday shot and killed a handcuffed prisoner, Russell Hayes, 24, of East St. Louis, Ill. Police testified Hayes drew a weapon which later turned out to be a tear gas gun.

During the hearing, Louis Ford, a member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) walked angrily out of the room, saying "I'm sick of white people" and slamming the door behind him.

"I would like to see the policeman killed who killed the boy," he told a reporter.

Jonathon Harris, a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was another angry observer. He said, "It's open season on Negroes in St. Louis. Negroes are treated like stray dogs . . . actually, dogs are treated better because they don't handcuff and kill them."

The hearing was recessed for one hour because of the commotion caused by a crowd of about 40 persons, roughly half of them believed to be CORE and NAACP members. Later, the jury of four white men and two Negroes took only 10 minutes to return a verdict that "Finnegan shot Hayes while performing his official police duties."

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Negroes Riot Again In San Francisco

CONDITIONS

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Mobs of roving Negro youths rioted Wednesday night, pelting police, firemen and National Guard riot troops with rocks, bricks and fire bombs.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown arrived in the city as guardsmen occupied two large Negro neighborhoods, Hunters Point, near Candlestick Park on the south end of the city, and the Fillmore district, five miles across town.

It was the second night of racial violence in a September heat wave that sent the temperature over 90. The rioting was touched off Tuesday when a white policeman shot and killed a Negro boy fleeing from a stolen automobile.

More than 20 persons were treated at one emergency hospital Wednesday night, nine for gunshot wounds. At least 20 were arrested.

Brown, interrupting his political campaign at San Diego, went immediately into conferences with city officials and National Guard officers.

"We will meet force with force," he said, adding that the state was better prepared for

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

9-29-66

Upheaval in the South

CONDITIONS

Maddox Victory Confirms Toughening Of Resistance in Area to Negro Gains

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Sept. 29—The victory of Lester G. Maddox in the Democratic primary for Governor in Georgia yesterday makes it clear that the South is settling into a new and tougher period of resistance to Negro progress and the Administration of President Johnson. It all adds up to a major political upheaval, one that portends a period of political turmoil in the South at least as divisive—and perhaps more so—than the "Dixiecrat" rebellion of 1948.

News Analysis

Only eight to 10 months ago, white liberals were coming out of political retirement, convinced that the South had rounded the corner in race relations.

But in recent months almost all of them have been overwhelmed, not simply by segregatilonists, but by some of the most militant segregationists to have emerged in the South in this century.

In Alabama, Gov. George C. Wallace, the South's leading opponent of r.cial integration, ran his wife as a "stand in" candidate and rolled over nine opponents, all but one of them running as racial moderates or liberals, in the state's Democratic primary for Governor.

In Arkansas, Jim Johnson, a founder of the White Citizens Council in that state, won nomination over five opponents who soft-pedaled the race issue in the Democratic governorship primary.

In Maryland, George P. Mahoney, parwayed his opposition to housing desegregation into the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

House Seat in Louisiana

In Louisiana, John R. Rarick, won the Democratic nomination for a seat in the United States House of Representatives, by labelling the incumbent, James H. Morrison, an "L.B.J. rubber stamp" and an ally of the "black power voting bloc."

The victory of Mr. Maddox, who once brandished a pistol and sold ax handles in an effort to halt restaurant desegregation simply confirms the trend.

All of this means that the South may be faced with a major third party movement.

Mr. Maddox and Mr. Johnson are Dixiecrats more than Democrats, and as unblushing admirers of Governor Wallace can be expected to campaign for him if he does the expected and runs for President as a third party candidate in 1968.

While Mr. Mahoney has not declared himself for or against Governor Wallace, many of his supporters are on the Wallace-for-President bandwagon and are almost certain to put pressure on Mr. Mahoney to bak the Alabama segregationist.

A few years ago this development might have delighted Republicans. But with strong candidates for governor in several states and with the hope of carrying the South into the Republican column in the 1968 Presidential campaign, they can take little comfort from it today.

A strong third-party campaign by Governor Wallace would wreck the Republican party's chances of carrying the South. And on the state level, Republicans have already been thrown into confusion by the recent primary developments.

Many Southern Republicans have been trying to build their party in the South by becoming more segregationist than the Democrats, who until this year appeared to be becoming more liberal.

Blow to the G.O.P.

But now the Republicans have little hope of convincing voters that they are more ardent in their segregation than Mr. Maddox, Mrs. Wallace, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Rarick and Mr. Mahoney. Thus, in a few brief strokes, they have been forced to look towards Negroes, white moderates and liberals as a main source of strength.

Liberals and Negroes, meanwhile, are gagging at the prospect of voting for such Republican segregationists and economic conservatives as Representative Howard R. Callaway, who is Mr. Maddox's opponent in Georgia, and Representative James Martin, who is opposing the Wallaces in Alabama. But already they are saying that they regard the Republicans as "the lesser of two evils."

To ensure that Negro liberals and moderates vote Republican, however, rather than stay home, Mr. Martin and Mr. Callaway may be forced to move more toward the position of Winthrop Rockefeller, the Republican candidate for Governor in Arkansa Mr. Rockefeller is conservative on fiscal matters but moderate on race.

But if liberals, Negroes and Republicans have their problems, so does the conservative Democratic establishment, whos members are often called "Bourbons."

Traditional segregationists such as Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi and Senator Sam J. Irvin Jr. of North Carolina are part of the Bourbon establishment and have strong ties with Southern industrialists and planners.

CONDITIONS

Failure Rate Of Negroes Cited on Test

AC 10/2/66

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1 — More than two-thirds of all Negroes tested for induction into the armed forces over an 18-month period failed the armed forces qualification test, according to a publication of the Office of Education.

This figure, released after considerable reluctance by the Department of Defense, is contained in a survey of United States educational performance to be published in the October issue of "American Education."

According to the Defense Department breakdown, the rate of failure among Negroes was 67.5 per cent. Among non-Negroes, the rate was 18.8 per cent.

THE SURVEY, written up by Caryl Conner, editor of American Education and Prof. Richard Neufille of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, finds a close correlation between the quality of education available to Negroes in different parts of the country — measured by the amount of money spent, the pupil-teacher ratio and other factors — and the gap in performance between Negroes and whites.

The figures are taken from 383,000 tests administered by the armed forces between June 1964 and December 1965. They include both draftees and enlistees.

According to Mrs. Conner, the test is perhaps the most extensive survey of U. S. educational performance in existence.

The national failure figure for all races was 25.3 per cent. The highest failure rate for all races was 55.3 per cent in the District of Columbia. The lowest was in the State of Washington.

Conferees Deadlock On Poverty

AC 10/13/66

CONDITIONS

Sen. Clark Fears Bill May Be Lost

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

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WASHINGTON — Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., reported Wednesday after a fruitless Senate-House conference that "there may not be an anti-poverty bill." The senator is chairman of the joint conference.

The Senate and the House have passed bills authorizing anti-poverty funds of $1.75 billion for another year, but the bills differ in many respects. Conferees from both chambers agreed Tuesday on how to distribute the money among the many anti-poverty channels, but the negotiations deadlocked Wednesday on other conflicts in the two bills.

REAL DIFFERENCES

Some sources thought Clark was merely expressing a frustration of the moment. Nevertheless, the differences are real and they reflect some of the political undertones of the anti-poverty program.

In general, the House conferees seem to regard free-wheeling community action programs as political nusiances, if not threats. They propose to channel most of the community action money into specific programs, thereby limiting the discretion of anti-poverty Director Sargent Shriver. Some controls would add to the difficulties of Shriver's search for talent.

Another House provision that is causing trouble would require the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity—Shriver—to channel 20 per cent of the community action money into independent agencies. This is regarded on the Senate side as an attempt to weaken the community action agencies.

POWELL'S CURB

Another provision, personally sponsored by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, would not permit the use of federal funds to pay more than $12,500 a year to an official of a community action agency.

A related provision would not permit a community action agency to pay a salary that gave an official more than a 20 per cent raise over his last previous salary.

The proposed restriction on top talent in OEO itself—as distinguished from the local, community-run programs — would limit the number of officials getting salaries in the $20,000 to $25,000 range to 1 per cent of the total number of employes. The effect, according to OEO, would be the forced resignation of 24 top employes.

MOVEMENT

King Raps Negro Violence, Calls 'Burn' Advocates Dumb

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. described Negro violence Wednesday night, saying most of the advocates of "burn baby burn" do not know how to strike a match.

King, whose Southern Christian Leadership Conference took a temperate stand on "black power" only a week ago, said Negroes should learn that rioting "only intensifies the fears of the white community."

King spoke at a meeting of appreciation for the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, a prominent figure in Birmingham integration struggles who later ran into civil rights trouble when he accepted a Cincinnati, Ohio, congregation.

"Most of those Negroes who talk about burning down cities don't even know how to strike a match," King told several hundred persons at the meeting.

King praised the accomplishments of his non-violent movement, which drew its first national attention here in 1963 during daily demonstrations and pointed to desegregation of accommodations and public schools as the result.

He also took a few verbal pokes at Gov. George C. Wallace and Lester Maddox, the Georgia Democratic gubernatorial nominee.

RAPS MADDOX

"There is something wrong with the State of Georgia that has an ax-handle, pistol-carrying sick child of God as the Democratic standard bearer," he said.

"There is something wrong with the state of Alabama which has a Wallace and a Sister Wallace," he added.

"I am against riots with all my heart because they only intensify the fear of the white community," he said.

King also called for better working conditions for Negroes as well as better housing. He said Negroes should be hired first and then trained for the job.

CITES ABORTIONS

The Negro leader mentioned illegitimacy and admitted that Negroes are in the majority of illegitimate births in America.

"But at the same time there are two million abortions each year and 98 per cent of them are white," he said. "I don't know if it isn't better morally to go ahead and have the child."

King said he had been "talking about some hard facts tonight" and branched out into the war on poverty, saying money being used to aid the fight in Viet Nam should be used to help Negroes in the United States.

"Most Negroes don't have wall-to-wall carpets; they have wall-to-wall rats and roaches," he said.

CONDITIONS

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MO

RUSTIN DEPLORES FAITH IN VIOLENCE

He Fears 'Tragedy' Unless People Act Politically

By ROBERT E. DALLOS

A civil rights leader said yesterday that American Negroes believe they cannot gain their rights without resorting to violence.

"We are in a society where young people — particularly young Negroes—are being systematically taught that unless they resort to violence there is no future for them," Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, said.

He made his remarks at the annual winter meeting of the United States Youth Council at the Carnegie Building, 345 East 46th Street.

The council represents more than 36 national religious, service and political organizations.

Mr. Rustin, who was a principal organizer of the 1963 March on Washington by civil rights proponents, cited a number of examples to back his argument.

In Chicago, he said, a group of Negroes had "walked" for a year in an effort to get Negroes assigned to a fire company in a Negro area.

Demand Is Met

"They worked very hard," he said. "They went to the Mayor and the City Council and to everyone. Finally, one spring afternoon a group of young Negroes tore up the fire company, broke all the windows, and in 24 hours there was an agreement that three new Negro firemen would be assigned to that area."

He said such results had the effect of "automatically teaching these youngsters that what the Negro established leadership could not do by negotiation, by arbitration and in other manners, they were able to accomplish by violence in a short time."

He called for "political action" by Negroes and whites working for civil rights in order to avoid riots.

"We have simply got to get people in action politically," he said. "We have got to do the educotion job that is required. Unless we do that we are faced with nothing but tragedy."

He said the Negroes in this country have "been through the period of agitation, have been through the period of legal action and we are now faced with a very serious political task requiring total dedication."

He predicted that the civil rights movement could not look for much help from the 90th Congress.

'Freedom Budget' Urged

Nevertheless he said it was urgent for Congress to accept the recently proposed "Freedom Budget."

This $185-billion plan was offered in October by a group of civil rights, religious and labor leaders and was designed to end poverty in the United States within 10 years.

This would be done, according to the plan, by means of a guaranteed annual income, increased Social Security and welfare benefits, full employment, a rise in farm incomes and health, housing and educational opportunities for all persons.

"Negroes only want a piece of the existing pie," he said. "They are not revolutionaries. What is revolutionary is that they cannot even get a piece of the existing pie unless there is a fundamental change—economic and social—in this society.

"This society cannot deliver what is the Negro's constitutional right unless it is prepared to dig deep into its social order and change things."

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

CONDITIONS

FAILURE

Moderate View Is Dim, Extremists Rule Roost

By EUGENE PATTERSON

SYLVAN MEYER, the editor of The Daily Times in Gainesville, has written a pithy account of Georgia's political tangle for the Dec. 12 issue of the national magazine The Nation. Only at the ending does he permit himself an editorial analysis.

* * *

"HOW DID GEORGIA, not quite so pure in heart yet not quite so backward as either its boosters or detractors contend, wind up with the miserable choice between Maddox and Callaway?" Meyer asks. And his answer stings.

"Happenstances of politics aside, it is possible that the effect is being felt from years of unrefuted yammering about alleged federal encroachment on states' rights, loss of liberty, yielding of 'freedom' (to prevent other people from having some) and similar mindlessness.

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

* * *

"IT MUST BE faced that the moderate, constructive people in this country have done a poor job of getting their point of view across.

"Few have been heard defending the policies that over the past few years have increased prosperity, personal income, educational opportunities and individual rights.

"So the people, made nervous and unsure by negativism, have decided to change. What they think they are changing from has been ineptly defined by its champions; what they are changing to hasn't been defined at all."

* * *

MAYBE THEY just got worn down by the ceaseless din of negativism, hunkered down under the beating and turned defensive. It would be easy to blame Lyndon B. Johnson for this failure to communicate the worth of progressive government, and for the consequent focusing of dislike against him and it. But that's too easy. President John F. Kennedy could communicate like nobody's business. And he was disliked as much or more than Johnson in the South.

The fact of the matter is that "increased prosperity, personal income, educational opportunities and individual rights" are gains that won't get through the sound barrier to the race-deafened ear of the Southern majority until there is a greater change of racial attitudes than presently obtains. Until then, any definition of progressive government that includes civil rights will be inept for the simple reason that experience shows it won't be listened to.

* * *

THE NEGATIVISM gowing out of this blind spot distorts the true achievements of the nation hurtfully. Little credit is given to a system of government that has wrought wonders. across the face of the earth, U.S. governments that have created a whole new history of justice, peace and plenty have been bitterly doubted and assailed at home by a generation of pessimists.

The massive number of houses and hospitals and schools and factories that intelligent U.S. aid programs have encouraged Latin American countries to build through self-help astonishes the U.S. traveler and fills him with pride. But he comes home to hear the tired old "giveaway" speeches in Congress, detached from reality yet unstayed by the weary protests that the nation's policies are far better than the people know.

* * *

VIET NAM strikes the visitor as one of the most selfless and idealistic undertakings this rich nation has ever shouldered. Yet the home front is alight with flares of suspicion and acrimony that blind the people to a clear view even of what it is their government is trying to do.

Meyer is right. The years of "unrefuted yammering" take effect. Unfortunately, the gap between the greatness of what we are as a nation, and the little we credit ourselves as being, may lead to an erosion of what we are.

Close-Up

'Wonderful World of Ill Will'

"If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Johnson. . . . If ever a nation has suffered under improper influence of a man, the American nation has suffered from the influence of Johnson.

"I shudder at the calamities which I fear his conduct is preparing for this country: from a mean thirst of popularity, an inordinate ambition, and a want of sincerity."

Sounds like a James Gray or a Garland Byrd campaign speech, doesn't it?

Well, just take the name of Johnson out of where it appears in the first paragraph and insert Washington in its place and you'll have an exact quote from a contemporary foe of our first president.

The second paragraph is a direct quote from our second president, John Adams, commenting on his successor, Thomas Jefferson.

This is not to compare Lyndon with George or Tom, but rather to compare politics today with politics over a century and a half ago.

The quotations used are contained in a handy "Hater's Handbook" written by Joseph Rosner and described on its jacket as "A Guide to the Wonderful World of Ill Will: the catcalls, abuse and caustic comment flung at persons of note throughout the ages."

As we enjoy the first lull today in what promises to be as knock-down-drag-out a campaign as any in Georgia history, it might be well to go back a while with Mr. Rosner.

When James Buchanan was leaving the White House, he said to his successor:

"If you are as happy, my dear sir, on entering this house as I am in leaving it and returning home, you are the happiest man in this country."

Abraham Lincoln was quick to learn what Buchanan meant. In the four years and one month Lincoln occupied that house his enemies leveled these charges against him: He was illegitimate; his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln, was a Confederate spy; and his son made half a million dollars on government contracts.

Many years later, Woodrow Wilson was described by William Roscoe Thayer, poet and historian, as "a despot of unlimited reach" who had done "more to denature and destroy democracy in the United States than all our enemies have been able to do since our government was founded in 1789."

Quite recently John Birch Society founder Robert Welch expressed the "firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. . . ."

But all this is on the somewhat lofty plane of presidential politics. When we get down on the lower political level, Mr. Rosner recalls that Louisiana's colorful Huey Long once said of a critic: "When I call him an s.o.b. I am not using profanity, but am referring to the circumstances of his birth."

From there we climb to the height of something or other in the campaign between George Smathers and incumbent Claude Pepper for one of Florida's seats in the U.S. Senate about 18 years ago. For audiences in the rural areas, Smathers reportedly was saying something like this:

"Are you aware that Claude Pepper is known all over Washington as a shameless extravert? Not only that, but this man had to matriculate before he could go to college, and he has a sister who was once a Thespian in wicked New York. But worst of all, it is an established fact that Mr. Pepper, before his marriage, practiced celibacy."

Be sure you vote today for the candidate of your choice.—JIM RANKIN.

ANTIPOVE
STIRS I

eme Court
miscegenation
1948, the laws had always breezed
by all court tests. Despite several
opportunities to strike them down,
the United States Supreme Court
has not yet ruled on the core of
the issue.

FRAGMENT

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CORE

January, 1966 Vol. II, No. 1

TRAINING LEADERS In a series of Leadership Training Workshops, CORE SEDF is bringing to civil rights leaders knowledge of law, of government agencies and how they work, of the economics of equality, and of methods of community organization. There is tremendous eagerness for this knowledge, and agreement that if the movement for Negro rights is to build strength, its leaders all over the country must increase their know-how.

At our first Workshop in Mississippi in January 37 men and women, young and old, farmers, teachers, and housewives, heard Charles Morgan, Jr., Southern Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, on The Constitution as a Source of Strength. Howard Glickstein, counsel for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and Charles Duncan, general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, explored recently passed civil rights legislation. The participants learned how to use Titles VI and VII of the 1964 act, studied the Presidential Executive Orders, and learned about the roles of the Justice Department, the Civil Rights Commission and the Department of Agriculture. Other government officials and experienced civil rights lawyers, serving as faculty without fee, spoke and led discussions.

The Rev. Ronnie Moore, who has directed the Louisiana program of CORE for the past four years, is organizing the Workshops which consist of a series of four sessions in each locale. They are held on weekends so as not to interfere with jobs. The faculty goes to the students. And what the students learn, they take back to their communities for immediate application. An imposing group of skilled resource people in education, law, government and community organization have agreed to teach at the three remaining Mississippi Workshops, and at others planned for South Carolina, California and Baltimore.

Though the cost of a single Workshop is low--only $1,600--(a series of four costs about $6,500)--CORE SEDF now has almost no money for the expansion of this seminal program. A grant of $4,000 from the Norman Fund and of $2,500 from the Ottinger Foundation enabled the start. But we don't know how we can meet the demand for more Workshops, especially in the North and West. $46,000 is still needed to meet these calls for the first year.

* * *

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

■ *president;* Andrew E. Norman ■ *vice presidents;* William S. Ellis, Nannette Sachs ■ *secretary;* Ezra Levin ■ *treasurer;* Shelley Appleton ■ *executive director;* Marvin Rich ■ *leadership development director;* Ronnie M. Moore ■ *legal director;* Carl Rachlin ■ *BOARD OF DIRECTORS;* Adele Addison ■ John P. Allison ■ James Baldwin ■ Katrina McCormick Barnes ■ Dr. Kenneth B. Clark ■ Charlotte Devree ■ Robert F. Drinan, S.J. ■ John Henry Faulk ■ Doris Freedman ■ Dr. Edward L. Gibson ■ The Rev. Frederick James ■ Clarence B. Jones ■ Joann List Levinson ■ Henry Morgenthau, III ■ Dr. William Stuart Nelson ■ Elaine Slater ■ Norman Thomas ■ Rowland Watts ■ Pearl L. Willen

SCHOLARSHIPS When high-school youngsters who never considered college become active in civil rights, personal capacities develop, sights are raised, ambitions form. College becomes a goal. Such youngsters are among the 18 receiving CORE SEDF college and university scholarships for the first time for the 1966 Spring semester. Others among new recipients required help when, after taking part in actions, their fathers and mothers lost their jobs. Altogether, now 62 students, South and North, are receiving essential financial assistance at an annual cost of $55,000. Joe Louis Smith of CORE is in his first year of diplomatic studies at The Fletcher School; Earl Harris of SNCC is in his last year of law at the University of Pittsburgh. Recipients have been active in the full range of civil rights groups.

* * *

WASHINGTON Though the December White House Conference, To Fulfill These Rights, was widely criticized, valuable discussion took place. SEDF has reprinted copies of Panel Discussions on the Family, Administration of Justice Preliminary Report, and Voting and Citizenship Participation Preliminary Report, which are available upon request.

* * *

NEW VOTERS During 1965, 32,488 Negroes were registered in CORE SEDF's highly successful voter-registration campaign in 24 South Carolina counties. SEDF legal action has supported and protected registrants. At James McCain's and local leaders' insistence, federal registrars have come into two counties with excellent results. Next, transportation is needed to bring Negroes in rural places to the county seats. Already in some counties Negro registrants outnumber white and the election of Negroes to local, county and state office is anticipated in 1966. Community organization is beginning in the precincts. Jim McCain says, "To give a community the kind of guidance and help it needs one must work day and night with the community." The staff of five is doing just that.

* * *

L E G A L P R O G R A M

Fresh new legal concepts are absolutely necessary now if Negro rights are to become actual practice. CORE SEDF lawyers are testing concepts in a series of actions at the same time they defend local Negroes from scores of harassing actions by southern officials.

School Suits In an action against the New York City Board of Education, before the United States District Court for the southern district of New York, our chief counsel, Carl Rachlin, charges that the Board has deliberately perpetuated inequality in city schools by knowinglyand habitually assigning

inferior teachers to Negro schools. The complaint, based on an exhaustive study newly completed by the Russell Sage Foundation, points to lack of qualified teachers producing poor schools in urban Negro areas in the North. The suit asks that the Board of Education be ordered by injunction to alter its policies of teacher assignment.

In four Southern cases, injunctions were obtained by SEDF ordering school boards to submit integration plans in 80 days. But the forthcoming plans, accepted by the courts, are not acceptable to CORE SEDF. We are appealing on the ground that their pupil placement and area-assignment proposals are in truth masked devices for maintaining segregation. If the courts find for SEDF, important precedents will be established to help those fighting the appalling slowness of school integration everywhere in the nation.

Public Buildings The civil liberty to challenge the illegal orders of police and other officials is at issue in two suits, one recently argued before the United States Supreme Court, by Carl Rachlin and Murphy Bell of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the other now before the New Jersey Supreme Court. In the first, CORE members entering the white public library in Clinton, and requesting books--were ordered out by a policeman and later convicted of disturbing the peace. If you refuse an order to leave a public building where you have a legal right to be, and if your bearing is quiet, can you be convicted of disturbing the peace?

In the second case a Negro making a controversial point about urban renewal was ordered out of a Trenton City Council meeting, and after refusing, was later convicted of disturbing a meeting. These cases bear closely on the continued exclusion of Negroes from many public buildings and public events in the United States.

Reopening Facilities Often now in the South, complete closing of public facilities for whites and Negroes follows the read-in, swim-in, or other demonstration. In Clinton, Louisiana, all public libraries remain closed; in Tallahassee, Florida, all public swimming pools are closed. An effect is to intimidate Negroes not to integrate facilities open to them by law. In both places, our lawyers press for reopening the facilities to everyone; favorable decisions will be of important general use in the South.

In Klan-dominated Bogalusa SEDF lawyers obtained an injunction in July ordering police to protect peeceful demonstrators. The injunction was flagrantly violated by Bogalusa police. Police officials were found guilty of contempt and ordered to cease. Subsequently, the police went on a rampage and brutally violated the court order. SEDF asked for a more effective order and Judge Christenberry is now preparing his opinion.

Job Campaign In Syracuse, New York, SEDF has provided legal advice and encouragement to the campaign for more Negro jobs at the Niagara Mohawk Power Company. Twenty-four Negroes have been added to the payroll and absurdly high minimal job qualifications that are in effect very discriminatory are under legal attack.

Sheriff A Georgia sheriff, with the help of a Florida sheriff, recently removed a Negro from Florida to Georgia where he was wanted on a manslaughter charge. The sheriff got a warrant for his arrest after jailing him. CORE SEDF is filing a suit to stop illegal abduction of Negroes across state lines.

Prisons A suit attacking prison segregation laws and charging Gadsden County, Florida officials with a conspiracy to deny equal protection to a Negro has been filed by SEDF attorney John Due in U. S. District Court. Florida law provides for the segregation of prisoners according to race and Due contends, "It's unconstitutional on its face." The SEDF suit asks for: (1) A Federal writ of habeas corpus to free a son of the president of the Havana Chapter of the NAACP serving a 60-day sentence in a segregated prison and (2) A Federal injunction to restrain Florida officials from operating segregated prisons and institutions.

* * *

ART SHOW The 1965 exhibition and sale raised almost $60,000 making possible our vital legal program. Another successful event is indicated for the 1966 show at the Grippi and Waddell Gallery from April 28 to May 8. Mr. Philip Guston and Mr. Lloyd Goodrich will chair the Art Committee. Mrs. August Heckscher and Mrs. John Lindsay are honorary chairmen, Mrs. Shelley Appleton and Mrs. Arthur Logan, patron chairmen. This year CORE SEDF will require more than $90,000 for legal defense.

* * *

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, New York 10038

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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038
TELEPHONE 964-8210

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SS - you may want to request enough copies for each state conf.

February 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

As you know, the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund has carried on a program of scholarship assistance to students who have shown outstanding leadership in the field of civil rights. These students have been active in every branch of the civil rights movement, and we are proud that this has been so.

Enclosed are five copies each of the revised application form and the current critieria sheet. I hope you will be able to distribute this to local groups of the Council. We will be happy to provide additional forms as you require.

You will note that the deadline for applications for the fall semester is May 1.

Thanks so much for your interest and concern.

Sincerely,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich
Executive Director

MR:hm
Enclosures

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

■ *president;* Andrew E. Norman ■ *vice presidents;* William S. Ellis, Nannette Sachs ■ *secretary;* Ezra Levin ■ *treasurer;* Shelley Appleton ■ *executive director;* Marvin Rich ■ *leadership development director;* Ronnie M. Moore ■ *legal director;* Carl Rachlin ■ *BOARD OF DIRECTORS;* Adele Addison ■ John P. Allison ■ James Baldwin ■ Katrina McCormick Barnes ■ Dr. Kenneth B. Clark ■ Charlotte Devree ■ Robert F. Drinan, S.J. ■ John Henry Faulk ■ Doris Freedman ■ Dr. Edward L. Gibson ■ The Rev. Frederick James ■ Clarence B. Jones ■ Joann List Levinson ■ Henry Morgenthau, III ■ Dr. William Stuart Nelson ■ Elaine Slater ■ Norman Thomas ■ Rowland Watts ■ Pearl L. Willen

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND, INC.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, N. Y. 10038

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

GENERAL INFORMATION

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. established its Eleanor Roosevelt scholarship program in 1962 to aid deserving students without financial means to obtain a college education.

Students of all races and from all parts of the country are eligible to apply. Preference is given to students who have been actively involved in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and discrimination and to secure legal rights for persons of all races. Special consideration is given to those who have made significant contributions and sacrifices in their work for human rights.

PURPOSE AND AMOUNT OF GRANTS

1. Scholarships awarded to students who have been admitted to a college accredited by a regional accrediting body.

2. Grants are made to cover tuition and/or living expenses.

3. Depending on need, scholarships are granted in any amount up to $1,500 for one academic year. In exceptional cases, a supplementary grant of up to $500 may be made.

4. Scholarships may be renewed for subsequent years upon application. CORE SEDF will endeavor to continue support of students selected for grants, but cannot guarantee to do so.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

1. Evidence of financial need.

2. Record of activity in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and segregation and to obtain legal rights for all citizens.

3. Evidence of good character and leadership potential.

4. Evidence of academic ability sufficient to benefit from higher education.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

1. To apply, students must submit:

   a- Completed application form (obtainable from CORE SEDF).

   b- References from at least two persons of known leadership or staff position in the civil rights field.

   c- Copy of high school or college transcript.

2. Deadlines

   a- Applications for FALL semester must be filed by May 1st.

   b- Applications for SPRING semester must be filed by November 1st.

RETURN TO: CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.
Room 1707, 150 Nassau Street, New York, New York 10038

Application for Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarship Program

I. PERSONAL DATA

Name_____ Home address_____
City and state_____
Telephone No._____

Date of Birth_____ College address_____
City and state_____
Telephone No._____

Please check appropriate space:
Male____ Female____ Single____ Married____ Divorced____

Are you a U. S. citizen? Yes____ No____ No. of children____

II. EDUCATIONAL DATA

A. What is your present educational status. Please check.

___Not presently attending high school or college

___High school student Date of expected graduation_____

___High school graduate Date of graduation_____

___College undergraduate Date of expected graduation_____

___College graduate Date of graduation_____

___Graduate student Date of expected graduation_____

B. High School

Name of High School_____ Address_____
_____

Date of graduation_____ Grade average_____

C. If you are not presently attending college, give name, address and date of expected entrance of college to which you have been admitted.

D. If you are re-entering a college from which you previously withdrew, has your request for re-admission been granted?_____

E. If your application is pending at one or more colleges, give name(s) and address(es).

(Please note, however, that a scholarship cannot be granted until you are accepted at a college. Please notify CORE SEDF of acceptance immediately.)

F. College If you are now or previously have been enrolled in college, fill in appropriate columns below.

	Present College	Previous College
Name	_____	_____
Address	_____	_____
Major Subject	_____	_____
Grade Average	_____	_____
Date of Entrance	_____	_____
Date of Leaving	_____	_____
Reason for Leaving	_____	_____
No. of terms completed for credit	_____	_____
Expected date of graduation	_____	_____

Have you received scholarship or loan aid?_____If yes, please give source and amounts

G. Graduate School If you are now enrolled in or plan to enroll in a graduate school, please answer following questions.

1. Name and address of graduate school

2. If your application is pending at one or more graduate schools, please list names and addresses below.

3. Field of graduate study

4. Reason you wish to attend graduate school

5. Is your desire to pursue graduate education related to your work in civil rights?_____If yes, please describe the relationship fully.

(Note to applicants -- The majority of scholarships are awarded to undergraduates. Grants are made to graduate students only in exceptional circumstances.)

H. Transcripts - Applicants are responsible for submitting transcripts from high school and all colleges attended to CORE SEDF. Applications cannot be acted on until transcripts are received. Students who have completed two or more years of college need not submit a high school transcript.

III. FINANCIAL DATA

A. Do you need scholarship assistance in order to attend college?_____

B. Give dates of semesters or trimesters for which you are requesting aid. (Grants are made for an academic year of up to three trimesters or two semesters.)

C. Estimate your expenses for the period indicated in "B"

Tuition	_____
Room and board	_____
Travel	_____
Books	_____
Other (Specify)	_____
TOTAL EXPENSES	_____

D. Estimate amount you can contribute to your expenses

Sources -	Parents	_____
	Earnings	_____
	Savings (specify)	_____
	Scholarships or loans from other sources (specify)	_____
	Other	_____

E. Estimate amount of scholarship aid you will need to continue your studies for the period indicated in "B" _____

F. Have you applied for other scholarship or loan aid?_____
If yes, where have you applied?

(Applicants are required to notify CORE SEDF if they receive assistance from any other source.)

G. Is your need for scholarship aid related to your work in the civil rights field? If yes, please describe.

(If there is additional information on your family situation which is pertinent to your statement of finances, please give details on a separate sheet. Also, please indicate the number of people living in your home.)

IV. CIVIL RIGHTS BACKGROUND

A. Please outline your activities in the civil rights movement. Describe the activities in which you have worked, the names of the organizations with whom you have worked, dates of your activities and offices and responsibilities held. (Please list chronologically.)

B. Do you plan to continue your work in civil rights?_____
If "yes", please describe your special interests and the areas in which you hope to make a contribution.

References: Please give names and addresses of at least two persons of recognized leadership or staff positions in the civil rights field who personally are familiar with your work in this area. Please select persons who will be able to give full information and evaluation of your work.

(1) Name_____ Organization_____

Address_____ _____

(2) Name_____ Organization_____

Address_____ _____

Note: If you need additional space to answer any questions, please use another page.

CORE

CORE
SEDF

The CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund was established in 1963 to provide a number of basic, and previously neglected, services to the civil rights movement. Chief among these is making educational opportunities available to young people who have demonstrated exceptional character, a capacity for community leadership and a serious commitment to the civil rights movement. In addition, CORE SEDF has accepted major responsibilities in voter registration education and in furnishing legal counsel where it is needed most urgently – in the often remote places where small groups of civil rights workers wage their lonely struggle.

Contributions to CORE SEDF are tax deductible. This folder describes the full range of its activities.

PROGRAMS

of the

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOLARSHIPS

Scholarship grants of up to $1,500 per year are awarded to young leaders and potential leaders, regardless of race, whose need for assistance arises from, or is related to, their participation in the civil rights movement. Some of our twenty-eight present recipients (six are in law schools) were expelled from public institutions near their homes because they dared to take democracy seriously. Some, white as well as Negro, require financial aid to integrate previously segregated institutions. Some, as a result of their civil rights work experience, have raised their educational sights beyond their financial capacity. All recognize the importance of higher education to themselves and to the movement to which they have dedicated themselves.

Eleanor Roosevelt Scholars must be persons of proven capability and integrity and must be accepted by an accredited college or graduate school. An important and unique feature of these scholarships is that they give a chance not only to brilliant scholars, whom so many are eager to aid, but to students of average, or even less than average academic standing, who have demonstrated exceptional character and leadership capacity.

Because Eleanor Roosevelt Scholars must meet exacting standards, this pro-

gram could not be expanded without limit. The need, however, greatly exceeds our present financial resources.

LEGAL DEFENSE AND SERVICE

Test cases in the U. S. Supreme Court make headlines and history. But the most critical unmet need of the civil rights movement today is for lawyers at the scene of action. Legal advice before action takes place can often avert disastrous consequences and make the action more effective. Local citizens and civil rights workers often languish in filthy, crowded and brutal jails for weeks, and even months, regardless of established law and Supreme Court precedents, because no lawyers are available to take their cases.

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund now has eight lawyers on salary or retainer in Louisiana, Mississippi, northern Florida and North Carolina. A ninth works in New York City coordinating the efforts of many volunteer attorneys. A number of other lawyers cooperate by traveling to the South to handle civil rights matters for SEDF on a case-by-case basis.

The need for on-the-spot legal services is immense and is not abating. SEDF has only been able to make a beginning on this crucial program.

VOTER EDUCATION AND REGISTRATION

Events in Alabama have focused the attention of the nation on the importance and problems of registering southern Negro voters. SEDF gained considerable experience in this area last year in successful registration campaigns in Louisiana, north Florida and California. Currently, SEDF is sponsoring a Citizenship Education Project in South Carolina. Another program is under way in north Florida, and plans are being completed for voter education programs in other southern states.

Voter projects often produce important side benefits. For example, in north Florida previously unknown community leaders emerged during the drive, community participation and spirit developed, and groups organized for voter registration moved effectively to cope with other community problems and needs.

CHANEY-GOODMAN-SCHWERNER MEMORIAL COMMUNITY CENTER

In Meridian, Mississippi, a community center will be built to honor and carry on the work of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, the young men who were murdered in June, 1964. CORE SEDF is sponsoring the building and financing of this center. Jackie Robinson and Ralph Samuels head the fund-raising committee.

Before Michael Schwerner's death, he and his wife struggled to maintain a center in Meridian with few resources. The new center will provide meeting and class rooms, a library, space for recreation, health services, vocational training and remedial education – facilities never before available to Negroes in Mississippi. This center will be the first of many planned to meet the growing demand for them in underdeveloped areas of our South.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FELLOWSHIPS

The past few summers, and particularly the summer of 1964, demonstrated the value of field work in southern Negro communities by qualified and dedicated college and university students. SEDF

has now inaugurated a program of fellowships for carefully selected students in education, agriculture, economics, political science, sociology, religion, public health, and other relevant areas of study, to enable them to broaden their understanding of their subjects by using their skills where they are needed most. Recipients of SEDF fellowship grants will work with national and local civil rights organizations. Emphasis will be on using these students to stimulate and train local leadership, so that projects initiated during the summer will be continued throughout the year.

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

SEDF's board of directors has given this program top priority for the coming year. Planning is in process for a continuing school with courses in community organization, group leadership, techniques of action and administration, and relevant aspects of economics, political science, history, social psychology, and civil, administrative, and criminal law. The institute probably will be established in the New York City area, with the hope that SEDF or other groups will be able to use it as a model for similar institutes elsewhere.

The young leaders and potential leaders constantly emerging in the civil rights movement and related community groups urgently need this kind of training. Experience is the only real teacher, but experience without preparation teaches little more than frustration.

Students in the leadership development institute will be outstanding young people already involved in civil rights and community action. Their studies will relate directly to their work, not remove them from it. The faculty will be made up of persons with solid qualifications in their subjects, teaching in the institute on a part-time but more or less permanent basis. Tentative planning is for three or four-month sessions. The budget has not yet been fixed, but it will provide for a minimal administrative staff salaries sufficient to ensure that the best possible instructors are attracted and made to feel that their best efforts are demanded, necessary books and materials, and rent in case suitable quarters are not available free.

OTHER PROGRAMS

These include a highly successful agricultural field-education worker project in Mississippi, transferred to National Sharecroppers Fund March 1, 1965.

ADMINISTRATION

SEDF is proud that it has been able to manage substantial funds and vital programs with a very low overhead. The Fund utilizes a number of skilled volunteers, including its own board members, and avoids costly fund-raising and operating methods.

Its Executive Director is Marvin Rich who helped to found the St. Louis Congress of Racial Equality in 1948, while a student at Washington University. He joined the staff of National CORE in 1959, after playing an important role in activating the St. Louis labor movement in behalf of civil rights and planning the desegregation of the St. Louis public schools. After nearly six years as one of the key leaders of CORE, operating recently under the title of Community Relations Director, he brings to SEDF knowledge of and experience in all aspects of the civil rights field, as well as administrative ability.

Contributions to CORE Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund are tax deductible. Your help is needed.

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION and DEFENSE FUND

150 Nassau Street, New York, N.Y. 10038

Do we have a folder for this outfit in our organizations file?

March 1966

MEMBERSHIP

in

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Organizations	Representatives
African Methodist Episcopal Church Division of Christian Education 414 Eighth Avenue, South Nashville 3, Tennessee	The Rev. Andrew White Executive Secretary
Alexander Graham Bell Association for the Deaf 1537 - 35th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007	Mr. George W. Fellendorf Executive Director
Allergy Foundation of America 801 Second Avenue New York, New York 10017	Mr. Horace F. Henriques President
Allied Youth, Inc. Rosslyn Building 1901 Ft. Meyer Drive Arlington, Virginia 22200	Mr. Rubye N. Kelley
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. 5211 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60615	Miss A. Lauretta Whitney 1435 Newton Street, N.W., #404 Washington, D.C. 20010
Altrusa International, Inc. 332 South Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60604	Mrs. Mary S. Resh 4201 Cathedral Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016
American Academy of Pediatrics 1801 Hinman Avenue Evanston, Illinois 60204	Dr. E. H. Christopherson Executive Director
American Association for Gifted Children 15 Gramercy Park New York, New York 10003	Miss Majorie L. Craig, Program Coordinator Metropolitan Life Insurance Company One Madison Avenue New York, New York 10010
American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation - NEA 1201 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Dr. Jackson M. Anderson Assistant Executive Secretary

American Association for Jewish Education 101 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10011	Mr. Isaac Toubin Executive Director
American Association for Maternal and Child Health 116 South Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60603	Mrs. Patricia Dorr Executive Director
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American Association of Instructors of the Blind 2363 South Spring Avenue St. Louis, Missouri 63110	Mr. Lee A. Iverson Department of Children & Family Services New State Office Building Springfield, Illinois
American Association of Medical Clinics P. O. Box 58 Charlottesville, Virginia 22902	Dr. Catherine Knop Yater Clinic 1780 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
American Association of Ophthalmology 1100 - 17th Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Otto Lippman, M.D. Chairman, Committee on Child Health Development
American Association of Orthodontists 7477 Delmar Boulevard St. Louis, Missouri 63130	Dr. J. A. Salzmann Chairman, AAO 654 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10021
American Association of School Administrators - NEA 1201 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Dr. Forrest E. Conner, Executive Secretary Alternate: Dr. William J. Ellena Associate Secretary
American Association of University Women 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037	Dr. Eleanor D. Malmborg Staff Associate - Education
American Automobile Association 1712 G Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006	Mr. Sam Yaksich, Jr., Manager Pedestrian and School Safety Division Traffic Engineering and Safety Dept.
American Camping Association Bradford Woods Martinsville, Indiana 46151	Mr. Ernest F. Schmidt Executive Director

American Catholic Psychological Association	The Rev. William C. Bell, S. J. Executive Secretary, ACPA c/o Fordham University New York, New York 10058
American Child Guidance Foundation 18 Tremont Street Boston, Massachusetts 02108	Edgar B. Phillips, M.D Executive Director
American College Health Association University of Miami 5513 Merrick Drive Coral Gables 46, Florida	S. I. Fuenning, M.D. Chief Liaison Officer, ACHA c/o University of Nebraska Lincoln, Nebraska
American College of Osteopathic Pediatricians	Dr. Arnold Melnick Past President and Chairman, Committee on Implementation of the Recommendations of 1960 WHCCY 20 Edgemoor Road Cheltenham, Pennsylvania
American College of Osteopathic Surgeons c/o J. Richard Costin, D.O. 111 West Third Avenue Columbus, Ohio 43201	Charles L. Ballinger, D.O. Executive Secretary, ACOS P. O. Box 40 Coral Gables, Florida 33134
American Country Life Assoc., Inc. Room 228, 327 South LaSalle Street Chicago, Illinois 60604	Miss Lois M. Clark Member, Board of Directors, ACLA c/o 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
The American Dietetic Association 620 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60611	Dr. Icie Macy Hoobler 502 Burson Place Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
American Educational Foundation 905 Temple Building 14 Franklin Street Rochester 5, New York	
American Educational Research Assoc. - NEA 1201 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Mr. Guy Boswell Executive Secretary

American Educational Theatre Association, Inc.	Mr. Richard C. Johnson WHCCY Chairman, AETA 302 East Hillside Avenue Barrington, Illinois 60010
AFL-CIO Community Services Activities 815 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006	Mr. John F. O'Connell Staff Representative
AFL-CIO Department of Education 815 - 16th Street, N.W., Room 510 Washington, D.C. 20006	Mr. Jack Sessions Staff Representative
American Foundation for the Blind, Inc. 15 West 16th Street New York, New York 10011	Mr. Harold G. Roberts Director, Program Planning Dept.
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO 716 North Rush Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Mr. Carl J. Megel, Washington Rep. 1343 H Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005
American Friends Service Committee 160 North 15th Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Mrs. Thelma H. How 1007 Green Lane Primos, Pennsylvania
American Hearing Society 919 - 18th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Miss Del Ehrlich, Director Public Information
American Heart Association 44 East 23rd Street New York, New York 10010	Dr. Kenneth L. Briney Director of School Health
American Home Economics Association 1600 - 20th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009	
American Hospital Association 840 North Lake Shore Drive Chicago, Illinois 60611	Mr. Robert S. Marshall One Farragut Square, South Washington, D.C. 20006
American Humane Association Children's Division 896 Pennsylvania Street P. O. Box 1266 Denver, Colorado 80201	Mr. Vincent De Francis Director, Children's Division
American Humanist Association Humanist House Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387	Dr. Rudolf Dreikurs Board Member, AHA 6 North Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60602

American Industrial Arts Assoc. - NEA 1201 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Mr. Kenneth E. Dawson Executive Secretary
American Institute of Cooperation 1200 - 17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036	Dr. Walter Jacoby Director - Youth Education
The American Institute of Family Relations 5287 Sunset Boulevard Los Angeles, California 90027	Mrs. Charles H. Popenoe Washington Representative - AIFR 9502 Thornhill Road Silver Spring, Maryland
American Instructors of the Deaf Office of Administrative Sec'y Gallaudet College Florida Avenue at 7th Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002	Dr. Roy M. Stelle, Superintendent New York School for the Deaf 555 Knollwood Road White Plain, New York 10603
American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th Street New York, New York 10022	Mrs. Ann G. Wolfe Program Consultant Dept. of Civil Rights and Social Action
The American Legion National Child Welfare Division P. O. Box 1055 Indianapolis, Indiana 46206	Mr. Fred T. Kuszmaul Assistant Director
The American Legion National Education and Scholarship Committee P. O. Box 1055 Indianapolis, Indiana 46206	Mr. J. Edward Wieland, Assistant Director Education and Scholarship Program
American Library Association 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Mildred L. Batchelder Executive Secretary, ALA Children's Services Division and Young Adult Services Division
American Library Association Adult Services Division 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor Phinney Executive Secretary
American Library Association American Assoc. of School Librarians 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Dorothy McGinniss Executive Secretary
American Library Association American Assoc. of State Libraries 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor A. Ferguson Executive Secretary

American Library Association Association of Hospital and Institution Libraries 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor Phinney Executive Secretary
American Library Association Children's Services Division 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Mildred L. Batchelder Executive Secretary
American Library Association Public Library Association 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Eleanor A. Ferguson Executive Secretary
American Library Association Young Adult Services Division 50 East Huron Street Chicago, Illinois 60611	Miss Mildred L. Batchelder Executive Secretary
American Lutheran Church Commission on Research and Social Action 422 South Fifth Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415	Dr. Carl F. Reuss Director
American Lutheran Church Youth Department 422 South Fifth Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415	The Reverend John Muller Regional Director, American Lutheran Church 2633 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009
American Medical Association 535 North Dearborn Street Chicago, Illinois 60610	Otis L. Anderson, M.D. Assistant Manager, Washington Office American Medical Association One Farragut Square, South Washington, D.C. 20006
American National Red Cross 17th and D Streets, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006	Miss Dorothy B. Taaffe Assistant National Director Red Cross Youth
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3/25/66

MISSISSIPPI UNIT GETS AID CRITERIA

11/14/66

Antipoverty Agency Lists 9 Head Start Conditions

(MISSISSIPPI)

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13 — The Office of Economic Opportunity has listed nine conditions that must be met before the Child Development Group of Mississippi can receive new Head Start funds.

These conditions include genuine efforts to bring poor white children into the program, satisfaction of disallowances resulting from an audit of the previous grant and new leadership.

Jule M. Sugarman, associate director of Project Head Start, the prekindergarden program for poor children, listed the conditions in a letter to the Rev. Bryant George of the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in New York.

The Board of Missions supports the Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point, Miss., which is the nominal sponsor of the Child Development Group's Head Start project.

Sargent Shriver, director of the antipoverty office, announced at the end of September that he had rejected the group's application for another grant.

The decision led to protests by clerics and liberal leaders. They accused Mr. Shriver of having terminated a successful project for poor children under pressure of the Democratic organization of Mississippi.

"A thin mask for a politically dictated decision," a committee of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, a private organization, said.

Lawyers, educators and students scheduled meetings today and tomorrow at Howard University Law School here to decide on a course of action.

One antipoverty agency complaint against the group was that, contrary to other social patterns in Mississippi, the Negroes excluded whites. The project leaders replied that whites not only had chosen to exclude themselves but also had set fire to two of their centers.

The agency also said an interim audit had not accounted satisfactorily for $654,000. The project received $5.6-million last February for a six-month period and requested $20.5-million for 12 months. It served 1,200 children in 28 scattered counties.

The Sugarman letter said a maximum of $5-million of unobligated funds was available for Mississippi Head Start projects in view of commitments

COURTS

'Justice, Justice, Shall ye Pursue . . .'

by NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH
Acting Attorney General of the U. S.

Civil Rights Leaders Draw Up Bill to Protect Their People in South

COURTS

Introduction of Plan Set Today; Jury Integration Big Goal; Racial Incidents Seen Likely

By KENNETH G. SLOCUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ATLANTA — Civil rights leaders will open a new drive today to gain protection and fair treatment for Negroes and civil rights workers in the South. They predict that before the drive is over it probably will be dramatized by new racial incidents.

The goal is passage of the Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966, a joint product of several rights groups that has already been dubbed the Southern Justice Bill. The proposed legislation is expected to be introduced in the Senate today. It is generally expected that some version of the bill, or of a less ambitious one likely to be submitted by the Justice Department in a few weeks, will be enacted this year.

"This is a law designed to take out of the civil rights movement deep, unending fear, the thing that has prevented most other civil rights laws from being effective," declares Charles Morgan, Southern regional head of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Some Tough Requirements

The bill, being circulated privately here, doesn't contain any major provisions not already advocated by rights groups, but it does contain broad and surprisingly tough requirements intended to force sharp changes in the present operation of the Southern judicial system.

Its major provisions: Integration of Southern juries; Federal assumption of many state and local proceedings against Southerners accused of crimes against Negroes and civil rights workers; extension of fair employment requirements to state and local governments, especially police forces; and, probably most important to rights people, Federal protection for Negroes exercising their Constitutional rights—such as voting or using integrated facilities—and for rights workers assisting the Negroes.

The introduction of the bill is coming only a few months after the broad voting rights bill went into effect, and if the new bill passes it will be the third major rights bill enacted in as many years. But the bill is sorely needed, assert civil rights leaders who stoutly reject the contentions of some critics that adequate Federal legislation now is in force.

Draft Of Bill To Protect Their People in South COURTS

Introduction of Plan Set Today; Jury Integration Big Goal; Racial Incidents Seen Likely

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"In much of the South, rural areas particularly, most of the civil rights legislation passed in the last four years is completely ineffective," contends Andrew Young, a top aide in Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He adds: "Negroes legally can use public accommodations or vote, but many don't for fear of physical reprisal by whites. These Negroes know, as well as their tormentors, that any white man who takes the law into his own hands is almost assured he will be set free."

Rights leaders say that nearly 40 Negroes and white civil rights workers have been killed in rights violence in the past five years, including 17 last year, but that less than half a dozen sentences—none for more than 10 years—have resulted.

Intimidation and Abuse

The new bill also is needed, these leaders contend, because of what they call daily intimidation and abuse of Negroes by segregationists who, it is claimed, know they won't be punished by local Southern courts.

The rights people bring up the case of James Jackson, who with a friend recently entered a St. Augustine, Fla., cafe usually patronized by whites only. According to the civil rights officials, a white man began harassing the two Negroes and finally threw hot coffee on one. The white man insisted it was an accident. At any rate, a scuffle ensued and as a result Mr. Jackson was sentenced to jail for four months while the white man went free, the civil rights leaders say.

Incidents such as this, however, may be minor compared with troubles that could crop up as the bill is debated. Civil rights leaders say they plan to wait to see how Congress handles the bill before implementing a campaign to aid passage, but they aren't ruling out the type of demonstrations and headline catching marches that some thought were a big factor in the prompt passage of the 1965 voting rights bill.

In fact, John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, speculates that major demonstrations may be called for before a bill is passed.

"We suspect before it's over it will take new Selmas to dramatize this bill and get it through Congress," adds John Barber, executive assistant to Mr. King. "Just as Jim Clark

Please Turn to Page 18, Column 1

Civil Rights Leaders Draw Up a Bill To Protect Their Workers in South

Continued From Page One

(the sheriff in Selma, Ala.) co-authored the voting rights bill of 1965 and Bull Connor (Eugene Connor, the police commissioner of Birmingham during incidents there in 1964) helped write the civil rights bill of 1964, there undoubtedly will be somebody who will personify the forces of evil in this," he says.

The officials of the groups that helped write the current bill figure the provision providing for integration of Southern juries stands the best chance of passing relatively intact. These juries, critics agree, usually are all-white. (And they're usually all-male juries. Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi currently exclude women from state juries, although this is being challenged in courts.)

The bill doesn't tell states or counties they must select juries in a certain way, a feature expected to lessen the opposition of groups fearing loss of states' rights. Basically, it would provide a model jury system in Federal district courts, ensuring that juries would be picked through random sampling systems that would provide diverse race and economic representation. Literacy tests would be stricken for normal requirements of Federal juries.

This system would then be used as the key in selecting state and local juries should the Federal Government be called in to supervise such selection. And the Government could be called in to do this upon complaints—from local citizens, litigants or the U.S. Attorney General—that Negroes were being systematically excluded from juries because of their race. This is similar to the bringing in of Federal registrars to supervise voting under the 1965 law.

Among other things, a bipartisan Federal Jury Commission, which would administer the system, could order a local court to utilize Federal jury lists and procedures.

Assuming Jurisdiction

Even tougher is another major provision allowing Federal district courts to step in and assume jurisdiction in state cases where it is necessary to assure "fair protection" of the law. Specifically included would be trials for crimes against Negroes and civil rights workers in cases where Negroes were systematically excluded from juries. In essence, in most recent civil rights killings, such as that of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Alabama, last year, a Federal court could prosecute a murder case under the state law, one expert on the bill maintains.

The Federal court could also handle cases involving crimes against Negroes and civil rights workers under a variety of other conditions. These would include situations where it is shown that the judge was elected in segregated elections or that the local jails and police forces practiced segregated employment.

Similarly, Negroes and civil rights workers being tried for crimes could ask for a trial in Federal court if it were shown, for instance, that Negroes were systematically excluded from juries or that discrimination existed in local police department employment or the election of judicial officials.

Protection of Workers

One widely sought aim in the civil rights movement, legislation to protect civil rights workers, is also included. The provision would make it a Federal crime to intimidate or injure Negroes because they are exercising their Constitutional rights, or civil rights workers assisting them. Penalties would range up to 20 years in prison and a $10,000 fine in case of death or grave bodily injury. Currently, murder is not a Federal crime.

Also written into the new bill is an unusual clause to utilize cash awards to help out a victim of civil rights violence or his relatives. Complaints of injuries would be investigated, in some cases by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under order of the present U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Payments would be decided upon before a new civil rights indemnification board, to be appointed by the President. While initial payment of the unspecified sums to the victims would be by Uncle Sam, the Federal Government could bring suit against parties and the state, county or town involved to recover the amount. For instance, the Government would sue a state for the damages if it thought the state was responsible because, say, it supplied insufficient protection to the victim.

Lastly, but no less powerful, the legislation would extend fair employment provisions of the 1964 civil rights act to include states and political subdivisions; mainly, it would provide for integration of state and local police forces, penal institution staffs and other operations associated with justice.

The bill expected to be submitted later by the Justice Department probably will be similar to the rights groups' bill, sources say. The agency's measure may be less ambitious in some respects, but it is expected to go into one field not covered in the current bill, discrimination in housing.

Canadian Auto, Truck Output

TORONTO—Canadian car and truck makers plan production of 21,532 units this week, up from 20,421 last week, according to the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association. Output to date this year totals 83,362 cars and 18,836 trucks, up from 69,691 cars and 12,441 trucks a year ago.

COURTS NYT 2/24/66

NEGRO PROTESTS UPHELD BY COURT

5 Louisiana Convictions Are Voided—Black Dissents

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23—The Supreme Court struck down today breach of peace convictions of five Negro "stand-in" demonstrators who had attempted to integrate a Louisiana public library.

The 5-to-4 decision drew a heated dissent from Justice Hugo Black, who saw in it a ruling that all such demonstrations in public buildings were protected by the Constitution.

But the majority decision, as expressed in three different opinions, appeared to stop short of that position.

Justice Abe Fortas said in an opinion joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas that there was no evidence that the Negroes had breached the peace. He pointed out that they had entered a "white only" library in Clinton, La., to demonstrate their objection to segregation.

Negroes, he said, were allowed to obtain books only from a blue bookmobile. They were issued library cards stamped "Negro."

Asked for a Book

One of the five men asked for a nonexistent book, and when the librarian asked them to leave, they refused. Nobody else was in the library, and the men stood quietly until the sheriff arrived and made the arrest.

The entire incident, which occurred on March 7, 1964, took only 10 to 15 minutes.

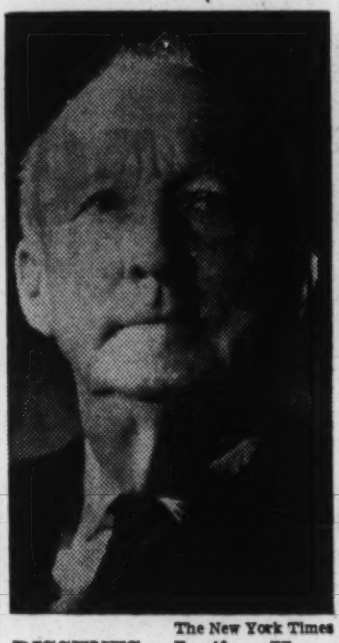
The five were sentenced to fines of $150 or 90 days in jail.

Justice Fortas said the Negroes' action did not amount to a violation of the breach-of-peace law and that the conviction amounted to a denial of the process of law.

The disagreement with Justice Black arose out of Justice Fortas's further statement that the "stand-in" demonstrators would be protected against prosecution under the law anyway, because their protest was expression protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

"Can any provision of the United States Constitution tell any citizens—white or colored—they can march with impunity into a public library and demonstrate against some public policy!" Justice Black

[illegible] ing extemporaneously [illegible] time, Justice Black [illegible] a half-hour de- [illegible] he termed a [illegible] such [illegible] fire



The New York Times

DISSENTS: Justice Hugo L. Black argued Supreme Court ruling on "stand-in" would give Constitutional protection to all such behavior in public buildings.

views can be transformed into a loud, boisterous, arrant, dangerous mob," he said.

"It has become automatic for people to be turned loose as long as whatever they do has something to do with race. That is not the way I read the Constitution," he said.

Justices Tom C. Clark, John M. Harlan and Potter Stewart joined in Justice Black's written dissent.

Justice William J. Brennan said in a concurring opinion that the breach-of-peace statute had been doeclared to be unconstitutionally vague in a 1965 decision, and that the same defect would apply in this case.

Justice Byron R. White concurred. He said ordering the Negroes out of the library because of their color denied them equal protection of the laws.

Carl Rachlin of New York argued for the Negroes. Richard Kilbourne of Clinton argued for Louisiana.

TAUNTED ABOUT AGE, GIRL GOES BERSERK

BRISTOL, England (AP)—Geoffrey Hodges, 42 years old, said he had learned the hard way that a girl's age is no joking matter.

It happened, he said, at a recent wedding party. He asked Miss Sylvia Hallett her age and she said 25. Mr. Hodges suggested that she looked nearer 45. And then it started.

Miss Hallett, who is in fact 19, was charged in court the next day with causing damage of £81 9 s. ($228) to furniture and windows in an attack on Mr. Hodges.

"I just had to express myself," she said.

The host and hostess, Graham Morgan and his bride, took refuge in a bedroom as coffee cups and glasses went flying in Mr. Hodges's direction. By the time the police arrived everything in the room was overturned and two windows were broken.

Miss Hallett admitted breaking the windows but testified that others at the party did some of the throwing.

Mr. Hodges, who suffered a bruised nose and torn coat, testified that his remark about her age was meant only as a joke.

The court fined Miss Hallett £5 ($14) plus £6 ($16.80) in costs.

COURTS

2 Negroes on Jury For Sumter Trial

AC -3/2/66

AMERICUS, Ga. (UPI)—A jury of 10 white and two Negro men was seated Tuesday night in the murder trial of Negro Charles Lee Hopkins, 23, accused of murder in the death of a white Marine recruit last July during a tense civil rights situation.

The jury was selected and then locked up for the night after 10 hours of courtroom questioning. Testimony was scheduled to start at 9 a.m. Wednesday.

The jurors, and two white alternates, were qualified on the death penalty.

Hopkins and Eddie James Lamar were indicted for murder in connection with the shooting death of Andy Whatley, 21, shortly before midnight July 28.

Whatley was gunned down from a passing car just two blocks away from where a Negro civil rights group was staging a protest vigil at the Sumter County courthouse where Hopkins' trial is being held.

Lamar has not yet been tried.

Defense attorney C. B. King and Sol. J. Frank Myers questioned prospective jurors in groups of 12. Nine Negroes were among the 150 prospective veniremen called. One white man was excused from duty when he said he was prejudiced against Negroes.

The trial began Monday with Judge T. O. Marshall rejecting a defense motion to change the site of the trial.

COURTS

Negro Admitted Shot, Court Told

AJ 3/2/66

By WALKER LUNDY
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

AMERICUS, Ga., March 2—A Negro service station operator Wednesday testified defendant Charles Lee Hopkins admitted firing a gun the night of July 28, the same night Hopkins is charged with shooting down a white youth on a downtown street corner.

"I know I shot, but I didn't know I shot nobody," James Miles quoted Hopkins as saying about 75 minutes after the alleged shooting.

Miles was the first witness as the state opened its case against Hopkins, the first of two Americus Negroes charged with the shooting of Aultman Andrew Whatley, 21.

The other Negro charged with the killing, Eddie James Lamar, 22, will go on trial after Hopkins, who is 23.

MILES, WHO said he was looking for Hopkins after police had notified him, said he asked the defendant where his gun was.

"I ain't got none," Miles quoted Hopkins as answering.

Miles said Hopkins and Lamar and two Negro girls had been in his station earlier in the evening to buy gasoline.

"I asked him where he was going," Miles said. "He said, 'Just riding.' He said he didn't have his 'heat' with him."

On cross examination, Miles said he did not know what Hopkins meant by this remark.

Miles said that when he saw Hopkins after the shooting, the defendant was willing to telephone police and made no suggestion of escaping.

Sol. Gen. J. Frank Myers said in his opening statement that he hoped to prove civil rights demonstrations — including the one in progress at the time of the shooting — had no connection with Whatley's death.

"THE DEFENDANT and the deceased were not involved in demonstrations and didn't even know each other," Myers told the jury.

Two Negro girls, Lizzie Sheffield and Catherine Taylor, both said they saw Hopkins earlier in the evening and testified he had a gun with him then.

An Americus pawnshop owner testified he sold a snubnosed .38-caliber pistol to a Negro who identified himself as Charles Lee Hopkins seven weeks before the shooting.

O. W. Ray, who operates a pawnshop with his son, testified the pistol introduced by the state as an exhibit bears the same serial number as the one sold to the Negro. He said he could not identify the defendant.

Selection of a jury, which has two Negroes on it, was a painstakingly slow process Tuesday. It took more than nine hours of questioning of potential jurors, mostly by defense attorney C. B. King, civil rights lawyer from Albany.

Hopkins and Lamar are charged with the slaying July 28 of Whatley, a 21-year-old Marine recruit.

Mr. King's adversary, Sol. Gen. Myers, will be trying his third murder case since his appointment to the office three months ago. He has gained two convictions.

THE PICKING OF an integrated jury marked the second time in two weeks that Negroes have been seated on juries in this area, which was known last summer for its racial troubles.

A jury of 11 Negroes and one white man convicted a Negro youth of manslaughter in nearby Ellaville. Myers and King were attorneys in that case, too.

The all-male jury includes Negrows Hiawatha Ross, a warehouse laborer, and Emmitt Battle, a farmer. Whites on the jury are Julian Suggs Jr., J. W. Keane, Perry West, K. L. Carpenter, Johnny Dixon, L. B. Eubanks, Frank Chappell Jr., C. D. Williams, Robert Buchanan and W. M. Lucas.

Two white alternates also were selected, Roy L. Parker III and Garnett Wilson.

The opening day of the trial moved slowly. King meticulously asked each of the 51 men summoned to the jury box if they thought the fact that the defendant and the defendant's lawyer are Negro would influence the jurymen's ability to be impartial. All answered no.

HE ASKED IF they knew any of the individuals involved in the case or if they were members—or had friends who were members—of the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, the White Citizens Council or the John Birch Society. Most said they knew Myers and some of the police officers scheduled to testify. None claimed klan membership, and only a handful said they or their friends were in the Birch society. None of the Birchites were selected for the jury.

COURTS

House Votes to Authorize 17 New U.S. Judges in South

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The House authorized Wednesday appointment of 45 new federal district judges and 10 U.S. circuit judges — four of them in the Southwide Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which has handled the bulk of civil rights litigation.

The judgeship bill gives President Lyndon B. Johnson a new bundle of patronage and could lead to the appointment of a Negro federal judge in the South.

House passage was by a vote of 371 to 23. The Senate approved a similar bill last year, providing for one fewer district judge than the House version.

Two Georgia congressmen, Republican Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Pine Mountain and Democrat Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge, voted against the House bill.

Rep. Elliott Hagan of Sylvania did not vote. The seven other Georgia congressmen voted for the bill.

Thirteen of the 45 district judgeships are in Southern states. None is in Georgia.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which adds four temporary judges, has jurisdiction in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and the Canal Zone.

Two members of the existing nine-judge fifth circuit recently submitted their resignations to the President.

Johnson therefore will make six new appointments in the circuit.

The most likely appointment of a Negro to a Southern federal court bench would be in Florida, which gets four new district judges.

The administration would likely receive less opposition to nomination of a Negro from Florida's senators than from senators in the other Southern states receiving the new judges.

Louisiana gets four new judges, Texas and Mississippi receive two each and one goes to Alabama.

The bill becomes effective when signed by the President except in California, where five new judges will be appointed in newly created judicial distriicts. The California changes will become effective six months after enactment.

COURTS AC 3/4/66

Integrated Sumter Jury Sentences Negro to Life

AMERICUS, Ga. (AP)—A jury of 10 white men and two Negroes convicted a 23-year-old Negro of murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment Thursday in the slaying of a white youth during racial tension last summer.

The jury, deliberated an hour and three minutes before convicting Charles Lee Hopkins in the pistol slaying of Andrew Aultman Whatley Jr., 21, who was shot down on a street corner last July.

Hopkins admitted in an unsworn statement to the jury that he fired a revolver from an automobile, but said he shot in fear and did not know he had killed anyone.

Hopkins' attorney, C. B. King of Albany, Ga., said he would determine later whether to appeal for a new trial.

Hopkins and another Negro, Eddie James Lamar, 22, were indicted for murder in the slaying.

Lamar is expected to go on trial Friday.

King, a 41-year-old Negro attorney, told the jury he wanted only justice — not black man's justice or white man's justice.

He told the jury:

"I ask you not for a black man's justic, nor for a white man's justice — simply for a fellow human being such as yourself to sit in judgment of the facts in such a cause that it will cause all of us to bow down and worship the cause of justice."

The prosecutor, Sol Gen. Frank Myers, called the slaying cold-blooded and asked that the jury send Hopkins to the elec-

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

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Negro Given Life By Integrated Jury

Continued From Page 1

tric chair. Myers, 45, appointed to his office about three months ago, called the slaying, "Cold blooded murder without any doubt."

As he painted a mental picture of what he called murder with malice, Mrs. Andrew Whatley Sr., mother of the victim, continually wiped tears from her eyes as she sat in the front row of the crowded courtroom.

Most of the jurors kept their eyes on Myers.

"He (Whatley) was standing there in the peace of the county he knows as his home, and out of the night came a car which cut him down," Myers said.

Several white men who had been in the crowd tsetified that a car appeared from a side street and several shots were fired as it reached the intersection where the crowd of white persons had gathered.

Police testified there had been incidents of rock throwing at cars driven by white persons at this corner earlier.

Whatley, who had enlisted in the Marine Corps only a few days before he was killed, fell mortally wounded less than two blocks from the Sumter County court house where more than 30 marches were staged during about a three-week period.

Hopkins, a tall, thin, dark-skinned Negro, told his side of the story in an unsworn statement which must, under Georgia law, be considered by the jury without benefit of cross-examination.

He is a former service station attendant and still faces liquor charges in Sumter County.

He said he fired only after objects had been hurled at his car, and after someone from the crowd had shouted he was going to be killed.

"When I fired my gun, I had my head down. I have a glass eye (left) which I have had since I was 16 years old," Hopkins said.

"I did not see where I fired."

Dr. Herman Jones, director of the state crime lab at Atlanta, testified that test showed a 38 caliber slug taken from the victim's brain came from a revolver owned by Hopkins.

Another state witness, O. W. Ray, a pawnbroker, testified that his pawnshop had sold Hopkins the revolver which had fired the fatal bullet.

Police Sgt. Thomas Hewett testified that he and another policeman gave chase to a car immediately after the shooting, and that when the vehicle wrecked, Lamar was taken into custody.

Hopkins surrendered to police through a friend later during the night of the slaying.

One witness, Basil Roberts, a white man, testified he was standing near Whatley when the youth fell to the ground and that he (Roberts) ran into the street and began firing a revolver at the fleeing automobile.

'DONE ELECTED YOU FOREMAN'

AJ 3/9/66 COURTS

A Georgia Jury of One White, 11 Negroes

By JACK NELSON

Ellaville.

"I'LL TELL you one thing," said George Gooding, "when we went in that jury room it wasn't 11 niggers and a white man. It was 12 Schley County jurors."

Gooding, a 45-year-old stock clerk for an auto parts company, was the only white man on a jury that recently convicted a Negro youth of manslaughter and sentenced him to six years in the shooting death of an Ellaville policeman.

A few white residents of the area have criticized the verdict as too lenient, but Gooding defends it and declares: "If I had it to do over, I'd just as soon serve on the jury with the same 11 men."

Schley County is one of six largely rural counties in the Southwestern Judicial Circuit that began calling Negroes for jury duty after a 1964 Georgia Court of Appeals decision overturned the assault conviction of a civil rights worker in one of the counties (Sumter). The decision was based on systematic exclusion of Negroes from the trial jury.

Mr. Nelson is a writer for the Los Angeles Times.

NATIVE GEORGIAN

Negroes had always been restricted to a dark Jim Crow balcony in the old red brick courthouse here but for the murder trial of Charlie Hunter, 16, they sat in the main courtroom.

Officer John A. Harden was shot to death and jailer Kermot O. Greene was stabbed seriously after they stopped Hunter and his 19-year-old brother, Willie James, on a speeding charge.

The youth admitted the shooting and the stabbing, but said he was protecting his brother.

"I got the knife out of my pocket and I cut Mr. Greene before he had a chance to shoot him (Willie James Hunter) and I shot the policeman," he said.

Gooding, a native Georgian who spent 10 years in the Army, said that at first he was "shook up" to find himself serving on a jury with 11 Negroes.

"Nothing like that had happened before and it gave me a little, funny feeling," he said, "but it worked out fine."

C. B. King, a Negro civil rights attorney from Albany who represented Hunter, used all 20 of his peremptory challenges to excuse whites.

ELECTED FOREMAN

Solicitor Gen. J. Frank Myers used his peremptory challenges to exclude eight Negroes and two white women.

Schley County, predominantly Negro, had not been directly touched by the civil rights movement and the traditional paternalistic relationship between whites and Negroes had endured to a great extent.

But Gooding, whose father was a plantation overseer, said he always has felt Negroes should be equal participants in government. "They're taxpayers, too," he said.

Gooding has lived in Schley County 20 years and knew all of the Negro jurors personally. Most of them were farmers or farm workers.

He said they told him: "Mr. George, we ain't never served on a jury before so you gotta kinda help us along."

"I said I'd do the best I could," Gooding said. "I told them, 'somebody's got to be elected foreman and because there's 11 of y'all and one of me, it'd be better to elect one of y'all.' "

While the question was being discussed, Gooding excused himself to go to the rest room. "When I came back," he says, one of them said: 'We done elected you foreman.' "

Gooding said the Negroes were intelligent, if not well educated. Some were a little hesitant at first about expressing their opinions, he said, "But I told them to use their good judgment and they soon began talking."

The verdict required six or seven ballots and almost two hours of deliberation, Gooding recalled.—(c1966.)

COURTS 3/29/66

Meeting the Violence

SUPREME Court decisions Monday in Georgia and Mississippi cases substantially strengthen the hand of the federal government in dealing with intimidation and violence against Negroes in the South.

We think most thoughtful Southerners will see that as their gain.

Murder, even when everyone knew it was that, has occurred with impunity in scores of cases in the South in the past few years.

We have all witnessed the tawdry business of state juries' quickly releasing the bombers, burners and killers. Frequently, in such cases, we have seen official state prosecutors joining in the farce, publicly arguing against their own cases and then failing to attempt any effective prosecution.

The performance of prosecutors in Lowndes County, Ala., some time ago was extremely irregular in this regard. The Alabama attorney general himself moved into the cases to prosecute. Probably he knew it was futile; but effectively or not, he sought to establish that in Alabama there at least would be some prosecution in such Black Belt cases.

The failure of many of the states' courts in this respect, combined with their exclusion of Negroes from juries, has meant that the lawless element frequently was free to do as it would without real danger of penalty — unless the federal courts could act against them.

To a considerable extent, the federal courts' authority lies in Reconstruction-era statutes that are weak. Murder is a state crime, not a federal crime. What federal authorities have argued, in using the old federal statutes, is that in certain circumstances if a Negro is murdered because he is a Negro his alleged attackers may be prosecuted not only for murder, in state courts, but also for conspiracy to violate his civil rights, in federal courts.

The problem has been that some lower federal courts, including the one in Middle Georgia, have construed the federal law so narrowly that federal prosecution has been halted. The effect of the new Supreme Court rulings is to broaden the bases upon which prosecution may proceed under the old federal statutes.

Locally drawn juries in federal courts will still have to decide guilt or innocence. But at least, in the federal courts, effective prosecution and a fair bench are likely. The outcomes are more likely to rest upon the facts in the case than upon the eye-winking tolerance of some local officialdoms.

The federal code sections used in such cases still make prosecution extremely difficult. There are now proposals to tighten federal law in such cases and proposals to assure fairer jury selection. These proposals get to the greatest weaknesses, but the Supreme Court's latest clarifying rulings help.

AC 4/4/66

State Seeks Return Of 20 Rights Cases

COURTS

The State of Georgia will go before the U.S. Supreme Court this month in an attempt to have 20 civil rights cases returned to the jurisdiction of the state court.

Representing Georgia before the court will be Fulton assistant solicitors George K. McPherson and Robert Sparks. McPherson is scheduled to be admitted to practice before the high court on the same day he is to argue.

SINCE 1963

The cases have been battered around the state and federal courts since 1963 when a group of demonstrators were arrested in downtown Atlanta.

After being indicted by the Fulton County Grand Jury on charges of violating Georgia's anti-trespass law, the defendants asked the U.S. District Court to assume jurisdiction.

District Judge Boyd Sloan remanded the case to Fulton Superior Court and the defendants filed an appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Subsequently, the Court of Appeals in a 2-to-1 decision reversed the lower federal court, thus placing the sit-in cases within the jurisdiction of the federal courts.

APRIL 18 HEARING

Georgia, through the Fulton solicitor's office, then appealed the Court of Appeals decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court has set a hearing for oral arguments during the week of April 18.

If the Court of Appeals decision is reversed, the 20 civil rights cases will be returned to the jurisdiction of Fulton Superior Court and probably will be tried before Judge Durwood Pye.

COURTS

Georgia Courts Are Poorly Run, Judge Declares

By DICK HEBERT

Georgia's courts are a hodge-podge collection of poorly run "judicial kingdoms" that must be saved from politics, Court of Appeals Judge Robert H. Hall said Thursday.

Hall called for sweeping reform in the state's court system at the opening session of the Citizens' Conference on Georgia's Judicial System at the Downtown Holiday Inn.

Each of Georgia's 40 judicial circuits is "a judicial knigdom with its own jealously guarded prerogatives," he said. "Even within the same circuit where there is more than one superior court judge, we find separate kingdoms.

LACK OF UNIFORMITY

He bitterly attacked the lack of uniformity throughout the scales of Georgia courts, the lack of modern administrative practices, and the fact "politics, to most of our superior court judges, is a matter of survival."

"Make no mistake about it," Hall said. "The Georgia judiciary is in politics. . . . It is the fault of the system in which they are placed, and the fault of the people who established this system."

He said the system of electing judges, and politically appointing the others, should be replaced by naming judges and then letting them prove their merit after "a sufficient term."

ON HIS RECORD

The judge then would "go before the people on his record, for their approval or disapproval without any political opposition." He said such a method has been suggested in Georgia since 1896, and despite the backing of the bar of Georgia it has failed to gain legislative sup-

Georgia Court system is big business in a real sense.

"Any private business of this magnitude which attempted to compete in the modern business world without these common tools of business management would not be in business very long."

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Reform of Georgia's courts has been fought for since the 1920s and every effort failed.

"We must not fail again," Hall said. "Today the world is in transit. Social pressures are testing the very existence of our form of government. The law itself is in jeopardy.

"The jurisdiction of our state courts is being constantly taken over by a more modern federal system. . .

He said the need for uniformity is among the greatest needs today. In the 40 superior court circuits of Georgia, he said, there are:

30 juvenile courts, 56 city courts, eight special civil and criminal courts, five county courts, four municipal courts, 159 courts of ordinary, 11 small claims courts, two magistrates courts, about 2,427 justice of the peace courts and "Lord knows how many recorder's, police and mayor's courts.

"All are independent of each other. Many have their own separate rules of practice. Their jurisdictions are conflicting and overlapping. There are various methods of multiple appeals.

"All of this produces confsion and delays on and on and on ad nausea."

Pay received by judges is hodge-podge, he said. So is the work load.

"Our Georgia judicial system is truly a many splintered thing."

$3 MILLION

Hall told the conferees Georgia has no supervisory power vested in the highest appellate court, no court administrator to help supervise and coordinate court operations, no program or standards of recuiting, promoting or compensating court personnel, no uniform procedures for preparing court budgets or buying court supplies and no statistical system.

"The operation of all the courts of Georgia involves a state expenditure of just under $3 million. While this is only four tenths of one per cent of the state's total budget, the Georgia Court system is big business in a real sense.

"Any private business of this magnitude which attempted to compete in the modern business world without these common tools of business management would not be in business very long."

Citizen Panel Assails State Courts System

COURTS

AC 4/24/66

Group Says 4 Changes Needed; Emphasizes Judges Not at Fault

By JOHN ASKINS

More than 100 leading Georgians condemned the state's court system Saturday after studying it intensively during a three day Citizens' Conference on Georgia's Judicial System here.

They agreed drastic changes are needed in four areas and elected a 14-man permanent committee headed by Julius McCurdy of Decatur to work for the changes.

"The Georgia judicial system is antiquated and inefficient,"

What is the American Judicature Society? Staff writer John Askins answers on Page 7.

the citizens said in a consensus statement approved at the final meeting of the conference.

"We have an excessive number of courts with conflicting and overlapping jurisdictions, and without any semblance of over-all organization or administration."

It was emphasized often during the conference that the system, not the state's judges, is at fault.

"THE SYSTEM FAILS to insure that those most qualified to serve as judges will serve. Our judges have greatly unequal work loads with a resultant waste of judicial manpower and needless delays. All judges are now elected, thereby subjecting them to partisan politics and jeopardizing the basic principle of an impartial judiciary.

"These deficiencies demand correction.

"We are not concerned here with fundamental rights, but rather with the machinery of government by which these rights are protected and enforced. The judicial system is not an end in itself. It is a means by which the great end of equal justice under the rule of law may be made a living reality. In a dynamic society, the system must change to meet

to Page 16, Column 1

State's Courts Hit By Citizens' Group

Continued From Page 1

changing conditions," said the citizens.

The four areas needing change, according to the statement, were court organization and administration, judicial selection and tenure, judge discipline, retirement and removal, and courts of limited and special jurisdiction.

The citizens said the state's appellate court structure is generally satisfactory, but the trial court system is "obsolete." They called for creation of one court of general trial jurisdiction, to be known as the Superior Court, which would sit in "divisions" according to types of crimes.

"JUDGES WOULD PERFORM the judicial functions in this court, while ministerial functions would be executed by other personnel under the supervisory control of the superior court. Police, traffic and other similar matters should be handled by magistrates appointed by and under the supervision of the superior court."

The statement said judges should be freed from "the inefficiency and insecurity of Georgia's present elective system. They should be nominated by a nonpartisan commission and appointed by the governor, or by the chief justice if the appointment has not been made by the governor within a specific time.

"Judges should not run for re-election against opposing candidates, but their names should be submitted to the voters after a reasonable period of service, under a ballot which provides, "Should Judge—be retained in office? Yes—No—."

Impeachment, said the citizens, "has failed as a means of judicial discipline and removal. A commission should be established, comprised of judges, lawyers and laymen, to investigate complaints and conduct hearings thereon.

"If a complaint is found to be meritorious, this fact should be certified to the Supreme Court, which would render its decision on the record made before the commission."

A compulsory judge retirement age should be established, the citizens said, with adequate compensation for retirement due to age after a designated term of service or due to disability.

"IN LIEU OF several classes of special courts, there should be a single court of general jurisdiction as mentioned above, containing such divisions as may be necessary to deal with special problems, such as juvenile matters, probate, and small claims," the statement said.

Elected to the executive committee for a permanent citizens' organization to work for the recommendations were the following:

Julius McCurdy, Decatur, chairman; Joseph J. Hutton, Savannah; Carl Roundtree, Dawson; Alf O. Blackmar, Columbus; H. G. Patillo, Decatur; Harold T. Patterson, Atlanta; W. Cameron Mitchell, Hampton; Howard Ector, Marietta; A. L. Dean, Valdosta; Dewey F. Holland, Lavonia; Louis C. Harris, Augusta; John A. Sibley, Mrs. Grace Hamilton and W. T. Montague, all of Atlanta.

Atlantan Convicted In Flag Case

COURTS

5/6/66 AC

CORDELE, Ga. (AP)—A Superior Court jury convicted a 19-year-old Atlanta Negro Friday of flag desecration after the jury was sent back to deliberate for a second time. The sentence will be passed Monday.

Judge Wendell Horne rejected the jury's first announcement of a guilty verdict against Rufus Hinton when one of the two Negro jurors, 87-year-old Gene Kendrick, indicated he was not sure about the decision.

Kendrick told defense attorney C. B. King of Albany, when asked if he had agreed with the verdict:

"I guess so. I'm with the crowd."

Horne then sent the jury out for further deliberation. While the jury was out, the judge rejected King's motions calling for a mistrial and for further questioning of Kendrick. Horne said the elderly man had been questioned by the state and defense before he was seated on the jury.

King said in his mistrial motion that Kendrick was either under duress or was incompetent.

Rufas Hinton, one of six persons charged with ripping down the Georgia flag during a racial demonstration at the Crisp County Courthouse March 31, is the first to be tried on the rare charge.

In an unsworn statement today, Hinton told the court he took it upon himself to lower the flag to half staff during the demonstration.

VOL. 98, No.

RALPH McGILL

COURTS

5/16/66 AC

Fortas Spoke To the Living

By a happy—and revealing—coincidence, U.S. Senator Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina, spoke at a Bar Association meeting on the evening before "Law Day, U.S.A." was celebrated by the law school students and faculty at Emory University (Atlanta) with U.S. Supreme Court Justice Fortas as the speaker. The coincidence provided the symbolism of light following darkness, of hope replacing defeatism, of the dead past trying to speak for the living present.

Senator Ervin's view of the meaning of laws is, if one judges from reports of his address, that of mechanical details: "Thou shalt brush thy teeth at least twice daily" "thou shalt not spit on the widewalk," etc. "Laws", he said, are designed to furnish rules of conduct for government and people."

The Meaning

But are they? Is that all? Is that what we really mean by the majesty and breadth of the word "law" and the phrase "due processes of law"? Hasn't the senator used a beautiful, wide fabric of principles woven by the laws of centuries to wrap up municipal ordinances and all the petty ambiguities of "states rights"?

The senator doesn't like the U.S. Supreme Court. He sees its "whims" replacing "laws." He deplores and views with alarm the fact that a Supreme Court of today may over-rule one of 1860-1840—or any "past decision."

Surely the senator does not mean that the dead hand of the past must relentlessly hold us in its grasp no matter what the changes? Is it now, after all, a "whim" of the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that if a large percentage of the people move to

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Surely the senator does not mean that the dead hand of the past must relentlessly hold us in its grasp no matter what the changes? Is it now, after all, a "whim" of the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that if a large percentage of the people move to cities, the states may not continue to give the depopulated areas the same representation as those with many more citizens? Is the "one man, one vote" ruling a "whim" or is it an upholding of the supreme constitutional guarantee of a republican or representative form of government?

The 13th, the 14th, and the 15th amendments have been in the U.S .Constitution for about 100 years. Beginning in the late 1870's and continuing into the 20th century, they were largely nullified by court rulings and political and economic pressures, mostly from the financial centers of the East and North. Is it, let us ask ourselves, merely a "whim" that these near-century-old amendments are declared valid?

Old Fears

Senator Ervin's fears are as old as the nation. He is saying the same things that were said of the Supreme Court in old John Marshall's time—only not so strongly. From that day to this, rulings that have served the American promise and dream have been condemned by the fearful and the greedy. Yet, can anyone deny that individual rights and dignity are more strongly delineated today than ever in our history?

Mr. Justice Fortas's talk was inspiring. It breathed confidence in the American dream of a country where each citizen enjoys equal protection of the law, where there are no discriminations in voting and in an equal sharing of opportunity and education, and where we try to alleviate and get at the causes of poverty.

Mr. Justice Fortas believes we do subscribe to this sort of a country because of the great principles of law in the Constitution and its amendments—also because they and our religious origins have given us a sense of moral consciousness about the individual. It is these principles of law, not the police court rules or the states laws governing conduct, that enable us to "channel this evolution of our free society into the broad banks of the law." Justice Fortas looks forward with hope and confidence. He was neither petulant nor defeatist. Senator Ervin was, it seemed, plaintively looking backward.

COURTS

ELECTIONEER LAW IN ALABAMA UPSET

High Court Voids Trial for Editorial on Voting Day

By FRED P. GRAHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23—The Supreme Court declared unconstitutional today an Alabama law under which a Birmingham editor has been prosecuted for publishing an editorial on election day.

Describing the 51-year-old law as an "obvious and flagrant abridgement of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press," Justice Hugo L. Black, for the court, threw out the case against James E. Mills, editor of The Birmingham Post-Herald.

Justice Black pointed out that the decision would not affect the 37 state laws that merely prohibit campaigning near polling places.

Alabama's law made it a crime for anyone on election day to "do any electioneering or to solicit any votes or to promise to cast any votes" for or against any candidate or proposition at issue.

Lawyers for Alabama told the court the law's purpose was to prevent last-minute charges that could not be answered before the election was held.

Justice Black said this argument contained a "fatal flaw" — politicians could make their last-minute charges the day before the election, and the opposition would be left without time to reply.

Laws in Three States

Oregon, North Dakota and Montana have similar laws, though there are no indications that they have been used to silence the press.

Alabama's law had never been invoked in a recorded case, either, until The Post-Herald took up the cudgel in 1962 against Birmingham's two most prominent segregationist politicians, Mayor Art Hanes and Police Commissioner Eugene T. Connor.

Mr. Mills began to press for a change to a mayor-city council form of government, which was widely understood to be an effort to set Birmingham on a moderate racial course by eliminating the positions held by Mayor Hanes and Commissioner Connor.

In the morning newspaper on Nov. 6, Election Day, Mr. Mills published an editorial charging that Mayor Hanes had tried to "buy the votes of city employes" with a promise of a pay rise and had forbidden them to discuss public business with the press. He concluded:

"Birmingham and the people of Birmingham deserve a better break. A vote for mayor-council government will give it to them."

Proposition Carried

The mayor-council proposition carried, but Mr. Mills was arrested for violation of the anti-electioneering law. If convicted, he could have been sentenced to as much as six months at hard labor.

A trial judge ruled the law unconstitutional before the trial date, but the Supreme Court of Alabama reinstated the charge. It acknowledged that the law limited both speech and press, but held that the limitation was not unreasonable.

According to Justice Black's opinion, Mr. Mills's editorial was precisely the sort of expression the First Amendment was intended to protect. He said:

"Suppression of the right of the press to praise or criticize Governmental agents and to clamor and contend for or against change, which is all that this editorial did, muzzles one of the very agencies the framers of our Constitution thoughtfully and deliberately selected to improve our society and keep it free."

Justice John Marshall Harlan was the only member of the Court who did not join in the opinion. He said that the Supreme Court should not have reviewed the case until Mr. Mills had been actually convicted and the Alabama Supreme Court had considered the case again.

Justice Harlan captioned his opinion a "separate opinion rather than a dissent, and said that but for the procedural problem he would have ruled for Mr. Mills because the law was unconstitutionally vague.

In response, Justice William O. Douglas, joined by Justice William J. Brennan Jr., said in a separate concurring opinion that the Supreme Court could bypass its usual procedures to review quickly cases involving freedom of expression.

He cited the friend-of-court brief by the Alabama and Southern Press Associations, which said that since Mr. Mills's arrest, editorial comment on election day had been nonexistent in Alabama.

Supreme Court Actions

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23—The Supreme Court took the following actions today:

CONSERVATION

Ruled, 6 to 3, that a Federal law forbidding the discharge of "refuse" into navigable streams covers an accidental discharge of valuable fuel oil into a river (No. 291, United States v. Standard Oil Company).

CRIMINAL LAW

Declared unconstitutional an Alabama corrupt practices law that was used as a basis for an indictment against a Birminghm newspaper editor who urged voters to vote a particular way in an Election Day editorial (No. 597, Mills v. Alabama).

Agreed to decide whether a convicted narcotics pusher's sixth Amendment right to confront his accusers was violated when the police arrested him on an informer's tip, found heroin in his possession and then refused to produce the informer in court (No. 1037, Misc., renumbered 1340, McCray v. Illinois).

Ruled unanimously that a Federal law that punishes embezzlement by employes of "any firm" engaged in commerce as a common carrier applies to the employes of individuals doing business as common carriers (No. 256, United States v. Cook).

LABOR LAW

Upheld, 7 to 1, a lower court's ruling that the strike-bound Florida East Coast Railway may deviate from the terms of its labor contract to make the changes reasonably necessary to continue to operate (No. 750, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks v. Florida East Coast Railway; No. 782, United States v. Florida East Coast Railway; No. 783, Florida East Coast Railway v. United States).

Agreed to decide whether the American Red Cross is an "instrumentality of the United States" and thus exempt from Colorado unemployment compensation taxes (No. 1071, Colorado Department of Employment v. United States).

TAXATION

Ruled unanimously that Ben Blue, a Hollywood entertainer, may be tried for income tax evasion despite his contention that the Government forced him to incriminate himself by requiring him to respond first to civil proceedings for tax deficiencies (No. 531, United States v. Blue).

The proceedings in the Supreme Court yesterday are listed in detail on Page 76.

6-20-66

COURTS

TH

Julian Bond to Get Court Review

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20—Julian Bond, the 26-year-old Negro pacifist who was denied his seat in the Georgia Legislature after making anti-Vietnam war statements, was granted a hearing today by the Supreme Court.

A three-judge Federal District Court in Atlanta had ruled against Mr. Bond, 2 to 1, on Feb. 10.

Mr. Bond was elected last year to the Georgia House of Representatives from Atlanta. On Jan. 6, he told reporters he supported a statement critical of American policies in Vietnam put out by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Mr. Bond is the committee's publicity director.

When asked for his views on the burning of draft cards, he said he would not burn his own but admired the courage of those who did.

On Jan. 10 the House voted not to seat Mr. Bond on the ground that his views disqualified him from taking the oath to uphold the United States Constitution.

The three-judge lower court ruled that his public statements could reasonably be said to be repugnant to the oath, and that racial prejudice was not the motive behind the House's action.

Today's decision was announced in a brief unsigned order. Justice William O. Douglas took no part in the action but gave no reason why. The case will be set for argument at the next term of Court, which begins in October.

The New York Times

Julian Bond

A special election to fill Mr. Bond's seat was subsequently held on Feb. 23 and Mr. Bond won without opposition. However, the Legislature adjourned Feb. 18 without taking action on a petition to prevent him again from

TN

A Judge in Mississippi

COURTS

Claude Feemster Clayton

NYT 9/16/66

FEDERAL Judge Claude Feemster Clayton found himself yesterday once again trying to deal even-handedly between his white and Negro neighbors in Mississippi, and he thought of his son, Claude Jr., a freshman at Tulane University where he is beginning pre-law studies. "I hope he changes his mind," the judge confided. "The law is a demanding profession."

Man in the News

The case before Judge Clayton may have been especially demanding for a Mississippian born and bred. It was an injunction application from the Justice Department to force officials in Grenada, Miss., to protect Negro children at newly integrated schools.

Since President Eisenhower appointed him to the Federal bench in 1958, Judge Clayton has sat in one of the law's most demanding seats. In his first year, he was a member of a three-judge panel that threw out a challenge from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the state's educational requirements for voters.

In 1962, when James Meredith was seeking admission to the University of Mississippi amid scenes of violence and rioting, the judge had to rule on the ambiguous role of former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker and acted, finally, to commit the general for a psychiatric examination..

Voided Poll Tax

In 1963, he acted to stop harassment of a Negro voter registration drive in Greenwood. In 1965, he ordered a circuit clerk in Clarksdale to stop applying stricter voter requirements for Negroes than for whites. And in April of this year, again sitting as part of a three-judge panel, he voided Mississippi's $2 poll tax in state and local elections.

Does that record make him a liberal or a conservative?

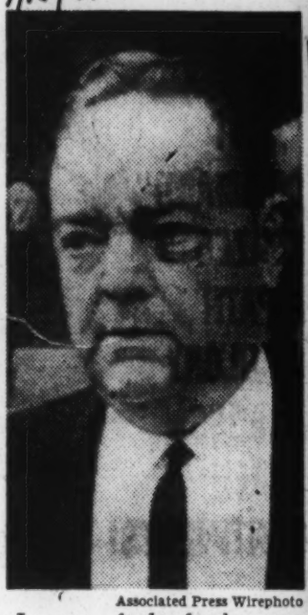
"He can't be designated either way," said a newsman from the judge's home town of Tulepo. "You have to think of him as a man dedicated to judicial procedures and to the law. Nobody ever found fault with him for being partial."

The judge is a former major general in the National Guard—he commanded the 31st Infantry, sometimes called the Dixie Division—and he runs his courtroom with barracks room authority.

"He is never overbearing," an old friend from Tupelo said, "but all he has to do is infer he wants something done and people do it. His is the best run court in the state."

Now 57-years old—he was born Aug. 4, 1909—Judge Clayton had been a lawyer for 35 years. His father, also called Claude, was a Circuit Court judge, and he was graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1931 and admitted to the bar the same year.

While building up a practice, he was active in Democratic politics and was an early supporter of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He was prosecutor of Lee County from 1935 to 1938 and then put in a term as a Circuit Court judge.



Associated Press Wirephoto

In one of the law's most demanding seats.

(Judge Clayton at Federal court yesterday.)

He served in Europe in the Army during World War II and met General Eisenhower during a brief tour at Supreme Allied Headquarters in London. Later, he was transferred to the Ninth Army and fought his way through Holland and Germany. He was discharged as a colonel.

Returning to Tulepo after the war, he resumed law practice and an active role in politics. Twice—in 1946 and in 1948—he unsuccessfully challenged John E. Rankin for the Democratic nomination for the First Congressional District seat. In both races he was identified as a white supremacist.

After the second loss, in which he ran a poor third to Mr. Rankin, a political crony said he just did not have the common touch to woo backwoods voters.

The judge married Bronson Elizabeth Munday in 1940. They have two other children besides Claude Jr. —Bronson, also a student at Tulane, and Mrs. Nelson Tyrone of Charlottesville, Va. The family lives in a big house on Tulepo's Belledeer Drive. The house is set on a rolling three-acre plot, covered with many trees and a smooth lawn the judge likes to look after himself.

The judge is 5-feet 10-inches tall, broad shouldered, and he trimly carries his 190 pounds. He has a full face, highly arching brows and dark wavy hair he describes as "hair-colored, or nondescript."

His only diversion besides reading history is hunting. "I shoot a little bit of everything," he said. "Quail, waterfowl, deer and turkey." Only occasionally, he said, can he persuade Mrs. Clayton to dress and cook the game he

HIGH COURT TAKES DR. KING'S APPEAL

COURTS

Also to Hear 7 Aides' Plea in '63 Rights Conviction

10/11/66

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10 – The Supreme Court agreed today to review the contempt of court convictions of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and seven other leaders of the desegregation demonstrations in Birmingham, Ala., in 1963.

In its review the Court will be ruling on the legality of the civil rights leaders' defiance of a state court injunction against demonstrations while racial tensions were high in the Alabama city. It will be confronted with a problem posed by Dr. King's "civil disobedience" doctrine.

Dr. King insisted that the injunction against parading without a license was void because it infringed constitutional rights to free speech and assembly.

Moreover, he said his protest movement would lose its momentum if it paused to litigate the injunction.

Citing his belief that "in all good conscience we cannot obey unjust laws," he declared:

"Neither can we obey unjust use of the courts."

He and the other leaders of

Continued on Page 32, Column 1

HIGH COURT TAKES DR. KING'S APPEAL

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

his Southern Christian Leadership Conference defied the ban and led large marches on Good Friday and Easter. They were sentenced to five days in jail and fines of $50 each.

In response, Birmingham officials cite a series of Supreme Court cases that they said held that a person must obey a court's injunction—even if it is unjust or errouous—and challenge it upon appeal.

To permit each person to decide for himself which injunctions should be obeyed would lead to chaos, the officials contned.

The other convicted men are Wyatt Tee Walker, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, A. D. King, J. W. Hayes, T. L. Fisher, Fred L. Shuttlesworth and J. T. Porter.

Say Permit Was Refused

The group had inquired about obtaining a parade permit, but was referred to Police Commissioner Eugene Connor, who refused to issue one. Their apppel contends that the law was unconstitutionally vague and was discriminatorily applied.

They also allege that the staet may not punish individuals for dispbeying an order obtained without a hearing that infringes free speech. Further, they contend that the parades were not unlawful.

In its first official actions of the new term, the Supreme Court announced its decisions on more than 500 petitions for review that had stacked up during the summer recess.

In one action it agreed to decide whether Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, and J. C. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, are shielded by legislative immunity from a damage suit growing out of the subcommittee.

Senator Eastland and Mr. Sourwine were each sued for $250,000 by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., an integrationist group in New Orleans, and its former executive director, James A. Dombrowski.

Police Are Accused

The suit charges that the two defendants conspired with police officials in Louisiana to prevent the educational fund from recovering records and documents that had been illegally seized in a police raid.

According to the suit, Louisiana officials realized that the courts would make them return the records, and Senator Eastland and Mr. Sourwine conspired to subpoena them for the subcommittee and move them to Washington, where the fund has been unable to recover them.

The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled that Senator Eastland and Mr. Sourwine were immune from suit for acts performed under color of their official Senate offices.

The Supreme Court also left in effect a lower court holding that the jury-selection system used in Birmingham and Bessemer, Ala., is not unconstitutional, even though it produces a low percentage of Negroes.

The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit ruled that there was no evidence of discrimination, and that court officials had tried without success to get Negroes to submit their names for jury duty.

2, 1966.

5 NEGROES GUILTY IN ALABAMA TRIAL

COURTS

Forman and Others Fined for Disorderly Conduct

11/12/66

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 11—Five civil rights workers, including James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, were convicted today in Montgomery Municipal Court of disorderly conduct. The charge involved incidents that occurred just before the Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965.

Judge D. Eugene Loe fined the five men $100 each and sentenced them to 30 days in jail, but he suspended the jail sentences on the condition of good behavior.

The five Negroes' attorney, Donald Jelinek of New York, was cited for contempt after the hearing, but he received no sentence.

Mr. Jelinek, attempting to represent the demonstrators, was told that state law required that an out-of-state lawyer be recommended by a member of the Alabama Bar Association before he could practice here.

Negro Lawyer Declines

Judge Loe then summoned a Negro lawyer, Charles Conley, who declined to represent the defendants because he had not been paid for his services by the same group in the past.

"I do not feel that I could represent these people without compensation," Mr. Conley said.

The defendant then attempted to represent their own interests, and the contempt citation against Mr. Jelinek resulted from his persistence in approaching the judge.

One of the defendants, William Hall of Atlanta, cross-examined himself.

Another feature of the hearing was a 90-minute speech by Mr. Forman, who denounced segregation and racial violence in Alabama.

Speech Delays Lunch

The hearing continued for one hour past the normal lunch hour, and Mr. Forman shouted: "My legal experience tells me this is an illegal prosecution."

The city prosecutor, Ira DeMent, retorted: "My legal experience tells me I'm hungry."

Mr. Forman replied: "And I'm hungry for more than just food, Mr. DeMent. I'm hungry for freedom, freedom, freedom." He pounded on the judge's desk for emphasis.

Mr. Forman contended that the group was "at no time profane, violent, indecent or offensive." He asked Judge Loe to "forget the racism which is rampant in this state and look at the facts."

Policemen testified that the five had obstructed traffic and had refused to obey commands to move.

In his ruling, Judge Loe said he would "not tolerate a disturbance of any kind, and on the evidence I find you guilty."

Mr. Jelinek said after the hearing that he expected the convictions to be appealed. The five men were held pending the posting of appeal bond.

The prosecution was delayed for 18 months while the defendants appealed to Federal courts to enjoin the prosecution. A companion case reached the Supreme Court, which declined to hear the appeal.

In addition to Mr. Forman and Mr. Hall, who are both from Atlanta, the defendants were George C. Bass, 20 years old, of Selma; William S. House, 18, of Detroit, and William Ware, 26, of Atlanta.

High Court Backs States In Rights Protest Curbs

COURTS

AC 11/15/66

By BARRY SCHWEID

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Supreme Court Monday significantly limited the freedom of peaceful civil rights demonstrations on government property.

Upholding the trespass conviction of 32 Negroes who demonstrated outside a jail in Tallahassee, Fla., the court said:

"The United States Constitution does not forbid a state to control the use of its own property for its own lawful nondiscriminatory purpose."

The 5-4 decision, written by Justice Hugo L. Black—long a "free speech" advocate—marked the first time the high court after a full review upheld the conviction of civil rights demonstrators.

Justice William O. Douglas, one of the dissenters, protested from the bench: "We now have set into the record a great and wonderful police-state doctrine."

This doctrine, Douglas said, is that police have the power to regulate first amendment rights.

Two other decisions of high import also were handed down by the court.

In one, it left standing a Maryland Court of Appeals ruling that state construction grants to three church-affiliated colleges were unconstitutional.

In the second, it refused to review an Iowa Supreme Court decision giving custody of 8-year-old Mark W. Painter to his grandparents over his father's protests.

Until now, the court has consistently thrown out trespass and breach of peace convictions of civil rights demonstrators. And it has often declared invalid the laws on which the convictions were based.

But in affirming the convic-

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

High Court Backs States on Rights

Continued from Page 1

tion of Florida A&M students who refused to leave the premises of the county jail in Tallahassee in September 1963 the court said:

"The state, no less than a private owner of property, has power to preserve the property under its control for the use to which it is lawfully dedicated."

The Negro students were protesting segregated facilities at the jail and the previous arrest of other antisegregation demonstrators.

RIGHTS CHARGES

They claimed their arrest under a state trespass law violated several of their constitutional rights, including the first amendment guarantees of free speech and assembly.

The Negroes were convicted by a jury and sentenced to pay a $50 fine each or go to jail for 30 days. In addition, a mandatory 30-day jail sentence was imposed, with a provision that it could be suspended provided they not participate in further demonstrations in Leon County "tending to create racial strife."

Black, writing for the court majority, said:

"Such an agreement has as its major unarticulated premise the assumption that people who want to propagandize protests or views have a constitutional right to do so whenever, and however and wherever they please . . .

OPPOSITE VIEW

"We reject it . . ."

Douglas took a directly opposite view.

He said the students were peacefully exercising the first amendment right to protest, and police officials were being given "the awesome power to decide whose ideas may be expressed and who shall be denied a place to air their claims and petition their government."

Tracing suppression of protests to the days of William Penn, "who preached a nonconformist doctrine in a street in London" in 1670, Douglas wrote:

"In modern times also such arrests were usually sought to be justified by some legitimate function of government.

"Yet by allowing these orderly and civilized protests against injustice to be suppressed, we only increase the forces of frustration which the conditions of second-class citizenship are generating among us."

Justices Tom C. Clark, and John M. Harlan, Potter Stewart and Byron R. White lined up with Black.

Dissenting with Douglas were Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas.

A Supreme Court Split

COURTS

Clash of Black and Douglas Suggests Shift of Bench to Conservative Tone

12/14/66

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—"Our business," Justice Hugo L. Black said yesterday, glancing at his brethren on the Supreme Court, "is not to write laws to fit the day. Our task is to interpret the Constitution."

Such words from a Supreme Court Justice might seem unlikely to invite anger, but they brought a flush to the face of Justice William O. Douglas.

News Analysis

His voice laced with sarcasm, Justice Douglas began to announce his dissent from the opinion Justice Black had just read. In it the Court's four most conservative justices had joined with Justice Black in upholding the right of Georgia's legislature to select the state's next Governor—even if, as it appears likely, the choice will be the Democrat, Lester G. Maddox, who got fewer votes in the general election than the Republican, Representative Howard H. Callaway.

Describing Justice Black's opinion as "a euology to the great and glorious constitutional history of Georgia," Justice Douglas said the same history included" the county unit system, the third degree and sending indigents to jail without benefit of counsel."

Remarks Not in Record

No one present needed to be reminded that Justice Black had led the Court in a series of decisions over the last five years that struck down these and other venerable practices, and worked a major reinterpretation of the meaning—if not the wording—of key provisions of the Constitution.

The remarks of both men were digressions from their prepared texts and will not appear in the tidy columns of the Supreme Court's published opinions.

But they posed a question of substance raised by the Court's recent actions: To what extent does the split between the Court's two senior Justices portend a shift toward conservatism in the actions of the Supreme Court?

The question is underscored by the fact that, in the three significant actions taken thus far in the Supreme Court's young term, Justices Black and Douglas, once the hand and glove of judicial liberalism, were on opposite sides. In each instance Justice Douglas's liberal position was the loser.

The first break came last month, when, in an opinion by Justice Black, the Court approved the first convictions of Negro antisegregation demonstrators since the modern civil rights movement began. Justice Douglas branded the action "a great break with the traditions of the Court."

Split on 3 Cases

Yesterday, in addition to the Georgia case, the Court's two senior Justices found themselves on opposite sides in the appeal of James R. Hoffa, president of the Brotherhood of International Teamsters, and in two other appeals involving the constitutionality of the Government's use of informants and undercover agents.

Justice Black agreed with the majority in each instance that the Government's tactics were proper. Justice Douglas said the practices accepted the philosophy that the ends justify the means.

To courtroom observers, the division between the two Justices appears increasingly to reflect personal pique. And whether or not Justice Douglas's marriage this summer to a 23-year-old woman has, as it is reported here, chilled relations between the two men, the split does seem to run deeper than a monetary disagreement on cases.

Justice Black's majority in both the Negro demonstration appeal and the Georgia case was composed of Justices Tom C. Clark, John M. Harlan, Potter Stewart and Byron R. White—men who were often arrayed on the other side when the Black-Douglas axis was working the constitutional changes alluded to by Justice Douglas yesterday.

But in this term of court, Justice Douglas has found himself dissenting with the men who formed the core of that "liberal" majority—Chief Justice Earl Warren, William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas.

Slowing of Reform Seen

The immediate reaction among some of the country's most distinguished constitutional lawyers was that Justice Black's realignment signaled at least a slowing of the reformist momentum of the Supreme Court.

Paul A. Freund of the Harvard Law School and Philip B. Kurland of the University of Chicago Law School thought that the Georgia decision did not reflect a reversal, as Justice Fortas said in his dissent, of the Court's one-man, one-vote doctrine.

Both thought that the Supreme Court could proceed to extend the one-man, one-vote principle to local governmental bodies, as it has been asked to do in three appeals yet to be decided, and that this would not be inconsistent with the outcome of the Georgia case.

Professor Freund said in a telephone interview that Justice Black's position on other issues, freedom of speech and criminal procedure, seemed unchanged.

"I don't think Black is changing, " he said, "but there are members of the Court who are trying to move past his position. What he's doing now is blocking that."

Hoffa Ruling Stressed

Professor Kurland calls the Hoffa decision the most important of the term, because it places the Court's stamp of approval on testimony by informers and accomplices, at a time when the Court has been clamping down on interrogation and other methods of obtaining evidence.

He termed the Hoffa case "a retreat" that would encourage the police to make deals, agreeing not to prosecute informants and accomplices in exchange for testmony.

But Prof. Alexander M. Bickel of Yale Law School, who is known for his critical views of the Court's one-man, one-vote doctrine and several other recent decisions, sees the Supreme Court on the verge of a retreat from several of its positions.

"The secret is Black," he said.

He sees the Georgia problem as just one product of the "silly" one-man, one-vote rule, and expects more will return to confront the Court.

"Those chickens," he said, "are coming home to roost."

Professor Freund, at 58 years of age, the dean of America's constitutional law professors, took a mellow view of the role of 80-year-old Justice Black.

"People's ideas are taken up by the oncoming generation and moved forward," he said. "Suddenly the one disowning them is the one who started it all."

Demonstrators' Right to Remove Cases to U.S. Court Is Limited

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20—The Supreme Court limited today the right of arrested civil rights demonstrators to remove their trials from state courts to the Federal courts.

The Court decided two cases involving civil rights advocates arrested by state officers in Georgia and Mississippi. However, the issues involved could affect future demonstrations in the North as well as in the South.

At issue was the legal construction to be placed on the removal law of 1866, which had not been interpreted by the Supreme Court since 1906.

Previously, the Court interpreted the law narrowly to allow a person to remove a state prosecution to the Federal courts only if he contended that he "is denied or cannot enforce" his equal civil rights in the state courts because of a state law that was discriminatory on its face.

Lower Court Overruled

However, in recent months the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which has jurisdiction over the Deep South states, expanded that interpretation.

It allowed 29 demonstrators arrested in Leflore County, Miss., in the summer of 1964 to remove their cases to the Federal courts. It did this on the strength of their contention that the prosecutions were intended to discourage them from expressing their views. They also contended that they could not get a fair trial at the hands of the Mississippi officials.

In a 5-to-4 decision today, Justice Potter Stewart, speaking for the Supreme Court majority, rejected this interpretation. He reversed the Appeals Court and remanded the cases for trial in the Mississippi courts.

Justice Stewart said that to adopt the petitioners' theory would be "to work a wholesale dislocation of the historic relationships between the state and the Federal courts in the administration of the criminal law."

Such a theory, he said, would allow persons of any race to remove "any charge from a $5 misdemeanor to first-degree murdre" to the Federal courts by alleging that they were being falsely prosecuted because of race, or that they could not get a fair trial in the state courts.

Such a broad removal power would give civil rights activists great leverage in their campaigns, because they could maintain demonstrations despite daily arrests by state officials. The cases could be removed to the Federal courts on a wholesale basis by filing simple forms, but months or years might be required before the Federal judges could get around to hearing the cass.

Justice Stewart pointed out that only 43 criminal cases were removed to Federal courts in the country in 1964. In 1965, after the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit announced its relaxed rule, 1,079 were removed in the South alone.

Such an important change in the law should be made by Congress, not the courts, he said.

View Held in New York

The Stewart, vie wwas followed by Federal judges in New York in 1965, when the Rev. Milton A. Galamison and other civil rights demonstrators were denied the right to remove state breach-of-peace and disorderly conduct cases. In another Northern application of the rule, Negro demonstrators were turned down on their removal attempts in the racial strife in Chester, Pa., in 1964.

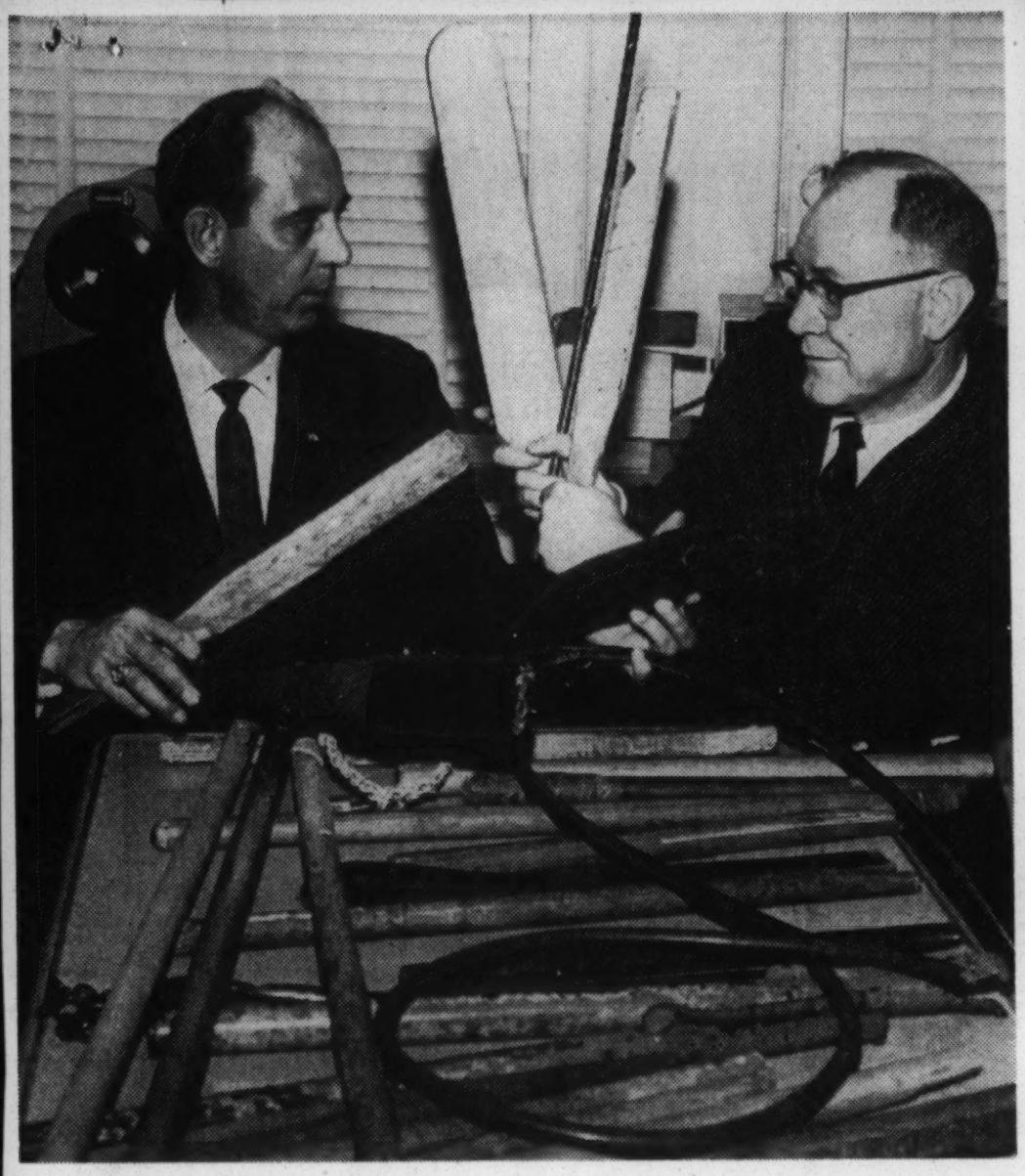
Justice Stewart was joined in the majority by Justices Hugo L. Black, Tom C. Clark, John M. Harlan and Byron R. White.

Justice William O. Douglas wrote a dissenting opinion, stating that the removal law had been passed "to afford some protection against local passions and prejudices."

He insisted that a law need not be discriminatory on its face in order to be "used as a club against civil rights workers." Federal judges should be allowed to use their discretion to accept cases on removal when intimidation and harassment are clear, he said.

He was joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas.

In the Georgia case, Justice Stewart slightly broadened the classic Supreme Court interpretation to allow removal when htate prosecutions were aimed to punish demonstrators for exercising rights guaranteed by a specific civil rights law.



Staff Photo—Marion Crowe

JACK STEPHENS (LEFT) AND CECIL TURNER DISPLAY COLLECTION OF WEAPONS
Clubs, Chains and Rubber Hose Discovered in Surprise Visit to Alto

Surprise Visit to Alto Bares Clubs, Straps

CRIME + CORRECTIONS

AJ+C 12/11/66

Georgia Senate to Be Asked For Brutality Investigation

By DAVID NORDAN

State Sen.-elect Jack Stephens said Saturday night that he will ask for a senate committee to investigate alleged brutality at Georgia Industrial Institute at Alto.

The senator from Fulton County's 36th District made the announcement at a press conference called to show a collection of weapons — clubs, chains and rubber hose — that he and Fulton Rep.-elect Cecil Turner discovered during a surprise visit to the institute for youthful offenders Friday.

The weapons, they said, were uncovered after inmates told them where guards allegedly had hidden them.

THE PILE of instruments include 26 clubs, five made of iron, rubber hoses, leather straps, and a string of electrical wire with a steel padlock attached that a guard captain admitted was a deadly weapon.

Supt. Walter Matthews had told the two that the use of clubs by guards was strictly prohibited and that he would fire any man he caught using them.

Mr. Stephens and Mr. Turner said they returned to the prison because some of the inmates told them 10 days ago, during a visit sponsored by the Georgia Committee on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency, that there would be reprisals.

The two uncovered clubs both times after inmates told them where they said guards had stashed them after learning that there would be visitors.

THE TWO SAID a large quantity of the weapons was

Turn to Page 16, Column 4

SOLONS VISIT ALTO

Continued from Page 1

found in a hole in the ground covered by a canvas which in turn was covered by garbage.

They said the captain accompanying them on the tour expressed surprise that the instruments were being used. He told them, they said that now he was convinced for the first time that such equipment was on the prison grounds.

Both solons said, however, that they were convinced that no such practices of punishment could be conducted without the knowledge and consent of top administration officials at the prison.

Both stated that they found several boys with bruises, lacerations, scars and scabs on their bodies.

They reported that they found three boys, one bearing evidence of a severe beating, being led out of solitary confinement. Mr. Turner and Mr. Stephens had been told during their earlier visit that the "hole" was seldom ever used.

MR. STEPHENS, an assistant administrator of Metropolitan Atlanta Boys' Clubs Inc., said he is concerned and the people of Georgia ought to be concerned about brutality at Alto.

Both men said they were "deeply distressed" at what they found.

"It is difficult for me to conceive of anyone calling Alto a rehabilitation center," Mr. Turner said. "I'm sure that 90 per cent of the boys there will go out hardened against society."

Mr. Turner, an Atlanta attorney, said after talking with the inmates he is convinced that a large percentage of them have no business in the penal institution.

He said he will ask the Georgia Bar Association to conduct an investigation into the cases of each of the 1,050 inmates.

"I talked to several 14- and 15-year-olds who told me they had pled guilty to felonies without ever having seen a lawyer."

Gov. Sanders announced the day after the crime and juvenile deliquency committee visit that a new $1.2 million vocational-education school will be included in a supplemental appropriations bill he will submit to the legislature next month.

IT WAS ANNOUNCED also that increased funds would be appropriated for new living facilities at the institution. Conditions at Alto have been described as "appalling" and "shocking" by crime committee members and other members of the General Assembly.

A Superior Court judge from Clayton County refused to sentence any more prisoners to the institute after a visit there last summer.

Sanders Calls Probe at Alto On Treatment

CRIME + CORRECTIONS

AC 12/13/66

By DAVID NORDAN

Gov. Sanders announced Tuesday he has directed Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation to conduct an investigation into the treatment of prisoners at Georgia Industrial Institute at Alto.

The governor said at a press conference that he will immediately discharge any correctional officer who has mistreated inmates or any superior officer who has permitted such treatment.

". . . The Sanders administration will neither tolerate nor condone" brutality in any unit of the correction system," the governor declared.

The governor's announcement followed brutality charges by State Rep.-elect Cecil Turner and State Sen.-elect Jack Stephens, both of Fulton County, who said they found evidence that inmates had been mistreated at the North Georgia prison for youthful offenders.

THE TWO displayed a large stock of clubs and weapons which they said they found at Alto during a surprise visit.

The governor asked the two to turn over any evidence they might have to the attorney general. The chief executive coupled his call for the investigation with the announcement that 200 honor inmates will be transferred as soon as possible from Alto to a new honor camp to be created at the State Park at Rutledge, Ga.

He said the proposed honor camp has been under consideration as a facility that could be opened next summer but which will now be opened in early January—"just as quickly as dormitory buildings can be winterized and other necessary arrangements completed."

He said also that there is a possibility that the honor camp inmates may be housed for a

Turn to Page 4, Column 1

Sanders Orders Probe of Alto

Continued from Page 1

time at the Indian Springs State Park near Jackson.

The governor said that he asked the Budget Bureau Tuesday morning to provide $100,000 to winterize the facilities at Rutledge.

IN CALLING for the Alto investigation, Gov. Sanders said he wanted to make it clear that the attorney general "is not going to conduct a witch hunt of any kind or type.

"The officials at Alto include good and honorable men who have been operating under severe handicaps not of their own creation," he said.

"I intend for this investigation to determine beyond any shadow of a doubt the facts about what actually is happenin at Alto.

"Those who are innocent will be cleared of serious charges, and those who are guilty will be rooted out," he said.

The governor termed the situation at Alto as "difficult" and pointed out that two correctional officers have been killed there and two others critically injured.

He said 215 of the 1,050 inmates are there for committing crimes of violence—28 for murder, 34 for manslaughter.

BUT, he concluded, the move to Rutledge will seperate 200 of the honor inmates from some of the more hardened criminals.

Sanders said he has been concerned with the situation at Alto for four years. He pointed out that he recently announced a $1.2 million vocational-technical school will be added at Alto, and that the General Asembly will be asked for a supplemental appropriation of $1.6 million for further improvements at the institution.

These improvements, along with the transfer of a fifth of the inmates, according to Gov. Sanders, could make Alto something of a model institution.

"It takes time to construct new buildings," he said, "but we will not wait one minute in rooting out any vestige of brutality in the operation of any unit of our corrections system."

"I cannot understand those who would carry out such brutality," he said.

Alto has been in the public eye and the subject of much criticism since a citizens committee on crime and juvenile delinquency described conditions there as "dangerous and appalling" last summer.

Mr. Bolton and Corrections Department Director R. H. Burson were with Gov. Sanders at the Tuesday morning press conference.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

ONE 'ACTOR' IGNORES THE SCRIPT

LAS CRUCES, N.M., Dec. 13 (UPI) — Everything is in readiness for filming of a pilot television western series but one of the "actors" won't cooperate.

The scenes call for water in a nearby river, but the Rio Grande is dry.

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 99 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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CRIME + CORRECTIONS

Reform at Alto at Last?

Incredible charges of brutality toward young inmates of the Georgia Industrial Institute at Alto have moved Gov. Carl Sanders to action that is as welcome as it is overdue.

While he joined the director of his Corrections department in repeating the old alibi that some 200 of the inmates are convicted of violent crime, he added the rather important information that some 200 are honor inmates who ought to be gotten out of the place.

The governor will now expedite the transfer of these honor inmates to an old CCC camp at the state park near Rutledge, Ga., where they can go to work.

Instead of cooping up these young men with the hardened criminals to whom prison officials point as horrible examples, the governor proposes to move them into an environment where they'll have a chance to recover their worth.

The park is the maintenance and repair base for all 43 state parks. With intelligent vocational direction by the Education department, it can be an ideal setting for training the young prisoners for jobs while they work at constructive mechanical jobs.

Gov. Sanders' additional call on the Forestry Commission to provide a nursery-type operation there, and on the Game and Fish Commission to instruct the prisoners in wildlife management, can start Georgia's prison policies toward a time of enlightenment if the intentions are followed through to action.

Twenty states have learned that one of the best ways to rehabilitate prisoners, as well as to stretch budgets in overcrowded prisons, is to get the honor inmates out and put them to work.

Such a work-release program is now going forward in New York City where 10,000 persons—three-fourths of them drug addicts—are jammed into nine prisons. The city's Correction Commissioner, George F. McGrath, proposes to let petty offenders out during the day if they wish to hold regular jobs and return to their cells at night. If they try to escape, they'll be sentenced to an extra year. But if they learn to manage themselves and earn a little money and pride during the closing months of their sentences, McGrath thinks they'll have a more balanced view of society when they are released "instead of coming out of a pressure chamber."

Georgia has had too many bad experiences with private employers exploiting convict labor for us to advocate such a change in this state now.

But certainly there is no reason why public works, such as those Gov. Sanders proposes to put the Alto honor inmates on, should not absorb the energies of thousands of prisoners who could help with the state's work while they gain post-prison experience and the dignity of work for themselves.

new folder - administration file CRIME + CORRECTIONS PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Project on Crime and Penal Administration

Summary of Advisory Committee Meeting

DISCUSSION

The gravity of the nation's current concern about the processes of criminal justice has led to an increasing incidence of overlapping programs of action and research in this area. This factor should be a guiding element as SRC's project is designed. Care should be taken to make the most economical use of the project's resources, especially avoiding duplication of services, in pursuit of a maximum amount of fermentation in the fields that are related to criminal justice. This element of concern was highlighted by committee members' observations that some of the original program suggestions are already underway in other agencies.

Some distinction was indicated between pure research and the kind of purposeful fact-finding and service structured research that SRC sponsors. The high cost of research was acknowledged and, while expediency must be a guiding factor in the project's research program, we can benefit by SRC's experience and ability to obtain an optimum amount of benefit from limited resources.

SURVEY:

A special report on Crime & Corrections in the Southern Region, designed to generate public interest and contribute

to public education relative to this social problem, would be useful. It was recommended that the report be expanded to deal more comprehensively with procedures regarding misdemeanants. (Possibly, completion of this report should be delayed until after the publication of the President's Committee's National Survey "in January, 1967."

RESEARCH CONFERENCE

It seemed to be the consensus of the Committee that the proposed conference would not produce results which would justify the time and expense involved. Committee members suggested that such a conference would most likely produce research designs too ambitious to be undertaken by our project. In addition, it was thought that basic research designs by academic people would not have a great deal of relevance for the day-to-day operations of correctional administrators, law enforcement agencies, social welfare workers, and other administrators of criminal justice.

STUDY OF UNDERDEVELOPED CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS

Some members of the committee felt that a valid study would be difficult, if not impossible, due to the paucity of accurate record keeping in the region's penal systems. It was also felt that the multiplicity of variables would contribute to the problem in terms of time and expense. However, the consensus of the committee, at the end of dis

cussion seemed to be that this type of study would have such significant implications for correctional administration that it should be attempted, possibly in collaboration with another agency or university.

COMPARATIVE SENTENCING STUDY

This proposal did not receive intensive coverage, since the project staff was already tentatively committed to undertake it. On the whole, the committee members felt it would be of value.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND COMMUNITY AID TO PRISONERS

Since only one state in the region has an agency working in the area of prisoner aid, it was felt that such a program would fill a great need.

USE OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES BY NEGROES

The committee did not consider such a study feasible. It is possible, however, that we could be of assistance to another agency or researcher in finding funds for such a study.

ASSESSMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA PLAN

The committee felt that such a detailed, long-term study would be required that the project could not undertake it in view of resource limitations. Again, we may be able to assist others in finding funds for such a study.

URBAN AREA ACTION AND RESEARCH PROGRAM

The committee felt that such an effort would be extremely valuable in view of the fragmentation of services in urban areas. While such projects have not had a very impressive record of demonstrable success, an action program, carefully related to the needs and values of the community chosen, would be an important contribution. A thorough survey of previous experience in the area of urban delinquency prevention projects would be an essential preliminary step.

WOMEN'S WORK IN PROJECT

The committee felt, with some reservations, that women's groups could make a valuable contribution. The past impact of organized efforts by women in the area of social welfare was recognized and their potential for change-inducing activity was not underrated. Members warned that the women should be advised in advance by a knowledgeable person, and that their activities should be carefully guided to prevent unnecessary development of conflict situations. Also, administrators of agencies to be visited should be involved in advance - to prevent misunderstanding and hostility.

Women were thought to be able to make the greatest contribution in the area of development of community services and resources to provide alternatives to institutionalization

for courts and correctional administrators, especially in connection with youthful offenders, the vast majority of whom could be much better served in the community.

Women may also be used as field workers to gather data concerning jails, lock-ups and other short term detention facilities, which often breed crime; such efforts would include the collection of information concerning procedures in relation to misdemeanants.

CORRECTIONAL PROCEDURES AND CRIME CAUSATION

Since this study is already underway, it did not receive discussion.

SUPPORTIVE WORK WITH HUMAN RELATIONS GROUPS

This effort may be dovetailed with the women's groups.

LEGISLATIVE HANDBOOK

Some committee members felt that the presentation of the codes themselves would not have a great deal of impact because of the technical language involved. It was felt that a graphic presentation of principles and summarizing statements would be valuable, especially to community interest groups and the media.

DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL PERTAINING TO PUBLIC EDUCATION AND RECRUITMENT IN CORRECTIONS.

The project could make a valuable contribution in this

area, particularly in reference to the development of a career consciousness among high school and college students, especially Negroes.

CONSULTATION SERVICE

The committee reacted favorably to the idea of providing a panel of knowledgeable professional correctional workers as resource persons and facilitating the panel's use by correctional systems in the region.

Organizations and groups could secure our support and advice through regional conferences and their own action groups. This program would provide for fees and expenses for consultants and technical advisors.

The project's staff members will also extend themselves, as far as possible, to provide technical advice to correctional systems, law enforcement agencies, and other official bodies concerning correctional procedures, training, and new programs and policies.

CONFERENCE ON THE IMPACT OF RECENT COURT DECISIONS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CORRECTIONAL AGENCIES

There was some disagreementsamong committee members on the value and feasability of the originally proposed conference on racial integration. At least one member felt that such a conference would not reach those whom it was intended to help, since they would be unwilling or unable, for a variety of reasons, to attend. Another member held that

correctional administrators were already willing, in most states, to integrate their facilities, but were unable to do so because the final authority was not theirs.

The final consensus of the committee was that such a conference, involving the sharing of experiences, would be useful. It was further felt that the greatest value and widest participation could be guaranteed by broadening the scope of the meeting to include the implications of corrections of recent court decisions in many areas, including health, individual rights, and the possibility of malpractice suits. Experience has shown that these areas are of intense interest to correctional administrators.

CROSS FERTILIZATION THROUGH EMPLOYEE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Our proposal will not be implemented. The American Correctional Association has adopted this program.

ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS AND COMMENTS

1. Interstate Corrections Compact. One of the members suggested that a compact permitting the multi-state sharing of correctional facilities, especially for women, would be helpful. The existence and success of the New England compact was alluded to. This type of compact has already been acted into law in at least two southern states (Arkansas and Tennessee), but there does not appear to have been any implementation.

2. Emphasize the positive. It was suggested that a brochure presenting factual information on good treatment or prevention programs already in operation in various southern states would be useful as a public information device. The approach would be - "If this is going on in one southern state, why not in our state?"

3. Conduct briefing programs for state media representatives on conditions in their state's penal system.

4. Examine the effect of current political reaction on the implementation of progressive correctional programs.

5. Pull together and distribute information about state and federal experience in pre-release programs, emphasizing the spontaneous interest of labor and management groups, as well as economic benefits such as family support, taz payments, training, etc.

6. Sponsor or encourage state sentencing instututes for judges, correctional administrators, parole personnel, etc.

7. Explore possibilities of radio interview programs or TV documentaries as effective instruments for public education in correctional problems and programs.

8. Distribute statistical information about mental, social, and personal characteristics of the prison population - in order to modify public attitudes and correct false impressions.

adm CRIME + CORRECTIONS

GUIDELINES

FOR

PRISON VISITING

Prepared by:

The Southern Regional Council Project
on
Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation
in cooperation with
The Fellowship of the Concerned

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Prison authorities are in almost universal agreement concerning certain basic ideas about prisoners and the problems they present. They know that:

First: Prisoners are entitled to humane treatment

Second: Prison workers must make efforts to provide training and rehabilitation so that prisoners will return to the community better prepared to live socially productive lives.

Third: Basic daily practices designed to control the captive population must be modified to the point where they will not seriously contradict the first two goals.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

HISTORY OF PRISONS

The not very startling ideas outlined above are relatively new to penology. As recently as 150 years ago, the only widely recognized means for the control of criminal offenders were death, mutilation or banishment. The introduction of the idea of limited terms of confinement as an alternative to these absurdly harsh measures led to the growth of the common prison, the abuses and corruption of which Charles Dickens and other 19th century social reformers so vividly described. The hideous conditions in these prisons - where men, women and children were thrown together without any distinction - led to a reaction which ended in the widespread adoption of solitary confinement both as a means of protecting the individual and preventing group action by prisoners. The ideas outlined at the top of the page are the successors to this theory of isolation.

* * * * * * *

THEORY VS. PRACTICE

The complex history of corrections, described above in only the broadest terms, has resulted in a serious gap between theory and practice. The physical facilities used for the housing of offenders are often massive agglomerations of stone and steel, designed many years ago to accomplish the relatively simple task of physically controlling the prison population at the least possible expense in terms of manpower and material. As a result, the very physical arrangement of an institution often works against the effective use of modern techniques for group treatment and training.

Staff attitudes, especially among older prison personnel, are also at considerable variance with theory. The old correctional journeyman, full of the spurious wisdom that flows from unexamined experience, go about their investigations, their counts, and their record-keeping chores, convinced that innovations are the afflictions of the young, and that their bosses' speeches, full of lofty ideas, are either clever methods for appeasing the sentimental or demonstrations that the leadership is out of touch with reality. For these men, and there are many of them, corrections is a tough, day-by-day job of control, and their hands are full just keeping up with its required processes.

These, and other problems, make the task of prison reform an arduous one, indeed. The points set forth in the following pages are intended to help you, while pursuing this goal, to separate the window dressing from the facts.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

HUMANE TREATMENT

What is humane treatment? The following items are meant to suggest an absolute minimum standard.

1. Three meals a day, providing adequate amounts of well-prepared, wholesome and nourishing food.

2. Housing facilities which are well-heated, lighted and ventilated. They should be designed in a way that will encourage the maintenance of high standards of hygeine and prevention of the spread of disease.

3. Regular job assignments involving productive work. Practices such as the renting out of prison labor to private firms or individuals promote maltreatment.

4. A well-equipped, professionally staffed, hospital and out-patient department. An active program of preventive medicine is also a necessity.

5. Regular changes of clothing suitable to the season. While the requirements of control demand that prisoners' clothing should be in some way distinctive, it should not be of a type which will unnecessarily contribute to a feeling of degradation and humiliation.

6. Discipline is required in order to maintain appropriate order.

    a. Where it is used, it should be carefully administered and recorded according to established rules.

    b. Where administrative isolation is involved, the regulations should require daily visits by a physician as part of the responsibility to protect the health of the inmate, and basic necessities for sustaining that health should be provided.

    c. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, BRUTALITY IN ANY FORM, OR ANY PRACTICE DESIGNED TO DEGRADE THE INDIVIDUAL, SHOULD BE PROHIBITED.

7. Libraries, self-improvement programs, and other educational activities should be available to all inmates on a regular basis.

8. Suitable facilities for recreation, including space and equipment for both team and individual sports.

9. Other basic necessities, such as toilet articles, provided free for all inmates.

10. A full-time program of religious activities and counseling.

11. Visiting and correspondence privileges. The maintenance and strengthening of family ties through visiting and correspondence should be encouraged, liberal provisions made for family correspondence, and pleasantly decorated, comfortably furnished facilities provided for family visiting. The amount of visiting time should be regulated by:

    a. the capacity of the physical facilities

    b. the need to provide equal time for all inmates

    c. the imperatives of the prison day, such as work schedules and meal times

    d. the availability of supervisory staff.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

TREATMENT AND TRAINING

A vital part of correctional work involves efforts at the social restoration of offenders. Any prison program which does not provide for constructive treatment and training is self-defeating. The following items might serve to outline a minimal program.

1. Every institution needs a professionally staffed classification system which:

   a. differentiates among types of offenders,

   b. identifies individual problems,

   c. establishes treatment and training goals.

   Without such a system, treatment becomes, at best, a hit-and-miss proposition.

2. Facilities and staff for professional casework, counseling, psychotherapy, and other helping processes, are essential. There can be no effective treatment without an adequately trained staff conducting professionally designed programs.

3. An organized education program, including, if possible, an accredited high school, is a basic requirement in any institution. Professionally supervised library facilities, designed to supplement the education program as well as provide for more general reading needs, are an important part of any treatment program.

4. Every institution should have programs designed to provide training in trades and skills. Training programs in skills for which there is no widespread demand in the labor market cannot be considered productive. For example, a program built around an operation for the manufacture of automobile license tags is not useful vocational training.

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VISITORS' PROGRAM

Some selective process should be used in recruiting visitors. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should:

1. Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way

2. Be willing to pay close attention to remarks and explanations by institution staff and record what they hear and see.

3. Not engage in conversation with an inmate without permission of a staff member.

4. Act like a fair-minded person.

* * * * * * *

It would be wise for visitors to work in teams of no more than six. Such a number would provide a sufficient variety of impressions without placing an undue burden upon the staff of the institution.

* * * * * * *

When visiting a prison, the following should be kept in mind:

1. The prison day is highly organized and easily disrupted. For this reason, prison officials are hesitant to permit outside groups to be present during periods of mass movement, such as meal times and work calls. Allowance will have to be made for this factor.

2. Few visitors are likely to have had any experience which would prepare them for the initial impact of the prison community. Thus, careful advance reading of the material provided will enable visitors better to understand and evaluate what they see.

3. Prison officials, not without reason, tend to be somewhat defensive. Therefore, questioners who display a hostile or unduly critical attitude have little chance of receiving complete or honest answers.

4. In the unlikely event that an inmate should make an unseemly remark, it should simply be ignored. Complaints or displays of indignation or moral outrage would only make prison officials reluctant to permit future visits.

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Agency file

Bank Street College of Education

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CURRICULUM CONSULTATION SERVICE has been established by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program of the U.S. Office of Education to help public school systems and school personnel cope with problems related to school desegregation.

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Research: Current programs supported by government agencies and foundation grants are concerned with the learning process and the role of the school as a factor in personality development.

Publications: The publications staff is completing a basal series of primary readers reflecting multi-cultural urban life, published by The Macmillan Company.

For Information and Assistance –

WRITE OR TELEPHONE

CURRICULUM CONSULTATION SERVICE, Room 1200
103 EAST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10035

Telephone: 831-1200

Meredith Resumes March On Eve of Rally in Jackson

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

TOUGALOO, Miss., June 25—James Meredith, the Negro who started the civil rights march through Mississippi, took over its leadersip again today after a dispute that clouded preparations for tomorrow's entry into Jackson.

Angry that marchers had hiked to Tougaloo College, on the outskirts of Jackson, without him yesterday, Mr. Meredith unexpectedly returned to Canton 20 miles away and retraced the marchers steps.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other marchers joined Mr. Meredith's march late today in a show of harmony that made Mr. Meredith the march leader and smoothed over the controversy.

The dispute developed, Dr. King said, because of a 'breakdown in communications."

"There will be only one march tomorrow," Mr. Meredith said in agreement.

Predict Large Turnout

Both predicted that thousands would join in tomorrow for the last eight-mile leg of the long journey that Dr. King and other civil rights leaders carried on after Mr. Meredith was wounded June 6, on the second day of his projected march to spur Negro voter registration.

Today was the first time Mr. Meredith had marched since he was shot. He rode in a car the last two miles on the advice of doctors who accompanied him.

Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and 500 other marchers carried on the walk from Canton to Tougaloo College. They were met near the campus by Dr. King and 500 others, who walked out to welcome him in a show of harmony.

Mr. Meredith said he had undertaken today's walk because he had promised friends that he would "do some walking with

Continued on Page 40, Column 4

MEREDITH REJOINS MISSISSIPPI MARCH

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

them." Counting Mr. Meredith's marchers, more than 1,500 persons were camping at Tougaloo College for Negroes, the staging area for tomorrow's march to the State Capitol in Jackson.

Joseph Colucci, a chemist from Columbus, Ohio, flew in for the march. Eugene Jones, a 22-year-old Negro who mows lawns for a living in Hattiesburg, Miss., "hitched" a ride to the campus with friends. And dozens of Negroes flocked to the campus on battered busses that they had borrowed from churches and Negro fraternal organizations.

John Lewis, the former chairman of the Student Committee, was here, as was James Forman, who until recently was the Student Committee's executive director. Wyatt Tee Walker, who once was one of Dr. King's top aides, strolled through the campus saying "hello" to veteran civil rights workers that he said he had not seen "for years."

Pennants and Buttons

Girls milled about selling march pennants for $1 and march buttons at prices ranging from 25 cents to $1.50.

Student Committee workers, who have adopted a black panther as the symbol of their Negro political movement in the South, distributed bumper stickers bearing a picture of a lunging panther and the legend, "We're the Greatest."

Many of the marchers who kept the march column going along the circuitous, 260-mile route to Jackson were not around for the finale.

A middle-aged couple who drove to the march from California became engaged and were married in Memphis. They spent their honeymoon on the march and then had to rush back to their jobs in San Francisco.

They were two among many who filtered in and out of the marching column during the long journey. No one here said that he had marched every step of the way from the shaded roadside where Mr. Meredith was wounded.

"On the whole, the march has been a good thing," said Assistant Attorney General John Doar, chief of the civil rights division of the Justice Department.

He said the march has encouraged "many Mississippi Negroes to take a step toward independent, political assertiveness for the first time in their lives."

"If the people [civil rights marchers] continue to work, they will have had a remarkable effect on the lives of the Negroes of Mississippi," he went on. "The important thing is not statistics—the number of Federal voting examiners—but real participation by the citizen in the political life of his community."

One of the many goals of the

Rights March Makes an Impact—In Some Places

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 25—A Negro civil rights worker spent a night in jail this week in a Mississippi town that had been visited by the rights protest march a few days earlier.

He reported later that the jailer had had to dissuade two white men from beating him in his cell during the night.

"These niggers will get you in a lot of trouble," the jailer told the men.

The jailer's attitude was one of many signs of the impact of the march through Mississippi.

In some communities on the march route, the event apparently left little more than a vague awareness that some restless spirit had been in the land. In others, the march may be remembered as the beginning of a real change in the life of the Negro.

The reaction to the march elsewhere in the nation has been mixed.

Capital Interest Ebbs

Interest among Washington officials has noticeably declined in recent days. President Johnson and members of Congress have remained relatively quiet about the march since an outburst of anger when James H. Meredith, who started the march, was shot June 6.

The shooting incident increased the pressure for the passage of the Administration's civil rights bill that would, among other things, make it easier to prosecute instigators of violence against Negroes and rights workers.

Rights groups have continued their demands for a more active Federal role in protecting Negroes and rights workers.

In the South, the white majority has merely tolerated the rights spectacle in Mississippi. White officials have expressed sympathy for their colleagues in Jackson and newspapers have editorially expressed exasperation and disgust.

The Associated Press Bureau in Birmingham, Ala., was asked by a member radio station to check a report that Mr. Meredith had been shot by a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Town May Be Altered

Grenada, at the eastern edge of the Mississippi River Delta, is a town that may be significantly altered by the march.

About 20 civil rights workers, many of them affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, stayed in Grenada after the march passed through June 16.

In a week, they had aroused enough local interest to form an organization called the Grenada County Movement. About 200 persons attended the organizing meeting last Monday night.

It was clear before the week was over that the march had merely struck the first spark in Grenada. The real work lay ahead.

City and county officials had bent over backward when the marchers went through town.

Obviously hoping to appease them and speed them on their way, the officials had hired six Negro voter registrars, opened the registration office at night, desegregated the courthouse restrooms, provided police protection through the city and did nothing when the marchers "desecrated" the Confederate monument by planting an American flag on it.

Once the marchers had left and headed south, Grenada began to return to normal. The Negro registrars were dismissed—having been hired only temporarily, the officials explained—and Negroes were asked to stay away from the registrar's office for three weeks to give the clerks a chance to catch up on paper work.

Most public facilities in the city remained as segregated as ever.

The Grenada County Movement took its first step Thursday night when Negro youths and civil rights workers tried unsuccessfully to desegregate the Grenada Theater. They sat on the floor of the lobby when they found the ticket office closed, and the police jailed 17 of them.

The Rev. Sharper T. Cunningham, pastor of the Belle Flower Baptist Church who is the temporary chairman of the movement, said the new organization was drafting a list of grievances to present to city officials and was digging in for a concerted campaign.

Response Was Expected

"We felt that the power structure would renege once the marchers had gone," he said, "and it has."

In other communities along the route, the marchers left only a faint scratch.

They passed through the only street of Louise, Miss., Tuesday morning.

The town's only eating place, the Louise Cafe, carried a bold but poorly spelled designation of its segregated entrances—"White" over one door and "Clored" over the other.

The signs had not even come down in deference to the march.

Hura L. Montgomery, a 69-year-old Negro on whose property outside Louise the marchers spent Monday night, pondered the impact of the march four days after it had left.

"I would guess that as many as 50 per cent of the people [Negroes] will not be affected at all by it," he said. "This percentage is going to have to die and pass on before we see any real change."

Yet, a few Negroes have been stirred to register to vote, Mr. Montgomery said. Louise may never be quite the same again, he said, because that small response is only a beginning.

The reaction of Mississippi whites to the march has generally ranged from scorn to outrage. A few moderates had begun to emerge before the march, but they have remained silent during the last three weeks.

More Harm Than Good

Sheriff Albert C. Blair of Tate County in northern Mississippi said the march had had no good effect in his county among Negroes or whites. It probably caused more harm than good, he said, by antagonizing whites and making it more difficult for Negroes to get along with them.

James McRae Criss of Grenada, prosecuting attorney for Grenada County, conceded that the march had caused a spurt of interest in voter registration among Grenada Negroes.

As for the general effect of the march, he said:

"I expect the militant whites and the militant colored are more militant than they were before. But for the normal person, it has had no effect.

"It's kind of like a carnival coming to town. People want to see what's going on. But after it's gone, nothing much has changed."

Jackson Girds for Capitol Rally; Marchers to Reach City Today

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 25—Several hundred city, state and county policemen were mobilized today in preparation for a rally on the Capitol grounds tomorrow by several thousand civil rights demonstrators.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. was reported to be handling the details himself to a large extent.

There was no firm decision made today as to whether the demonstrators, ending three weeks of sometimes violent civil rights activity, would be allowed to use the Capitol steps as a podium.

However, leaders of the demonstrations continued to announce that speeches would be made from that position.

Yesterday, workmen put up a fence around the Capitol but they came back last night to tear it down, and there was a ciation for the Advancement of Colored People, was murdered from ambush here in 1963—the city appeared to take the advice of the Governor and Mayor.

Absolute calm prevailed in the city today.

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High winds felled the transmitter tower of radio station KFNW and broke plate glass windows in business buildings in Fargo, N. D.

Fee Asked for Police Escort

Special to The New York Times

WESTFIELD, N. J., June 25—Merchants here would have to pay a $5 fee for police to escort them to the bank with their receipts, according to an ordinance introduced this week by the Town Council. For years many merchants have called for a patrol car when they want to transport the day's receipts to the bank. A public hearing on the measure will be held Tuesday.

around for the finale.

A middle-aged couple who drove to the march from California became engaged and were married in Memphis. They spent their honeymoon on the march and then had to rush back to their jobs in San Francisco.

They were two among many who filtered in and out of the marching column during the long journey. No one here said that he had marched every step of the way from the shaded roadside where Mr. Meredith was wounded.

"On the whole, the march has been a good thing," said Assistant Attorney General John Doar, chief of the civil rights division of the Justice Department.

He said the march has encouraged "many Mississippi Negroes to take a step toward independent, political assertiveness for the first time in their lives."

"If the people [civil rights marchers] continue to work, they will have had a remarkable effect on the lives of the Negroes of Mississippi," he went on. "The important thing is not statistics—the number of Federal voting examiners—but real participation by the citizen in the political life of his community."

One of the many goals of the marchers was to force the Justice Department to send Federal registrars into 600 Southern counties.

They have not succeeded in this. But they have succeeded in registering 3,000 to 4,000 Negroes and persuading more than 10,000 to join at least briefly in the march.

The shooting of Mr. Meredith brought civil rights activists scurrying to Mississippi to pick up the march. Mr. Doar has traveled ahead of the columns, working with state and local law enforcement agencies to provide local protection for the marchers.

While he has remained aloof from the march itself, he said today that he had observed the marching column often enough to be impressed by the number of Mississippi Negroes who joined the out-of-state marchers.

During his 20-mile march today, Mr. Meredith denied that he had any quarrel with the civil rights leaders who took over his march while he convalesced at his home in New York.

He also said that he had not returned to Mississippi with firearms. While convalescing, he had said that he would never appear in the state publicly again without a gun.

"I'm not armed," he said, "because the Mississippi highway patrol chief has accepted all responsibility for security. He has given me his word."

Meanwhile, at Tougaloo, tomorrow's entry into Jackson was being planned by Dr. King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; and representatives of the National Urban League, the Mississippi branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Freedom Democratic party, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches and the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Although CORE, the Student Committee, the Delta Ministry and the Southern Leadership Conference picked up the march immediately after Mr. Meredith was wounded, other organizations joined later.

The alliance became strained at several points along the marching route as a result of disputes over defensive violence vs. nonviolence as a civil rights technique and over "black power" vs. "freedom now" as the battle cry of the civil rights movement. But it appeared today that the organizations would continue to work together for the remaining day of the march.

Most civil rights leaders were predicting that the march into Jackson would swell to 20,000 to 30,000 marchers tomorrow, but most agreed privately that it was too early to tell.

The marchers, with the exception of those with Mr. Meredith, spent the day resting and trying to persuade local Negro ministers to lead their congregations in tomorrow's march.

tinued their demands for a more active Federal role in protecting Negroes and rights workers.

nothing when the marchers "desecrated" the Confederate monument by planting an American flag on it.

The signs had not even come down in deference to the march.

Hura L. Montgomery, a 69-year-old Negro on whose prop-

coming to town. People want to see what's going on. But after it's gone, nothing much has changed."

Jackson Girds for Capitol Rally; Marchers to Reach City Today

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 25—Several hundred city, state and county policemen were mobilized today in preparation for a rally on the Capitol grounds tomorrow by several thousand civil rights demonstrators.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. was reported to be handling the details himself to a large extent.

There was no firm decision made today as to whether the demonstrators, ending three weeks of sometimes violent civil rights activity, would be allowed to use the Capitol steps as a podium.

However, leaders of the demonstrations continued to announce that speeches would be made from that position.

Yesterday, workmen put up a fence around the Capitol but they came back last night to tear it down, and there was a report that Governor Johnson would allow the mass gathering on the Capitol grounds.

At the same time, however, the Governor issued a formal statement that "all" laws in Mississippi would be enforced. A 1965 law prohibits the use of the Capitol and its grounds for demonstrations and parades.

Normal Activity Urged

Governor Johnson has State Park and Wildlife officers on duty as well as the State Highway Patrol. And Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson said the situation would be kept under control. Mayor Thompson asked citizens of Jackson to stay away from the mass gathering tomorrow, and to go about their normal weekend activities.

The Mayor would not say what plans the city had to cope with the crowd, but it was reported that he had agreed to let the state take charge of keeping the peace.

"Peace will be preserved and order will prevail in Mississippi," Governor Johnson said.

He warned that anyone creating a disturbance would be arrested and prosecuted. "Breaches of the peace, violence and civil disorder must be suppressed and punished to the fullest extent of the law," the Governor said.

He congratulated Mississippi for accepting the demonstrations with "patience and forebearance" and said this weekend should see the end of "weeks of provocation."

Although Jackson has been the scene of numerous racial incidents in the last five years—Medgar Evers, head of the state chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was murdered from ambush here in 1963—the city appeared to take the advice of the Governor and Mayor.

Absolute calm prevailed in the city today.

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Highways were crowded with automobiles today as fishermen and waterskiers hauled their boats to the lake north of Jackson for a weekend.

Almost every hotel and motel in Jackson was full as several conventions got underway. The largest, a state meeting of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, was expected to attract 2,500 white veterans from over the state to the capital this weekend.

A conservative group, the Constitution party, tried to organize a rally in behalf of states rights and against Federal civil rights laws last night, but created almost no stir. The group, headed by Texans, got no mention in the local papers.

Both of Jackson's daily newspapers—The News and The Clarion Ledger—urged the 175,000 residents of Jackson to ignore the "unwanted visitors" tomorrow.

The demonstrators, The Clarion Ledger said in a front-page editorial today, want "to create a series of incidents which they hope can be blown into a full scale eruption of violence."

On the theory that the rally will be allowed to go ahead on the steps of the Capitol, television networks were bringing in equipment to televise the gathering scheduled, which is scheduled to begin at 6 P.M.

Most of the civil rights clashes in Mississippi have taken place in small farming center towns, and the Highway Patrol was under instructions to watch for the possibility that groups from those areas might drive into Jackson today and tomorrow to attack demonstrators.

The marchers are scheduled to depart from Tougaloo Southern Christian College eight miles north of downtown Jackson early tomorrow morning and wind their way through business and residential sections to the Capitol.

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GOLDWATER ASSAILS JOHNSON ON RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, June 25 (UPI)—Barry Goldwater said today that he agreed with statements by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. that the Federal Government was not fully enforcing the civil rights laws.

Mr. Goldwater made the statement in a pre-taped television interview with William F. Buckley Jr. for the "firing line" program distributed by R.K.O. General Productions.

The 1964 Republican Presidential candidate accused President Johnson of "walking a tightrope" in the fields of civil rights enforcement and in the war in Vietnam.

"Now we have some Americans who say let's not push these integration laws. We have other Americans who say let's push them," Mr. Goldwater said.

The former Senator said the President "is trying to stay in the middle, like he's staying in the middle with the doves and the hawks on what I call the chicken line."

Mr. Goldwater, who voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on grounds that he found two sections "unconstitutional," said "we have plenty of laws on the books to take care of violators of integration or segregation, whichever way you approach it.

"But is the Attorney General really using the muscle he has to stop the attacks on Negroes every place in this country? And I have to say, no, that they're not," he continued.

Jersey Man Is Arrested In Stabbing of a Trooper

STANHOPE, N. J., June 25 (AP)—A 31-year-old kitchen worker was charged with stabbing a state trooper and trying to stab another today when the troopers broke up a fight between him and two other men.

The wounded trooper, Girbert Pagano, 40, a 12-year veteran stationed at the Netcong barracks, was reported in good condition at Dover General Hospital. The authorities said he was stabbed in the chest with a five-inch paring knife.

Trooper Jon Mendres, who was with trooper Pagano, was not hurt.

The suspect, Elias Jinenez Vega of Mine Hill, was arraigned in Byram Township Municipal Court on charges of atrocious assault and battery on the trooper and attempted assault and battery on trooper Mendres.

 DEMONSTRATIONS

United Press International Telephoto

RIGHTS MARCHERS' CARS BURNED IN CHICAGO: Five cars burning on the Southwest Side on Sunday, after being set afire by whites. Rights marchers, both Negro and white, drove to the area, parked, and marched to protest discrimination in a community of private homes. Residents chased marchers. Twelve whites were arrested.

Dr. King Calls Chicago Police Lax in March Duty

CHICAGO, Aug. 1 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accused the Chicago police today of laxity in their efforts to protect civil rights demonstrators from whites who hurled rocks and bottles at them on the weekend.

The whites, he said, had caused more property damage than had Negroes in the recent racial disturbances here.

"We are seriously disturbed by the failure of the Chicago Police Department to protect the peaceful civil rights demonstrators on Chicago's Southwest Side," Dr. King said in a statement from Atlanta.

Joining him in the statement was Albert A. Raby, a civil rights leader, who led the marches through the Gage Park area. About 30 persons were injured, and a dozen cars owned by the marchers were burned.

The statement said:

"It is clear that the police were either unwilling or unable to disperse the riotous mob that so brutally attacked Negroes and whites who had come to the community to seek open housing in compliance with the law.

"The failure to exercise full responsibility for full protection is especially apalling [since] huge masses of police and National Guardsmen were mobilized to put down the violence of a few hundred Negroes on the West Side.

"At the height of the violence on the West Side not more than a few cars were burned. It is clear that this bigoted mob destroyed more property on the Southwest side than did the West Side rioters.

"We shall continue to demonstrate in every all-white community in Chicago in our nonviolent effort to open housing for all men. In the process, we demand the full and active protection of the local police."

Police Superintendent Orlando W. Wilson declined to comment on the statement. A police spokesman referred calls to the city's Commission on Human Relations. A spokesman there said, "There's nothing we can say, it's a police matter."

Mr. Raby said the marches would continue for "two weeks or two years, as long as they are necessary."

"We're going to stand in the shadow of the church in order to associate our cause with the moral leadership of the community. We will not be diverted by turning our anger against the police or the misguided people who attacked us," he said.

The march was sponsored by the Coordinating Council of Community Organization, a civil rights group closely allied with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Twenty-five persons were arrested in the two days of violence at Gage Park. On Sunday night, besides the dozen cars that were overturned and burned, the windows of 23 other autos were smashed and their tires slashed. Two cars were pushed into a lagoon at Marquette Park.

The 500 demonstrators were bitter about the damage to the cars. The autos, easily identified by windshield stickers reading, "Union to end Slums," had been left at the park at the request of the police, the demonstrators said. They said officers had promised to guard the vehicles.

The leaders of the march praised the marchers for continuing their protest during the barrage of bottles and bricks.

"This was their first real test. They displayed perfect non violent discipline," a spokesman said.

However, Robert Lucas, a local leader of the Congress of Racial Equality, said, "We can't continue the passive reaction to all hatred."

The marchers said the white crowd had followed them east along 71st Street from California Avenue 1½ miles to Ashland Avenue, the west border of "Bronzeville," the South Side Negro area. There the white crowd turned back.

"Nothing can more dramatically illustrate the rigid color line in housing," a demonstrator said.

Twenty-four adults and seven juveniles were arrested.

Edward J. Byrd, 18 years old, was shot in the stomach with a pellet from a police shotgun. Officers said they had surprised him and three other youths looting a liquor store. The wounded youth was in satisfactory condition in a hospital.

During the July 4th weekend, the National Guard had joined the police in quelling young Negroes on the North Side.

The area was quiet until early yesterday, when there was vandalism and looting. The trouble today was far more widespread.

The police said that the latest outburst showed planning.

"Anytime you've got Molotov cocktails ready, you have got some planning," the Mayor said.

The police said they had heard rumors for a week of an outbreak this weekend.

Mayor Sorensen said many Negroes had told him of resentment that resulted when a young Negro was shot and killed by the police last Monday after a burglary.

"This is no reason to go around burning down buildings," he commented.

Public Safety Director Francis E. Lynch said police shifts with extra police would patrol the area.

New Omaha Violence

OMAHA, Aug. 1 (AP) — Mayor A. V. Sorensen, visibly shaken by fresh violence on Omaha's North Side, tramped through burned and looted business places today and said, "We're not going to tolerate any more of this."

Fires, looting and vandalism broke out in the heavily Negro area early today, and in at least two instances occurred well beyond its confines.

Molotov cocktails — gasoline-filled bottles with rags for wicks — started fires in three businesses in the Negro area. Another blackened the window of a downtown fur shop two miles from the Negro district.

Police fired riot guns in the air and dispersed a crowd of at least 150 persons after a patrol car was stoned.

Tennis in Lingerie Protested

SOUTHBOROUGH, England (UPI)—John Webb has complained to the local council here that girls playing tennis on the courts next to his home often are clad only in their bras and panties. Mr. Webb, who is 75 years old, says he wants such apparel banned.

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2 Killed in Boat Accident

LAURIE, Mo., July 31 (AP) —Two men were killed Saturday night in a motorboat accident. The high-speed boat struck a stump in the Lake of the Ozarks, and the two men were thrown into the water. The craft then ran over them. Dead are James H. Danglade Jr., 35 years old, of Kansas City, Mo., and John William Davis, 40, of Kansas City, Kan.

DEMONSTRATIONS

8/4/66

Atlanta Police Disperse Negroes Protesting S.N.C.C. Aide Arrest

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 3—A noisy crowd of several dozen Negroes gathered to protest the arrest of a civil rights worker on a traffic charge yesterday afternoon in a Negro section of Atlanta.

Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, joined the crowd and led chants of "black power" before extra policemen were called to disperse the angry Negroes.

A bystander reported that Mr. Carmichael told some of his followers after the police left that the police had been afraid to make arrests because the Negroes had stuck together. Mr. Carmichael was not available for comment.

Mr. Carmichael avoided reporters today. Beyond a sketchy statement issued by his office, he left all explanations to lesser staffworkers, who said they knew nothing.

Patrolman B. C. Basham, a white motorcycle officer, reported that he had stopped a car carrying three Negro men after he saw the car block an intersection and make an illegal left turn in the Atlanta University neighborhood.

The driver was Samuel B. Schutz, 21 years old, an Alabama field secretary for the student committee. Mr. Schutz is one of the organization's most militant workers. He led demonstrations against white authorities at Tuskegee, Ala., last year after a Negro student had been killed by a white man there.

Driver Called a Crowd

Patrolman Basham's report said, "The driver and occupants of the vehicle began to call a crowd together, creating a disturbance. At this time, after asking the subjects to cease the commotion, I attempted to issue the citation for disorderly conduct-disturbance."

A woman in the crowd took Mr. Schutz's copies of the three citations—for making an illegal turn, blocking an intersection and disorderly conduct — and tore them up.

Several in the crowd shouted hostile remarks at the officer.

Patrolman Watson Holley Jr., a Negro officer, arrived and members of the crowd asked him why he was helping white officers.

"Where is your heart?" one Negro shouted at Patrolman Holley.

At least three carloads of policemen were sent to break up the disturbance, a police spokesman said.

Patrolman Basham was carried to safety in a patrol car.

Mr. Carmichael issued a statement through the student committee's communications office here today saying that after Mr. Schutz and his companions had been threatened with arrest, "black people from the community, long harassed and brutalized by the Atlanta police, began to gather, challenging the validity of this arrest."

"As one man standing on the corner said, 'we have to help the brother,'" the statement said. "In a typical reaction of fear against any sign of strength in the black community, overwhelming police force was called for."

Arson in Omaha

OMAHA, Aug. 3 (UPI) — A fire set by an arsonist caused an explosion that demolished a cafe and damaged an adjacent service station and three cars near Omaha's racially disturbed near North Side early today. Five persons were injured.

"It was of incendiary nature," said Joseph Pluta, a fire investigator.

The cafe, owned by Harold Brown of Omaha, had not been open for business recently.

The injured suffered cuts from flying glass from the explosion, which occurred at about 2:25 A.M.

Three of the injured were in a passing car, and the other two were in a nearby house. All were treated at a hospital and released.

The service station next to the cafe was extensively damaged. Also damaged were two homes in the immediate vicinity.

Rocks Thrown at Police

PROVIDENCE, R.I., Aug. 3 (AP)—The police were showered with rocks and bottles again last night as they quelled disturbances in a predominantly Negro section for the second straight night.

The disturbances came after a rally by about 1,000 Negroes Monday night when civil rights lealers protested alleged de facto segregation in city schools.

But the rights leaders said today that the disturbances were unrelated to their protests.

"We remain dedicated to nonviolence," said James D. McDaniel Jr., chairman of the Negro Leadership Conference in Providence, which had sponsored the rally.

Gov. John H. Chafee also said Monday's disturbance had no relation to the civil rights rally.

Trouble in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 3 (AP)—A gang of Negro youths smashed three stores today in a brief early-morning spree in a northside predominantly Negro neighborhood.

The police said there were no injuries, three arrests, about 25 business windows broken and no racial overtones.

Police Inspector Donald R. Dwyer said at most 50 teenagers were involved in the actual looting, while a crowd of 200 watched.

DEMONSTRATIONS AC 8/4/66

3,000 Chicago Whites Jeer King's Drive

CHICAGO (UPI) — Nearly 3,000 whites jeered members of Dr. Martin Luther King's Chicago civil rights drive during protests of alleged housing discrimination Wednesday. Hundreds more tried to block the demonstrators path as they left the Northwest Side area.

Seventeen men, one woman and two juveniles were arrested in the Belmont-Cragin area, bringing the two-day total to 24.

A white man shouted obscenities and lunged at two Negro policemen. He was clubbed to the pavement and whished away by police. Another man attacked a white officer. He was kicked in the stomach and arrested.

Whites hurled bricks at praying demonstrators. The missiles narrowly missed their targets.

White teen-agers set a grass fire in a park where demonstrators parked their cars. Others attempted to prevent the demonstrators from reaching the parking lot.

"I'm not getting off the sidewalk for any niggers," they shouted.

Police in riot helmets used night sticks to fight their way through the white persons blocking the streets and sidewalks along the line of march from the Parker & Finney Inc. real estate agency to Hanson Park, where demonstrators had left their cars.

The crowd's anger turned on the police. "How many niggers have you got locked up, copper?," they shouted.

When demonstrators arrived for the second successive protest outside the Parker & Finney office on Fullerton Avenue, white residents of the predominantly Polish and Italian Belmont-Cragin neighborhood massed on the opposite side of the street.

As the 350 demonstrators, marching from the scene of smaller protests against alleged housing discrimination at real estate offices four blocks farther north, reached Parker & Finney, the shouting and jeering began.

Meanwhile, in Minneapolis, Minn., Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag and Mayor Arthur Naftalin promised jobs to a shouting crowd of 300 Negroes in a city park Wednesday night in an effort to avoid any resumption of smashing and looting on the city's North Side.

Rolvaag told the crowd, mostly teenagers, he had obtained commitments from businessmen in conferences during the day to offer 60 jobs to Negroes.

One Negro youth shouted he didn't believe the governor and there were shouts of "burn, burn," a threat to use firebombs. But a Negro Baptist minister, the Rev. Stanley King, appealed to the teenagers to try for the jobs before turning to more violence.

"See if the promises are true," he said. "If they aren't then burn tomorrow night."

The governor and mayor held the park meeting with Negroes after meeting for several hours earlier in the day with police officers, Negro ministers and other officials.

Negro teenagers smashed windows of about 25 stores and looted some of them early Wednesday.

DEMONSTRATIONS

King Is Hit By a Rock In Chicago

AC 8/6/66

CHICAGO (AP)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was struck on the head by a rock and a white youth was wounded by a knife thrown at King Friday as rioting broke out in an all-white neighborhood on Chicago's Southwest Side.

King, who was not seriously injured by the rock, said after the rioting had subsided that he had never seen such hate and that the group would return at a later date to the area.

After the 800 demonstrators left the park, more than 5,000 white residents of Chicago Lawn — a neat, middle-class neighborhood 7½ miles from downtown Chicago — clashed repeatedly with police.

35 WHITES SEIZED

Police said 35 white persons had been arrested and 11 persons had been injured.

More than 200 white teen-agers marched down a street behind a huge sign reading in red letters "Wallace" — Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

The howling group was followed by a caravan of cars, horns honking. Police broke the march up and the youths scattered.

OFFICER A TARGET

A new yellow convertible tried to run down a policeman. Police jumped into the car, pulled three white men out and subdued them.

A crowd of 1,000 white persons watched and screamed "police brutality."

A Negro man not involved in the earlier demonstrations was stopped as he drove along a street. He was pulled from the car and beaten.

The demonstrators — white and Negroes — left the area in chartered buses. Rocks were thrown by thousands of white persons in Marquette Park, a scenic park in the neighborhood.

SNAKE THROWN

A dead snake was thrown at the demonstrators as they boarded the buses.

A squad car moved out of the park with an injured man lying in the back seat, his feet sticking out the window.

The crowd had a new chant: "Roses are red, violets are black; King would look good with a dagger in his back."

During the march — protesting alleged housing discrimination — many residents stood on

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

Rock Hits King As Whites Jeer

Continued from Page 1

their front porches taking motion pictures of the activity.

The eruption of violence between the residents and some 6,200 policemen came after King had moved most of the civil rights demonstrators out of the area.

King, chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was hit on the right side of the face by a rock when he emerged from a car in Marquette Park earlier to form the march.

"It hurts, but it's not an injury," King shouted over the crowd of screaming, cursing, rock-throwing residents.

As the marchers left the park thousands of white persons lined a slope overlooking the park and shouted "white power."

A firecracker was thrown into one bus as demonstrators boarded, exploding in the face of a Negro photographer. He was momentarily stunned and was slightly burned on the face.

Before leaving the park, King told newsmen: "We shall have to keep coming back until we are safe from harassment. Until Negroes can move into the neighborhood the tenets of freedom will continue to decay."

The marchers were pelted with rocks, bottles, cherry bombs and eggs — some dropped by residents perched in trees — as they moved slowly down the street six abreast.

WHITES IN CHICAGO MOB NEGRO MARCH

DEMONSTRATIONS

Police Fire Weapons in Air to Protect Housing Rally in Segregated District

8/8/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 7 — The police fought back thousands of jeering whites today as civil rights demonstrators continued their protests against "housing discrimination."

Riot control officers fired weapons into the air and used nightsticks to disperse angry whites who were throwing bottles, rocks and firecrackers at both policemen and marchers.

"White power, white power!" the mob screamed.

Each time the force of 500 policemen dispersed the crowds they regrouped and began following and taunting the marchers once again. Even a summer downpour failed to send the white hecklers home.

At one point, shortly after the four-mile-long march began at 4:45 P.M., the police estimated that 3,000 to 5,000 persons were gathered near the march column.

Five Miles From Loop

Members of the National States' Rights party and the American Nazi party moved through the crowd distributing membership application forms and recruitment handbills.

One leaflet prepared by the Nazi party said:

"White men organize white guard—a call to arms from George Lincoln Rockwell."

"We expect you to be immediately available, with your own weapons and ammunition at home when we call on you to stand against the black rioters—when the police are overwhelmed," the leaflet said.

Members of the States' Rights party carried a huge red, white and blue party flag with a jagged thunderbolt insignia in the middle. When the first drops of rain fell, they quickly furled their party flag, but continued to wave American flags.

Today's tension developed in the all-white Belmont-Cragin neighborhood, which is heavily East European in its ethnic makeup. It is in the city's Northwest, about five miles from the Loop.

The Rev. James Bevel and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led the march in place of

Continued on Page 43, Column 2

WHITES IN CHICAGO MOB NEGRO MARCH

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who left Chicago yesterday for a trip to Atlanta and Mississippi.

Youths in the crowd of hecklers wore paper Ku Klux Klan hoods and carried such placards as "Stop the Black Plague," and "Out With Kerner [the Governor of Illinois] and In With Wallace (the segregationist Governor of Alabama."

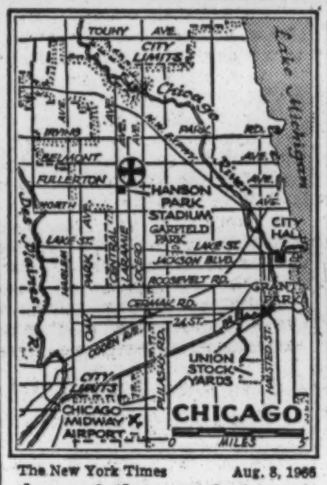
A middle-aged and bespectacled white woman carried a drawing of a spear-carrying cannibal with the legend "Kiss Me, I'm Equal."

Policemen rushed the crowds again and again in attempts to disperse them and struck back at bottle and rock throwers with their nightsticks. One man who weighed more than 200 pounds rushed three policemen and 10 blue helmeted officers swarmed over him, pummeling him with nightsticks.

Sing 'Trooper Song'

"Go home, you nigger lovers and niggers," the crowds yelled. Then they began chanting, "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate."

Some began singing "The Alabama Trooper Song," which has become the official song of white hecklers during Negro



The New York Times Aug. 8, 1966

Area of the march (cross)

demonstrations over the last week.

"If I were an Alabama trooper," the song ends, "then I could kill the niggers legally."

Hundreds of whites began assembing in the area two hours before the first of 700 marchers arrived, and they were joined later by others, some of whom were obviously out for Sunday strolls.

One white heckler walked along with his wife on one arm and a yapping dachshund under the other.

"I'm paying all this tax money so you guys can run me off the street," he berated the police. "To hell with you guys."

"They got to do something, honey," his wife replied.

Across the street, a heckler waved a sign saying, "God Bless White Bigots."

A squad car moved ahead of the marchers, and a lieutenant inside announced over a public address system: "In the name of the people of Illinois you are commanded to disperse."

Mob-Arrest Statute

Comdr. John Mulchrone, head of the city's special riot-control task force, explained that the announcement was part of the machinery making it possible for the police, if necessary, to use a "mob arrest statute." The statute makes it a felony to engage in mob action.

"But we would only make arrests under this statute as an absolute last resort," Commander Mulchrone said.

He added that several persons had been arrested today but all of them under city misdemeanor ordinances.

Although the crowds weere as large, there was not as much rock and bottle throwing as on Friday when Dr. King led marchers into a white residential area south of here. Then, Dr. King was staggered by a rock hurled from the mob and at elast 28 others received injuries.

Today's march was the fifth within a week that civil rights demonstrators have led in an effort to desegregate housing in overwhelmingly white neighborhoods of this city.

Last Sunday, white mobs stoned demonstrators, and burned and otherwise damaged more than 20 of the demonstrators' cars, in the same area in which Friday's outbreak took place. Then in midweek the marchers were hissed and booed as they walked through Belmont Cragin, the scene of today's march.

DEMONSTRATIONS

Court Cuts Chicago March To One a Day, By Only 500

AC 8/20/66

CHICAGO (AP) — A Circuit Court judge issued a temporary injunction Friday limiting civil rights demonstrators to 500 and permitting only one march a day in Chicago.

Judge Cornelius J. Harrington ordered the Chicago Freedom Movement demonstrators to congregate only during daylight hours — excluding rush hour periods — and to give police 24-hour notice of any marches.

Judge Harrington acted on a suit filed a few hours earlier by the city of Chicago.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and leader of the Chicago demonstrations, promptly labeled the action as "unjust, illegal and unconstitutional" and added:

"We are prepared to put thousands in the street if need be. The city hasn't seen the number of people we can put there."

The temporary injunction goes into effect immediately and will stand until a hearing on a permanent injunction.

Demonstrators acting under King's banner have been marching into all-white neighborhoods protesting against housing discrimination, sparking some violence and rioting.

The court action came as Chicago leaders met in an effort to hammer out a workable agree-

Continued on Page 10, Column 4

Marches Limited In Chicago

Continued from Page 1

ment on housing policies. The committee will report its findings to the full committee later this month.

The suit, filed against King and other leaders, ordered specifically:

1. Limit the number of marchers to 500.

2. Provide for only one march a day in Chicago.

3. Set times for marches in daylight hours only, excluding rush-hour periods.

4. Give the police superintendent 24 hours notice of any demonstrators.

Mayor Richard J. Daley, appearing on Chicago television stations Friday night, said he regretted the necessity of court action and added: "But I have repeatedly appealed for voluntary recognition of the rights of others and to end the kind of street demonstrations which have made it impossible for the police department to adequately protect the lives and property of all citizens.

"The suit does not seek to prohibit the right of all citizns to petition for redress of grievances. The only purpose is to assure every family of adequate police protection."

The suit alleged that the defendants' actions during the last month "and their announced intention to expand the demonstrations into many neighborhoods at simultaneous times constitute a clear and present danger to the city."

Sheriff Asks King Drop Cicero March

DEMONSTRATIONS

AC 8/23/66

CHICAGO (UPI) — Sheriff Richard B. Ogilvie appealed to Martin Luther King Monday to abandon plans to stage a civil rights march in racially sensitive Cicero Sunday. He said "the danger to the public and the demonstrators is too great."

The Cook County (Chicago) sheriff, alarmed by a new outburst of violence against negro and white civil rights demonstrators, sent the appeal to King at the Chicago headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Ogilvie said he would have fewer than 500 police available to guard the demonstrators for open occupancy, and he estimated it would take 3,000 to protect the marchers in Cicero. The National Guard was called out 15 years ago to put down rioting against Negroes in the all-white suburb.

COURT THREAT

The sheriff said if King ignored his request, he would consider court action. He said a call for National Guard troops "is certainly a possibility."

Gov. Otto Kerner, who would have to issue any order calling the guard into action, conferred with high-level civil rights and human relations leaders in his Chicago office.

King and his aides were not among the conferees and both a Kerner spokesman and one of the conferees said the current demonstrations for open occupancy were not discussed.

LEADERS MEETING

Civil rights leaders scheduled a mass meeting for Monday night. They said they would announce an "action," presumably another march, for Tuesday.

Civil rights lawyers meanwhile made plans to go into court and challenge an injunction which holds the open-housing campaigners to no more than one march a day in Chicago and limits the marchers to 500 persons.

They said no court move would be made Monday because they still had to make "the basic decision of whether to pursue the matter in federal or state court."

The forces of Martin Luther King obeyed the injunction Sunday when they carried their demands for open-housing for Negroes throughout the Chicago area into the far southeast side and two southern suburbs, Chicago Heights and Evergreen Park.

Hundreds of Chicago police held back thousands of cursing, screaming, white youths who tossed rocks and other objects at the marchers.

In Evergreen Park, whites attacked the marchers almost at will, screaming "black blood" and hurling bricks and stones.

An aide of King said 20 to 30 marchers were hurt. In contrast, the marchers in Chicago Heights were virtually ignored.

Early Monday three men were arrested after a group of about 10 whites stoned two autos carrying eight Negroes on Chicago's South Side. Police said the driver of one of the cars was hit on the head by a rock and a woman was pulled from his car and beaten by the white men.

REPAIR

Economics

AC 2/8/66

RALPH McGILL

An End to Being Different

In 1966 the South may be said to be generally excited by the prospect of losing its ancient shackles and moving into that new South so often proclaimed by prophets of the past. Yet, it already is plain that the so-called new South is not to be a merely new Jerusalem, "separate" and "different," isolated spiritually and emotionally from the rest of the nation. The new South, still retarded by some unwilling to accept the new, is, for the first time, moving into the mainstream of national life and taking on a feeling of national unity, as opposed to one of being "different" and "separate."

There is a slow realization that the economic backwardness which, from the beginning of the Civil War, condemned the slave-holding South to the verdict at Appomattox had its roots in the low production of labor and in the retardation of technology and creation of a skilled labor force. The costs of being "different" are by no means paid.

Good Book

A new book, "The Political Economy of Slavery," by Eugene D. Genovese, of Rutgers University, is a good text book to be read with others in seeking an understanding of the Southern regions. (Published by Pantheon Books.)

The economic backwardness that was to leave so cruelly its stamp on the region for so long a time early expressed itself. "Bondage," says Genovese,

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The economic backwardness that was to leave so cruelly its stamp on the region for so long a time early expressed itself. "Bondage," says Genovese, "forced the Negro to give his labor grudgingly and badly, and his poor work habits retarded those social and economic advances that could have raised the general level of production. Less direct were limitations imposed on the free work force, on technological development, and on the division of labor."

The small commercial class in the South was tied to the slave-holding interests. It had, therefore, "little desire or opportunity to invest capital in industrial expansion." Southern industrialists were in an analogous position. "The Southern yeomanry, unlike the Western, lacked the purchasing power to sustain rapid industrial development. . . . The planters spent much of their money abroad for luxuries. The plantation market consisted primarily of the demand for cheap slave clothing and cheap agricultural implements for use or misuse by the slaves. Southern industrialism needed a sweeping agrarian revolution to provide it with cheap labor and a substantial rural market, but Southern industrialists depended on the existing, limited plantation market."

Plantation System

That the plantation system, which held back industrial, commercial, and banking development, also depleted the soil is a historic fact. It was this depletion which was one of the forces behind the drive to expand slave territory.

The first agricultural machines began to revolutionize grain and food production in the developing, opening West. But the plantation system was bound to the gang-labor methods.

By the mid-1840s some planters in Maryland and Virginia had begun to try crop diversification and livestock development. They sold many of their slaves to the lower, or deep South, cotton states. By the 1850's, writes Genovese, the deficiencies of slavery that had forced innovation in the upper South were bringing on swift deterioration in the deeper South. Fresh land was necessary. The Southern slave economy was more and more political and moved steadily toward the insoluble crisis.

The South has paid a price in lack of skills, education, industry and income since those days of more than a century ago. That there should be Southerners and Southern communities that try to hold back the rescue of the region is incredible. Their number grows smaller, but they remain.

MEMBER COLLEGES

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools

DECEMBER 3, 1964

COMPLIANCE BY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI, SOUTH CAROLINA AND TENNESSEE WITH TITLE VI, 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Prepared for U.S. Civil Rights Commission by Equal Educational Opportunities Program, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

April 14, 1965 Atlanta, Georgia

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act provides that "no persons shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefit of, or be subject to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

This non-discrimination provision requires the abandonment of racially segregated dual school systems wherever they exist.

No State agencies, local school districts or institutions of higher learning may receive Federal assistance under programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education unless they are in compliance with this provision of the Act.

In programs such as School Assistance to Federally Affected Areas, where direct payments are made to school districts, only the district is required to be in compliance. In all other current programs, where funds are allocated to the State for distribution to local school districts, both the State agency receiving funds and the local districts to whom the money is distributed must be in compliance. All colleges and universities receiving Federal funds under current programs must be in compliance.

Estimated Federal obligations for various education programs for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1965, to the States covered in this report are as follows:

DIRECT PAYMENT TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

	Colleges of A and M Arts	Higher Education Facilities Constructed	NDEA Title II Student Loans	Totals
Alabama	$277,647	$ 7,598,396	$2,465,346	$10,341,389
Florida	317,693	11,270,364	4,072,561	15,660,618
Georgia	293,723	9,018,790	2,969,029	12,281,542
Mississippi	251,772	5,454,690	2,120,751	7,827,213
South Carolina	256,632	5,660,228	1,801,350	7,718,210
Tennessee	284,786	9,047,904	3,519,483	12,852,173

DIRECT PAYMENTS TO STATES

	Grants for Public Libraries	Vocational Education	NDEA Title III Instructional Assistance	NDEA Title VA Guidance Counseling and Testing	NDEA Title X State Statistical Services	Totals
Alabama	$ 997,710	$5,482,246	$1,668,624	$475,091	$50,000	$ 8,673,671
Florida	1,419,443	6,864,061	2,707,075	674,094	50,000	11,714,673
Georgia	1,167,016	6,752,319	2,959,396	571,658	50,000	11,500,389
Mississippi	752,218	4,196,342	1,711,980	337,211	40,000	7,010,751
South Carolina	776,396	4,449,204	1,752,170	368,712	50,000	7,396,482
Tennessee	1,072,891	6,142,770	2,150,322	491,099	50,000	9,907,082

DIRECT PAYMENTS TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS

	PL 874 Operations and Maintenance	PL 815 School Construction	Total
Alabama	$ 7,600,000	$ 789,900	$ 8,389,900
Florida	10,029,000	2,962,200	12,991,200
Georgia	10,449,000	1,431,700	11,880,700
Mississippi	2,603,000	197,500	2,800,500
South Carolina	5,760,500	790,000	6,550,000
Tennessee	3,539,500	246,800	3,786,300

* * * * *

State education agencies that receive Federal funds for their own use or for distribution to local school districts under programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education must submit a Statement of Compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

This Statement of Compliance must state that the State agency will not discriminate in providing services, financial aid or other benefits under these programs, or in its administrative practices, such as staff assignments, professional meetings and use of State offices.

It must also include a list of any instances of non-compliance with Title VI and must outline the methods of administration, staffing arrangements, assignment of responsibilities and procedures that the State agency will follow to remedy these instances of non-compliance.

Current U.S. Office of Education programs for which a State Statement of Compliance is required are:

National Defense Act of 1958
- Employment Acquisition (Title III)
- Guidance, Counseling and Testing (Title V-A)
- Educational Statistics Service (Title X, Section 1009)

Smith-Hughes Act (Vocational Education)
George-Barden Act (Vocational Education)
Vocational Education Act of 1963
- Vocational Education (Section 3)
- Work-Study Programs (Section 13)

Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962
- (Arrangements for Training)

Economic Opportunity Act
- Adult Basic Education (Title II-B)

Public Library Services and Construction Act
Educational Improvement for Handicapped Children and Youth Act

State Statements of Compliance will also be required for programs under the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Estimated payments under this Act going to the States covered in this report are as follows:

	Title I, education of children of low income families	Title II, school library resources, text-books and other instructional materials	Title III, supplementary educational centers and services	Title V, Strengthening State Departments of Education	Total Federal payments
Alabama	$ 31,738,000	$ 1,734,277	$ 1,843,542	$ 411,619	$ 35,727,438
Florida	27,896,230	2,604,055	2,702,679	549,680	33,752,644

Con't

Georgia	$ 34,517,871	$ 2,174,706	$ 2,229,496	$ 495,621	$ 39,417,694
Mississippi	28,028,704	1,218,307	1,338,363	319,780	30,905,154
South Carolina	25,519,125	1,320,035	1,449,458	340,190	28,628,808
Tennessee	31,092,525	1,826,346	1,965,556	428,208	35,312,635

In some States, funds for all current Federal programs distributed through the State are handled by the State department of education. In other States, there may be State library boards or State vocational educational boards that handle funds for Federally-assisted programs. It is necessary that each State agency involved sign a Statement of Compliance for the specific programs in which it participates.

A comparison of payments to States and local school districts under existing programs and under programs covered by the new law is as follows:

	Existing programs direct to school districts	Existing programs handled through States	New Elementary and Secondary Act	Combined
Alabama	$ 8,389,900	$ 8,673,671	$ 35,727,438	$ 52,791,009
Florida	12,991,200	11,714,673	33,752,644	58,458,517
Georgia	11,880,700	11,500,389	39,417,694	62,798,783
Mississippi	2,800,500	7,010,751	30,905,154	40,716,405
South Carolina	6,550,000	7,396,482	28,628,808	42,575,290
Tennessee	3,786,300	9,907,082	35,312,635	49,006,017

Information on State compliance in the States covered by this report is as follows:

STATE AGENCY STATEMENTS OF COMPLIANCE ACCEPTED:

Alabama Public Library Service

STATE AGENCY STATEMENTS OF COMPLIANCE RECEIVED AND UNDER REVIEW:

Alabama State Department of Education

Florida State Board of Education
Florida State Library

Georgia State Board of Education

Mississippi State Board of Education
Mississippi Library Commission

South Carolina State Board of Education
South Carolina State Library Association

Tennessee State Board of Education

* * * * *

Local school districts that wish to participate in Federal assistance programs administered by the Office of Education directly or through the States can comply with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in one of three ways:

A school district that is completely desegregated should submit an Assurance of Compliance (HEW 441) stating that it does not discriminate and can assure full compliance.

A school district that is under a final court order directing complete desegregation should submit a copy of the order and indicate its plans and procedures for carrying out the order.

A school district that is not fully desegregated and is not under a final court order should submit its detailed plan for bringing about desegregation.

Information on local school districts in States covered by this report is as follows:

ASSURANCES OF COMPLIANCE RECEIVED:

Alabama	102
Florida	2
Georgia	172
Mississippi	3
South Carolina	2
Tennessee	136

School districts not completely desegregated that submit Assurances of Compliance are being asked to submit additional information to indicate their plan for bringing about desegregation.

COURT ORDERS RECEIVED:

Alabama	3
Florida	13
Georgia	5
Mississippi	2
South Carolina	5
Tennessee	8

VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION PLANS RECEIVED:

Alabama	7
Florida	52
Georgia	19
Mississippi	26
South Carolina	75
Tennessee	8

* * * * *

Public and private colleges and universities that receive Federal assistance for programs administered by the Office of Education are required to submit an assurance of full compliance, including non-discrimination in all dormitories, facilities, and activities of the institution.

Assurances of Compliance have been received from the following institutions of higher education in the States covered by this report:

Alabama

Alabama A & M College
Alabama College
Auburn University
Alabama State College

Alabama Con't

Birmingham Southern College
Daniel Payne College
Florence State College
Huntington College
Jacksonville State College
Livingston State College
Miles College
Northwest Alabama Jr College
Oakwood College
Sacred Heart College
St Bernard College
Spring Hill College
Stillman College
Talladega College
Troy State College
Tuskegee Institute
University of Alabama
University of South Alabama
McKenzie College
Southern Union College
State Junior College

Florida

Brevard Engineering College
Brevard Jr College
Central Florida Jr College
Chipola Jr College
Miami-Dade Junior College
Daytona Beach Jr College
Edison Junior College
Edwards Waters College
Embry-Riddle Aero Institute
Florida A & M University
Florida College
Florida Memorial College
Florida Presbyterian College
Florida State University
Gibbs Jr College
Gulf Coast Jr College
Hampton Jr College
Indian River Jr College
Jackson Junior College
Jacksonville University
Johnson Junior College
Lk Cty Jc & For Rnger Sch
Jr College Broward County
Lake-Sumter Jr College
Lincoln Jr College
Manatee Jr College
North Florida Jr College
Okaloosa Walton Jr College
Palm Beach Jr College
Pensacola Jr College
Polk Junior College
Rollins College
Roosevelt Jr College
Rosenwald Jr College
St Johns River Jr College
St Petersburg Jr College

Florida Con't

Southeastern Bible College
Stetson University
Suwannee River Jr College
University of Florida
University of Miami
University of South Florida
University of Tampa
Volusia Co Community College
Washington Jr College
Monroe
University Miami School Medicine

Georgia

Fort Valley State College
Georgia Institute of Tech
Georgia Military College
Georgia Southwestern College
Georgia State College
Womans College of Georgia
Georgia Southern College
Gordon Military College
Medical Col of Georgia
Middle Georgia College
Morehouse College
Morris Brown College
North Georgia College
Oglethorpe University
Paine College
Piedmont College
Reinhardt College
Savannah State College
South Georgia College
Spelman College
Tift College
Toccoa Falls Inst Inc
University of Georgia
Valdosta State College
Wesleyan College
West Georgia College
Young Harris College

Mississippi

Alcorn A & M College
Coahoma Jr College
Delta State College
Itawamba Jr College
Jackson State College
Jones County Jr College
Mary Holmes Jr College
Millsaps College
Mississippi Indus College
University of Southern Mississippi
Missiasippi State Col for Women
Mississippi State University
Mississippi Valley State College
Natchez Jr College
Northwest Mississippi Jr College
Pearl River Jr College

Mississippi Con't

Parentiss Norm Indus Inst
Rust College
Tougaloo College
University of Mississippi
William Carey College
Wood Jr College
Copiah Lincoln Jr College
East Central Jr College
Nthest Mississippi Jr College
Saints Junior College
T J Harris Jr College

South Carolina

Benedict College
Central Wesleyan College
Citadel Military Col S C
Claflin College
Clemson University
Columbia College
Furman University
Lander College
Medical College of S C
Morris College
Newberry College
North Greenville Jr College
Presbyterian College
South Carolina St College
Univ of South Carolina
Voorhees School & Jr College
Winthrop College
Wofford College
Friendship Junior College
Lander College Foundation

Tennessee

Austin Peay State College
Belmont College
Bethel College
Carson Newman College
Christian Brothers College
Covenant College
Cumberland Col of Tenn
David Lipscomb College
East Tenn State University
Fisk University
Freed Hardeman College
George Peabody Col Tchrs
Hiwassee College
Knoxville College
Lambuth College
Lane College
Lee College
Le Moyne College
Lincoln Memorial Univ
Martin Jr College
Maryville College

Tennessee Con't

Meharry Medical College
Memphis State University
Middle Tennessee St Col
Owen College
Southern Col of Optometry
Southern Missionary Col
Southwestern at Memphis
Tenn AG & Indus St University
Tenn Polytechnic Institute
Tennessee Temple College
Tennessee Wesleyan College
Trevecca Nazarene College
Tusculum College
Union University
Univ of Chattanooga
University of the South
University of Tennessee
Vanderbilt University
William J Bryan College
Steed College

EDUCATION

Bank Street College of Education
CURRICULUM CONSULTATION SERVICE
103 East 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10035

Rose D. Risikoff, Director

CURRICULUM QUESTIONS FOR EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

(Based on an address to the Evaluation and Training Institute for Directors of Summer Institutes on Problems of Desegregation, held at Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana - October 13, 1965)

Since the interposition of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, desegregation is proceeding with somewhat less deliberation and with somewhat more speed. In hundreds of classrooms, bodies are being "mixed" as Dan Dodson expresses it. A better description would be to say that more minority group children, than ever before, are sitting in classrooms near and with majority group children. What does this juxtaposition tell us about how the newcomers feel or how they have been received by teachers or classmates? Have they been inevitably relegated to slower learning groups? Have they entered a world in which they are merely tolerated, a world without color or multi-cultural refraction; a world unrelated to their homes and family circumstances?

Desegregation is essential to the healthy survival of American democracy, but desegregation, unaccompanied by educational change, is but a faltering step on the pathway to equal educational opportunity. Advocates of quality education grow "steadily more certain that no major problem of education..... more really effective teaching and learning.....has ever been solved solely

or even primarily, by legal or administrative action. Such action lays the necessary groundwork and provides the setting in which good teachers may carry on their work. But the critical point in any educational system is found ultimately in the relation between the teacher and the pupil."[1]

American democratic ideals have urged that the individual achieve the best that is in him; and that society develop the maximum potentialities of each individual at every level of ability. When schools provide each youngster with the particular education that most benefits him, then and only then does equality of opportunity become a meaningful concept.[2] Although the ideal was professed early in American history with the establishment of free public education, the record of draft rejections alone emphasizes the wide gap between ideal and realization.

*1. Fischer, John H. "Education Problems of Segregation and Desegregation of Public Schools", Proceedings of Fourth Annual Education Conference - Washington, D. C. 1962 p. 14

*2. Gardner, John W. Excellence Harper Bros. 1961

National interest underscored by presidential endorsement has presented the educational establishment with unprecedented financial support in expanding and improving educational programs. This paper argues that a critical examination and appraisal of the curriculum should now engage the energies of the education establishment. By curriculum is meant the sum total of experiences, within and without the school, which the school utilizes to further the aims of education.[3] The effective curriculum is one which reflects current forces and their impact, and utilizes all appropriate resources to secure the values and higher purposes of our society.[4] The effective curriculum is based on solid psychological foundations established through research in cognition.

Such research insists that learning must express itself as observable behavior if it is to persist beyond the initial learning experience. The most fundamental law of learning behavior is that learning occurs when it is successful, rewarded, and re-inforced by successful repetition.[5] Practice alone will not ensure appropriate behavior as many teacher has discovered who

*3. Board of Ed. of the City of New York. Curriculum Development in the Elementary Schools 1955

*4. Fischer, John H. Curriculum Crossroads - Teachers College, N. Y. 1962

*5. Watson, Goodwin. "What Do We Know About Learning", Revolution in Education, Bantam Books, N. Y. 1964

assigned some unruly child to one hundred repetitions of "I must not talk!" Threats and punishment will not ensure appropriate behavior. Children retort to such strategies with their own strategies of indifference, withdrawal, hostility or truancy. Teacher guidance, approbation, the support that immediately follows the desired behavior establishes strong connections between the correct response and satisfaction.

Such satisfactions are most significant in transferring to other life situations. Success promotes purposeful rational behavior and further learning. Failure produces bewilderment, disorganization, and irrationality.

Psychological research has added more dimensions to the concepts of physiological and psychological maturation or readiness as a pre-requisite to learning. Readiness requires a reservoir of pre-school language experience with adults in an environment that provides a fair chance for success in new situations. Children must be free from anticipation and expectation of failure. They must perceive the importance of the new learning and its relevancy to their personal developmental needs.

It is worth repeating that for all learners, adult as well as children, success is of maximal significance. Success is the child's recognition of growth in self-mastery, in skill, in self-expression - the growth may be minute or considerable, it must be genuine and earned. Children are not deceived by fulsome praise lavished by sentimental teachers. Confronted with such subterfuges, children develop subtle avoidances of failure. But success re-inforced by simple sincere acceptance leads to further effort and further success.

Since learning is purposeful, the learner's motives must be meaningful to himself; specific and reasonably certain of attainment. Strange that adults who recognize for themselves the importance of purpose in their learning, assume that children will accept superimposed goals without demurral!

Research reminds us that thinking occurs when the individual is challenged, puzzled, curious, and emotionally involved. Rarely if ever is it responsive to the authoritative direction "Think!" or the bland assumption "You know the answer." Children do measure, compare, classify, evaluate, and form judgments. How correct they are in appraising the underlying emotions

of their teachers, in the face of verbal assertions to the contrary! Effective thinking or problem-solving takes place when children select activities, raise their own questions and seek their own answers.

Applying such conceptualizations of the psychology of learning, a successful school program today must devote itself to three simultaneous fronts[6]: it must demonstrate the close relationship between school and the outer world to the pupils; it must include skills and competencies essential for effective participation in the outer world; it must arouse aspirations for broader channels of living in our emerging society. A tremendous variety of approaches are to be sought to meet the needs of different age levels, different abilities, different outlooks.

In the narrow sense, Curriculum development will not by itself improve the act of teaching.[7] It will, it can, and it does create opportunities for improved learning. By providing teachers with new and improved tools, curriculum development changes teacher behavior and attitudes.

*6. Nat'l Education Association - Education and the Disadvantaged, Wash., D.C. 1962

*7. Goodlad, John. Planning and Organizing for Teaching, NEA, Wash. D.C. 1963

For the 1960's have cast the teacher in a new role. No longer is she the primary source of information, the task setter, the drill master. Her role is far more complex. She taps the widest available resources to seek material. She creates an atmosphere of acceptance and respect within the classroom. She enforces or blights the self-esteem of the learners.[8] From a wide spectrum, she chooses those learning experiences which will spark children's interest. She examines each child to determine his own strengths and weaknesses and the learning style to which he best accomodates himself. She is the bridge between child and home, between school and community, between the child's limited present and his expanding future.

Here lies a challenge to teacher training institutions, to in-service programs, to seminars, discussion groups, to all the forces which will strengthen teachers in their new roles.

No less crucial to success in learning is the child's view of himself. If the teacher must be regarded as the facilitator of learning, the child must perceive himself as teachable.

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*8. Taba, Hilda. "Cultural Deprivation and School Learning" - Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, April 1964

Martin Deutsch[9] has pointed out that schools may reinforce invidious self-concepts that children have or may instead develop a positive self-image. Holt devotes an entire volume to children's expectations of their failure in elementary school.[10] But self-respect is acquired through success at one's tasks. It is enhanced by the recognition that one's family and group is respected, valued as positive assets to the society. Schools which are color-blind or culture-blind are almost as damaging to self-respect as schools which are segregated. Multi-racial and multi-cultural textbooks connect the learner to his world. As children work with paints and clay; as they express themselves in music, rhythm, dramatic play, they realize their humanness as creative individuals. Also, success and the expectation of success determine whether the child will be moving in the mainstream of progress or shunted into the increasing group of hopelessly unemployables.

The emerging curriculum must present every opportunity for success. Are there other ways of providing for individual differences than by the fixed two or three-track educational systems suggested by Conant? Are there ways

*9. Deutsch, Martin - Some Psychological Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged - Prentice-Hall, New York 1964.

*10. Holt, John - How Children Fail - Pitman Publ. Co., New York 1964

of grouping children so that the stigma of failure is not rigidly molded in the first few years of school life? Are there materials and modes of instruction which permit more self-pacing?

Much more research, preferably in action situations, is needed to determine classroom groupings less dependent on academic achievement than they have been in the past. Can children be formed into small interest groups working on short-term tasks? Can they be gathered by the teacher for specific skill training at different intervals? May not some children work better alone or with a buddy? To what extent have we permitted rigid conceptions about peer-group relationships to limit flexible grouping? If adults learn together effectively without reference to age, might not older and younger children meet in some classes? Have we capitalized on everyone's delight in showing off, to encourage older children to help with younger ones? Have college students been included to assist in high schools, or high school students to aid in the lower grades? The rigid homogeneous grouping of the past was more of a phantasy than a reality, since the individuals of any group varied in more respects than they resembled each other. For the children who were in the "dumb" class, the label frequently dimmed whatever timid hope of

success the child brought to school.

Heterogeneous classes with wide range of potential demand new materials and devices. Here it becomes urgent that the establishment come to the aid of the teacher.[11] Devices that provide vicarious experiences must become standard school equipment - TV's, tapes, films, books. Children need free access to models which help them grasp fundamental structures. They need recourse to individual instructional materials which are programmed for small increments of information, not as a substitute for the teacher but as a source of self-paced self-rated learning. They should be surrounded by a wealth of pictures, texts, trade-books, maps, charts. The teacher will still remain the significant adult in the classroom; the new equipment will help to clarify the children's values, personalize their experiences, and provide opportunities for intellectual discovery.

*11. Bruner, Jerome - Process of Education - Random House, N. Y. 1960

No apology is needed for technological and other innovations in education, because no individual teacher can, in herself, totalize the wealth of resources in the fields of knowledge. The scientific and technological explosion of the present century is almost beyond belief. In 1960 alone, 60,000,000 pages of research and development were published in 55,000 journals.[12] The teacher therefore assists her students to use the skill tools to solve their problems. She depends on other broad sources of information, notably, the library which as a center of learning, promotes self-direction and provides breadth of purpose for children. The library has outgrown its former aspect as a collection of catalogued books. Stocked with tapes, films, records, teaching machines, it can be a rich resource for teachers as well as children. The teacher may use it as a professional fount, and as a laboratory for the testing and exploration of new materials.

Along with sources of information, the teacher needs broad guides in the form of courses of study. New curricula in specific areas have been devised in the sciences and in mathematics and extensive revisions in the humanities and the social studies are on the way.[13] For the first time, the best minds

*12. Washington Post - "Computer Software is New Frontier" - Aug 11, 1963

*13. New Curriculum Developments - Report of ASCD's Commission on Current Curriculum Development Washington, D. C. 1964

of the country have joined forces to structure the new knowledge into exciting series of lessons. These new courses need testing in the classroom by the experienced and beginning practitioners. They should be demonstrated in special centers to which teachers may turn. They should, after testing and evaluation, be incorporated by teacher-training institutes in the hope that the usual time-lag between practice and theory be curtailed.

In the lower schools, primary attention must be devoted to the area of reading which reaps the largest number of academic failures. Extensive experimentation should resolve some of the controversy between the phoneticists, the structural linguists, and the exponents of sight reading. Some progress has been enthusiastically reported with the use of Pittman's initial teaching alphabet (ITA). Several programs which present minute increments of phonetics in structured situations are being tested with illiterate adults and discouraged teen-agers. Very promising in terms of motivation and self-direction is the individualized reading program in which children select their books from a wide interest and ability range of titles. A variety of multi-cultural and urban reading series such as the Bank Street Readers, and the Great Cities Reading Improvement Program, bring city life and cultural differences

into the classroom.

One of the significant contributions of the Headstart program is its carefully planned language art lessons. Children need many models of good speech and opportunities for communication about the things that delight them. Language laboratories, children's records, and selected radio or television programs make desirable speech important to the listener. The Communications Laboratory of the Bank Street College of Education is producing reading incentive films which present a well-known actor reading a children's story. The emotional impact is strong as the child realizes that his teacher is holding the very book which is being shown on the screen. Such films give children new and more acceptable models for imitation than they may find even in school.

New roles, based on new applications of newly formulated laws of learning; new courses of study; new instructional materials. In an age of superstandardization, what will expedite rapid educational change? The most creative and imaginative approaches by all agents of change in the community need to be marshalled to temper and adapt the individual styles of teachers,

beginners or experts to curriculum reform.[14] Administrators and supervisors too need strong community support in streamlining patterns of classroom organization. All concerned with the vast responsibilities of nurturing young Americans must see the child as Henry Steele Commager did when he said, "A child's mind is not a vessel to be filled but a flame to be kindled."

This new binocular view of the child and the curriculum for his maximum development will put instructional flesh on the administrative bones. Desegregation is a limited goal; but the provision of the best learning climate for all children, of all ethnic origins, on all economic levels is the ultimate goal. The time has come to translate theory into practice; to achieve through the collaboration of disciplinary experts, educators, and community leaders, long-standing democratic ideals of equal educational opportunity.

On behalf of children who have been robbed of their birthright by economic circumstance, community prejudice, or parental deprivation

*14. Education of Deprived and Segregated - A Coop. Research Project Bank Street College of Education, N. Y. 1963

Kenneth Clark has brilliantly summarized our common goals,[15] "Let us approach these children in terms of educational requirements, standards and demands as if they were human beings and not lepers. Let us not teach these children as if they were different, as if one had to be specially careful how you teach them to read. Human beings can learn; their lower class predecessors of a generation or two ago learned. They can learn if they are respected. They can learn if it is communicated to them that those who are responsible for teaching them believe they can learn and, above all, they can learn if they are taught and if they are taught with precisely the same standards and quality of instruction as are given to more privileged children."

*15. Clarke, Kenneth - "Clash of Cultures in the Classroom" - Learning Together Chi. 1964

EDUCATION

MAJOR SOURCE OF LEADERS

Negro Colleges Linked to Opportunity

By PHIL GAILEY

Negro colleges in the South are the "major source of opportunity for Negroes," the president of an Atlanta Negro college said here Tuesday.

"The new frontier for Negroes is in the South and I believe our Negro colleges will be at the heart of it in training Negro leadership," said Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College.

At the closing session of a two-day seminar sponsored by the College Entrance Examination Board, Dr. Henderson said he disagrees with those who urge the closing of Negro colleges.

In fact, he said, more financial support is needed to strengthen them and make them attractive to white students.

He said Clark College actively recruits white students.

He said perhaps more than 90 per cent of the South's Negro students are educated in Negro colleges, which have been "performing miracles for a number of years."

"They told us it was impossible. But we've been making silk out of cotton in the colleges," Dr. Henderson said.

For many years free debate was permitted in these colleges only in the South, he asserted.

Earlier, a Louisiana educator told the seminar that young persons are needed as consumers and not as producers in today's society.

"The stark fact we must grasp firmly is that in our society the young person is surplus. He is not needed as a producer; however, he is needed as a consumer," said Irwin Berg, dean of the college of arts and sciences at Louisiana State University.

Young persons could flood the job market if the war in Viet Nam suddenly ended, he said, and their return to civilian life could create a crisis unless they were carefully phased out.

John Popham, managing editor of the Chattanooga Times, said as the academic world moves into new fields of knowledge seeking answers to our problems, the press has a responsibility to communicate this knowledge to society.

He said people must dismiss old attitudes and ideas and "recognize that academic attitudes demand a reconstructing of the social order."

The South, he added, is providing the human laboratory that is needed in bringing about change.

James Edmonson, president of Judson College in Marion, Ala., said the church - related liberal arts colleges are running out of money and time.

He said the student will probably wind up paying a greater share of the cost.

"Business admire us for turning down federal aid; however, they offer us very little in financial support," he said.

John Frazer, president of Kentucky Independent Colleges Foundation, Louisville, said too much recognition is being given to researchers while outstanding teachers receive little recognition.

"We are going to have to put something back into teaching," Frazer said.

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EDUCATION

Georgia Lags In Education

AC 3/13/66

Despite 540 Per Cent Hike In Spending Over 20 Years

By TOM GREENE

Georgia has increased its financing of all levels of education by a whopping 540 per cent since 1948, but "still lags behind the nation and even some of its Southern neighbors with lesser resources."

This is the finding of an exhaustive survey of Georgia's educational financing released this week by the Georgia Educational Improvement Council, a state agency created in 1964 to carry out the work of the Governor's Commission to Improve Education.

Income earmarked for education in the state—elementary, secondary and college — has jumped from $78 million in 1948-49 to a projected $498 million for 1966-67. Over half of this total increase has taken place since 1960.

(These figures do not include income for capital outlay or auxiliary enterprises, but is limited to educational and general operating expenses.)

GEORGIA now commits 58 per cent of all its state funds to education.

Most of the increase has gone for higher education, from $16 million to $112 million, or a 590 per cent increase, while income for elementary and secondary education has jumped 527 per cent from $62 million to $386 million.

Per pupil income has increased from $103 to $400 for elementary and secondary education and from $638 to $2,357 for higher education.

Income for higher education

Associated Press Wirephoto

SHORTY CUT

Cincinnati, March 12—Charles Reis has graduated from the Cincinnati Barber College and also has the distinction of being one of the shortest barbers in Ohio. He's only 4 feet 9. To trim tall cus-

out the work of the Governor's Commission to Improve Education.

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Per pupil income has increased from $103 to $400 for elementary and secondary education and from $638 to $2,357 for higher education.

Income for higher education alone will be greater next year than was the total educational income in 1950-'51, according to the report.

It has required an average of almost $13 million a year just to stay even because of inflation, the survey reports, while $4.4 million a year has gone to take care of growing enrollment. Over $6 million yearly has gone for enrichment of the school programs.

THE REPORT admits that the inflationary amount cited is somewhat exaggerated because it includes the increase in salaries for teachers and other educational staff, which is necessary in attracting and holding qualified personnel. To this extent, it can be attributed to the improvement of educational quality. About half the inflationary figure, or $6.5 million, can be attributed to this.

During the 19 - year period covered in the report, income for public education has increased more than two and a half times as fast as personal income in the state.

State appropriations, the leading source of income, has increased about seven times over the period, from $42.4 million to $296.4 million. State appropriations alone for 1966-67 are greater than all educational income in 1961-62. Local funds provide the second largest amount, with federal appropriations, gifts, grants, endowments, student fees and other sources providing the rest.

Gifts and endowments have shown a sharp increase over the period, from less than half a million dollars in 1948-49 to $11.2 million.

"The staggering increase of income for the support of educational operations in Georgia since 1948 made possible the meeting of basic challenges with solid educational achievements," the report says.

SOME OF these achievements are providing educational opportunities for 57 per cent more elementary and secondary students and almost 100 per cent more college students; a 62 per cent increase in the number of lower school teachers and 72 per cent college faculty; increased average salary of elementary and secondary teachers by 201 per cent and college by 118.5 per cent; increased the number of high school graduated by 2½ times and many other achievements.

But "even a casual review of the data presented . . . indicates that the need for increasing income to support educational operations will continue" because school enrollments will continue to grow, inflation will continue, and demands for enrichment of educational programs will continue.

Georgia has "provided enough income to care for unprecedented increase in enrollment to cope with heavy inroads of inflation and to enrich education through expansion and qualitative improvement of programs," the report concludes.

"In so doing, Georgia has narrowed the gap between its relatively low rankings in most indexes of financial support and that of other states in the region and the nation.

"THE GAPS, however, are still too large and there are other states in the region and nation exerting a greater effort relative to their financial capacity than Georgia."

Conditions requiring large increases in educational spending will continue to exist, the study shows, and to remedy the weaknesses "long-range financial study, planning and public dissemination" of the findings are needed on a systematic, continuing basis.

"No such regularized procedure exists for long-range financial planning" now, the report said, and suggests that perhaps the Educational Improvement Council, representing a cross section of the state, should take on the job.

Associated Press Wirephoto

SHORTY CUT

Cincinnati, March 12—Charles Reis has graduated from the Cincinnati Barber College and also has the distinction of being one of the shortest barbers in Ohio. He's only 4 feet 2. To trim tall customers, Reis, 19, merely climbs up on his stand and snips away.

EDUCATION

SREB Gets $300,000 Grant To Boost Negro-College Role

By TOM GREENE

The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Education Board has received a $300,000 grant from the Carnegie Corp. for a project to improve the 118 predominantly Negro colleges in the South.

The project was announced jointly Sunday by the New York corporation and SREB.

The money will be used to provide staff assistance for SREB's newly formed Commission on Higher Educational Opportunity in the South, which will direct the project.

The commission is composed of university educators and state officials from the 15 member states of SREB. Gov. Sanders, SREB chairman, will serve as ex-officio chairman of the commission and has appointed its members, who include O. C. Aderhold, president of the University of Georgia.

George Watts Hill Jr. of Durham, N.C., chairman of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education, has been named commission chairman.

DR. WINFRED L. GODWIN, director of SREB, said the commission will seek to develop the predominantly Negro colleges and universities to maximum effectiveness so they may play a full role in providing increased educational opportunity in the South.

The commission will have two major tasks, Dr. Godwin said:

—To prepare for publication and broad dissemination a report on the general status of predominantly Negro institutions in the South, their changing roles and relationships. The report will take about a year to prepare, he said.

—To prepare guidelines for their future development in the total context of higher education.

"For the foreseeable future," he added, "despite growing integration of previously segregated institutions, Negro institutions are likely to be the major source of higher educational opportunity for Negroes. Also, many of them will become less predominantly Negro as they admit larger numbers of white students."

Dr. Godwin said SREB will seek additional public and private funds to carry out the work of the commission.

AC 3/15/66

$22 Million Bonds Asked for Schools

EDUCATION

By DICK HEBERT

Atlanta School Superintendent Dr. John Letson called Monday for a $22 million school bond issue that would push Atlanta's school bonding capacity to the hilt and probably mean a 1 mill property tax increase.

He told the recently created Citizens Bond Commission that this $22 million does not come close to meeting present needs, but that with it "we believe we can provide a full school day for every Atlanta pupil."

The meeting with school officials was the bond commission's first session since organization. It was formed to study whether Atlanta should call a bond referendum and is expected to make its report this spring.

Letson told newsmen, " I don't believe there'll be any reason why the commission won't go the limit." He said the $22 million at least will "get us on the road toward meeting some of the urgent needs."

Letson told the commission members that the most urgent need is to remove double session schooling that now forces some 2,970 students in 11 elementary schools to get only a half day of schooling.

"This bond issue would mean the difference between double sessions and a full day of classes for these children for the first time in a long time," he said.

Letson told newsmen "We're

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

$22 Million Bond Issue Sought for City's Schools

Continued From Page 1

shooting for a bond election in May."

He said the $22 million in bonds would likely mean a tax increase of one mill, or a dollar in taxes for each $1,000 of assessed valuation.

He said the bond issue doesn't come near meeting needs of future growth or of needs that may be caused by annexation into Atlanta of the Sandy Springs and Adamsville areas.

$62 MILLION

He said total needs of the city school system now stand at $62.4 million—for 14 new elementary schools, three high schools, additions and renovations to 20 elementary schools and 13 high schools, two new stadiums and a $6 million Central Office Building.

He listed top priority needs that alone total more than the allowed $22 million in bonds. The list totals $26.4 million, of which $5 million would go for a new Simpson-Hightower High School.

The list of top priorities also includes a $2.1 million Vine City junior high, a new $1.5 million elementary school to take care of children in the proposed Washington-Rawson urban renewal housing project, and five other new elementary schools.

IN RENOVATIONS

It also includes $6.85 million in additions or renovations to existing schools, $400,000 in new libraries for elementary schools, $450,000 for relighting in existing schools, $480,000 for 40 supplementary classrooms and $1.32 million for land acquisition.

With slide presentations, the superintendent showed how Atlanta school children are going to classes in the Old Folks Home, former dwellings, scout huts, school buildings built during the 1800s and on streets that have become heavily traveled in dense business districts.

"We continue to fall behind when we do not spend at least $5 million a year on our school plant," he warned.

His first priority list included:

New schools: Simpson-Hightower High, $5 million; Vine City Jr. High, $2.1 million; Washington-Rawson Elementary, $1.5 million; Harlan Road Elementary, a replacement for Lee Street Elementary being razed for urban renewal, a new Pryor Elementary, and a new D. H. Stanton Elementary, $900,000 each; English Avenue Primary, $300,000.

Additions and renovations: Washington, Northside, Dykes and Fulton High schools, $1 million each; Carver High gym, music and ROTC addition, $900,000; Wesley-Whitefoord Elementary, $500,000; Gideons Elementary, $450,000; Humphries and Venetian Elementary, $400,000 each; Blair Village Elementary, $200,000.

Elementary school libraries at Brandon, Capitol Avenue, Carter, Cascade Connally, Cooper Street, East Lake, English Avenue, Gordon, Goldsmith, Grant Park, Harris, John Hope, E. P. Howell, Inman Park, McClatchey, Mount Vernon, Pitts, Ragsdale, Spring Street, Walker Street, Ware and Wesley Avenue schools, totaling $400,000.

Relighting at Dykes High, Murphy High, Carver Vocational and the elementary schools of Beecher Hills, Birney, Blair Village, Brewer, Bryant, Carey, Clement, Cleveland, Collier Heights, Cook, Craddock, Forrest, Gideons, Gilbert, Hardnett, Harper, Haygood, Herndon, Highland, M. S. Howell, Hutchinson, J. M. Jones, Kimberly, Mayson, McClatchey, Mitchell, Peterson, Reynolds, Rivers, Scott, Slater, D. H. Stanton, Tuxedo, Waters, Wesley, Whitefoord and Wright, totaling $450,000.

Supplementary classrooms (40 units) at Walter George High and the elementary schools of Ben Hill, Collier Heights, Hardnett, M. Howell, Hutchinson, Lin, M. Mitchell and Reynolds, $480,000 total.

Land for Dykes High addition, $225,000; for English Avenue Primary, $100,000; for Lee Street Elementary replacement, $155,000; for a new D. H. Stanton Elementary, $220,000; for Vine City Junior High, $500,000, and for Washington-Rawson Elementary, $120,000.

EDUCATION 3/17/66 AC

State School Board Adopts $1,200 Teacher Pay Raise

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

The State Board of Education Wednesday adopted a $1,200 a year salary increase for beginning teachers and comparable raises for experienced teachers effective in the fall of 1967.

The $60 million in raises which will peg the minimum annual salary of a beginning teacher at $5,200 cannot become effective unless the money is appropriated by the General Assembly.

State School Supt. Jack P. Nix said the proposed increases will be in the biennium budget the Department of Education is preparing to send to the Georgia Legislature in January.

The pay raises are necessary, Nix said, "to keep the brighter minds coming into the field of education."

Georgia will need an additional 4,000 teachers next fall to handle increased school enrollment, he said. Authorities estimate that Georgia colleges will only graduate about 2,700 trained teachers this year.

The additional teachers must be attracted from other areas and other fields, said Nix, if Georgia is to maintain the proper teacher-pupil ratio.

The raises, Nix added, will bring Georgia teacher salaries up to the national level.

"They will offer school boards and superintendents a chance to be selective about who they'll put in the classroom.

"Our salaries must become competitive or we'll never have quality education," he told the board.

State School Board Chairman James Peters of Manchester said he favored the increase but felt it was too small.

"We ought to go to a $6,000 minimum now," the 81-year-old chairman said.

Peters said that since the state is expecting a $97 million surplus this year it can easily afford the adopted pay scale.

EDUCATION

American Federation of Teachers

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483

10 West 135 Street
New York, N.Y. 10037
April 7, 1966

Dr. Emory Via, Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

I was certainly heartening to observe the wide participation of labor, education and civic organizations in the Regional Conference of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta on March 26th. The contribution of your organization was appreciated by me because even as a northerner I've been aware of the influence of your work.

This summer the American Federation of Teachers in cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will strive to establish Freedom Schools in the south. The success of this venture will to a great extent depend upon the cooperation we will receive from local groups. It is because of your liberal record in the past that I am asking you to seriously note the materials I am enclosing about the general nature of our summer project. I shall be in touch with you to share your reactions and suggestions on this endeavor.

Until then I am,

Yours truly,

Richard Parrish

Richard Parrish, Vice-President
American Federation of Teachers

Encl:

An Introduction to the

Freedom School Project

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

The dramatic growth and accomplishments of the Freedom Schools in the South during the last two years have made them a major motivating force in the civil rights movement.

The Freedom School project is now directed by the American Federation of Teachers (A.F.T.) and is financed by a nation-wide A.F.T. sponsored campaign for contributions.

One of the unique features of the A.F.T. Freedom School Project, and also one of the greatest factors in its success, is the living arrangements of Freedom School teachers. Obviously, the ten dollars per week provided to help defray living cost is completely inadequate for independent subsistence. Like the Peace Corps, the major aim of the project is to bring people together in "in depth" living situations which commit them mutually to the task of educating people. Unlike the Peace Corps, Freedom School teachers live in the homes of the local people who share what they have with them in every way possible. Both the teachers-guests and the parents-hosts declare that the experiences of mutual dependence and mutual respect resulting from these relationships are some of the most enlightening and gratifying aspects of the project.

The conditions under which teachers live provide the best way to understand the conditions, traditions, race relations and education problems of the South. However, preparatory orientation sessions are conducted before the teachers are sent to their teaching locations. These orientation sessions must be attended by all teachers sponsored by the A.F.T. to provide the vital insights absolutely necessary for success and safety in the South.

The preparatory orientation provides the teachers with insights into all civil rights activities going on and planned in the areas. The teachers meet key people working in all civil rights activities and gain first-hand information from the leaders via lectures and group discussions. The teachers also get their introduction to the problems of the local areas by the local Negro people themselves. Thus both teachers and students begin their experiences in sharing at the very outset of the program and continue throughout the duration of the summer. The teachers also evaluate one another's attitudes and conceptions of what their roles are and should be in the unique setting of the freedom schools and the purposes for which they are intended by the people who attend them, the people who organize them and those who conduct them.

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See next page

GENERAL

FREEDOM SCHOOL

INFORMATION

The American Federation of Teachers Freedom School Project is a voluntary service arrangement. The funds raised will provide a minimum amount of assistance to the volunteers in terms of (1) reimbursement of transportation cost to and from the southern area of participation, (2) school supplies, (3) small reimbursement for those who use their own transportation in the freedom school area and (4) a small stipend for subsistence to each volunteer. Thus the volunteer must be prepared to live under circumstances much different than that to which they are accustomed.

The only money that will be available for use in the Freedom School project will be that which is raised in the spring and summer A.F.T. Freedom School Fund Drive. This money will be used to provide round-trip bus fare for the A.F.T. sponsored teachers who volunteer to serve in the project. The teachers may use whatever mode of transportation they wish; however, reimbursement for transportation cost will be the equivalent of round-trip bus fare in every case.

School supplies will be purchased with some of the money raised in the fund drive. The kinds and amount of materials will be determined by the availability of the requested materials and the teacher making the request. Teachers must be prepared to exercise their "creative genius and ingenuity" in providing themselves and their students with teaching aids at a minimum cost.

Those teachers who drive their own cars into the South and use them for transportation while serving the Freedom Schools will be provided a small stipend for gasoline purchases. Transportation is a crucial problem for volunteers in the South. However car pools provide a major solution in all areas where Freedom Schools are held. The local citizens involved in civil rights work and who own some kind of vehicle always help as much as possible.

In past summers occasionally a Freedom School teacher has been arrested. We must face the fact that this harrassment tactic may well be stepped up as the diehard segregationists realize the effectiveness of the Freedom School Program in building voter registration and participation in other civil rights activities.

Our teachers therefore are asked to arrange for some one "back home" to be responsible for producing bond money immediately upon request, in the sum of at least two hundred dollars ($200.00), in case of emergency. All such "harrassment" cases are invariably reversed by higher courts and the money returned.

For further information: Arthur Reese, Nat'l Director
AFT Freedom School Project
Detroit Federation of Teachers
8345 Puritan Ave.
Detroit, Mich. 48238

AR:ws
opeiu10aflcio

SCHOOLS IN SOUTH HELD INADEQUATE

Educators Assess Situation as Critical but Hopeful

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Dec. 4 — Thousands of Southern educators this week found their schools and colleges seriously, even "critically," inadequate.

Their mood, however, was one of confidence in the future of education in "the New South," backed by growing popular and business support.

"We have no place to go but up," one Southern college president said, "and the great thing we have done here is to recognize it."

The occasion here was a double conference—the annual meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, the voluntary academic accrediting agency for the 11 former Confederate states. And following it, the Southern Region Conference on Education, sponsored jointly by the association and the White House.

Through both meetings, nearly 3,000 principals, school administrators and college and university officials shared, with few dissents, in a candid public recital of the South's failings in education that Gov. Carl E. Sanders of Georgia called "a sorrowful litany."

Statistics Are Cited

The educators acknowledged:

¶That the South has the highest proportion of high school dropouts and the lowest proportion of high school graduates of any region in the country. In 1960, in all Southern states but Florida, more than 25 per cent of all persons over 25 years of age had less than eight years of schooling.

¶That the South has the highest rate of functional illiteracy of any region. The national average of draft rejections for mental deficiency is 24.7 per cent, the average rate in the South 40.6 per cent, and as high as 50 per cent in South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi.

¶That the national average of per-pupil expenditure for education is $525, and in the South $322. Per capita spending for education averages $102 in the nation, $71 in the South.

¶That nationally, the average state legislature has increased educational appropriations 75 per cent in the last five years, but in the South the increase has been 59 per cent.

¶That the average Southern teacher is paid $1,200 a year less than the national average teachers' salary, and the average professor is paid 20 per cent less.

¶That the inequality in the education of most Negroes has been virtually unchanged.

¶That a Southern high school graduate has only about half the probability of entering college of the average American high school graduate, and only one-third the probability of obtaining a degree of doctor of philosophy.

Bad For Business

The educators also agreed that the impoverishment of Southern education was bad for business in the "New South."

Governors Sanders and John B. Connally of Texas both called the self-criticism "part of the urgent educational process itself." Mr. Sanders endorsed a hard-hitting speech here Thursday by Vice President Humphrey in which Mr. Humphrey attacked the South's preoccupation with "its history." Mr. Humphrey repeatedly exhorted the educators to hasten the integration of Southern schools and to improve the quality of education for Negroes.

"Tomorrow," he declared, "the educator in the South will be seen as the creator of wealth, the man who brings money into the community."

'Something Is Wrong'

Mr. Connally, who is regarded as a conservative, said yesterday that "something has to be wrong with Southern education. We all know that something is wrong in a system where fewer than half our children who enter the first grade graduate from high school."

He said neither the Federal Government nor the states "intend to infringe upon local educational leadership and responsibility."

"The question," he said, "is do we have any local leadership to infringe on?"

Better education, Mr. Connally continued, is "a social and moral necessity for the South, but for those who won't think that far we can justify it on a purely economic basis."

This pragmatic theme was repeated at a panel discussion last night when Daniel J. Haughton, president of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, pledged the support of industry in the South "not only from a sense of duty but also out of self-interest."

Mr. Haughton, whose company is a major employer in Georgia, said that "the well-educated employes" of the South's new industries "want to live in communities where their sons and daughters can get an education."

Negro Education Noted

Dr. Frank A. Rose, president of the University of Alabama and chairman of the Southern Region Conference on Education, called integration "still the first problem of the South."

At a panel session Thursday night, the president of Fisk University, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, a Negro, declared:

"There is now a unifying spirit in the South. But only to the extent that we reduce the very wide gap between what Southern education should be and what it is today can we say that education in the South is in transition toward better things.

"This conference may have a more profound effect on education in the South than anything else that has happened in my lifetime."

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

Copies

EDUCATION

Earlham College

Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program
as authorized under Title V Part C Public Law 89-37
Higher Education Act of 1965 by the
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education
Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education
Physics for Displaced Teachers

1. Type of Program. This program is designed to provide training in physics for experienced secondary school teachers "who have been displaced in their employment as professional employees of local educational agencies as a result of changes of school populations brought about by the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, or the carrying out of the purpose of such act". This includes teachers who will be displaced following the current school year. The program will provide opportunities for teachers to take college-level courses in physics and mathematics. Upon completion of the program, fellows will be given a certificate showing satisfactory performance.

2. Duration of the Program. The program will be for the school year of 1966-67 beginning in September, 1966 and ending in June, 1967. During this period a fellow will enroll for nine courses, three in each of the three terms of the Earlham academic year.

3. Stipends for Fellows. Each applicant appointed as a fellow will receive a tax-free stipend of $4,000 for the academic year plus an allowance of $500 for each dependent (see definition below) not exceeding four. A fellow must pay for his own board, lodging, travel and books but will pay no tuition and fees to Earlham College other than those associated with board and lodging.

   The stipend will be paid in ten equal monthly installments with the first payable on October 1, 1966 and the last on July 1, 1967.

   For the purpose of determining the stipend a dependent may be a spouse, child or stepchild provided that the income of any such dependent does not exceed $2,000 for the year of the appointment. A fellow may also claim as dependents parents, parents-in-law, step-parents or other persons for whose support the fellow is legally responsible provided that the fellow is contributing more than half of any such person's support for the academic year 1966-67.

A fellow claiming a dependent on a "legal responsibility" basis must submit documents to prove that this legal responsibility exists.

4. Criteria for Admission to the Program. Applicants must have had at least two years experience teaching science, preferably but not necessarily at the secondary school level.

   Applicants must have completed at least two years of college work during which they maintained a grade point average of at least 2.5 out of a possible 4.0. They must have received credit for at least 12 semester credit hours (18 quarter hours) of college level science and mathematics, including at least three credit hours of chemistry or physics and at least three credit hours of mathematics.

   Preference will be given to applicants with more teaching experience and greater academic training, particularly in physics. The primary emphasis, however, will be on ability to benefit from the program.

   Eligible applicants will be those who have been displaced, or who at the end of the 1965-66 school year will be displaced from a teaching position, as a result of changes brought about by the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1965.

5. Kinds of Teachers who may Apply. Displaced Secondary and Junior High School teachers who have at least two years of experience teaching science; see details above.

6. Recommendations Required.

   (a) Teaching Ability and Dedication to Teaching

   Applicants should submit a letter from a principal or other person who has supervised the applicant's teaching, and/or from a fellow teacher or other person closely familiar with applicant's teaching, attesting his ability and dedication.

   (b) Academic Ability

   Applicants must submit an official transcript of their college work. Applicants must ask one of their college professors, preferably in science or mathematics, to write a letter concerning the applicant's ability to pursue a college program in physics and mathematics.

   (c) Alternative Recommendations

   If any of the above letters prove to be impossible to obtain, by reason of the scattering of school personnel, or because of a long period of time since the applicant's college career, the applicant must provide other evidence attesting to his teaching ability and to his ability to pursue the course outlined.

This alternative evidence may be in the form of letters from other qualified persons, or in some other form which gives valid testimony to the applicant's ability to carry on and benefit from the program.

7. Displaced Status of the Applicant

In order to comply with the purpose of Title V Section C of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and with the goals of this program, it is necessary that applicants have been or are about to be displaced from their teaching position by changes in school population brought about by the Civil Rights Act of 1965. To be considered for the Earlham College Program applicants must submit evidence of their displaced status. This evidence may be in the form of a letter from an official of the school system from which the applicant was displaced or from an official of a state or county teachers' association. This letter must verify that the applicant has been displaced from a teaching position because of changes within the school system brought about by integration of the schools. This displacement may have taken place within the last few years or may be scheduled to take place at the end of the present school year. The letter should outline the changes in the school system which resulted in the applicant's displacement. Other evidence of displacement may be presented if the letter described cannot be obtained.

8. Housing

Earlham College has some housing available for married students and for single students. These facilities will be made available to fellows attending under the displaced teacher program. In the event that sufficient facilities of this type are not available Earlham College will provide assistance to fellows in obtaining adequate housing in the immediate vicinity of the college. The cost of housing must be borne by the applicant.

9. Applications

Applications must be completed by April 5, 1966, in that all materials in connection with the application must bear postmarks not later than April 5.
These materials must include:

1. Application for Admission Part I to be sent to Earlham College
2. Application for Admission Part II to be sent to Measurement Research Center
3. Transcript of Academic Work to be sent to Earlham College
4. Letters of Recommendation to be sent to Earlham College
   (a) Two letters relative to teaching ability
   (b) One letter relative to academic ability
   (c) Evidence of displaced status

10. Notification of Applicants

On April 15, 1966 letters will be sent to all applicants notifying them of the disposition of their application. These notifying letters may take one of three forms:

(a) A letter offering the applicant a fellowship
(b) A letter stating that the applicant has been placed on the alternate list and will be offered a fellowship in the event that a fellowship is not accepted when first offered.
(c) A letter stating the inability of the program to support a fellowship for the applicant.

Applicants to whom fellowships are offered must notify the Earlham College Directors of the program of their acceptance or refusal of a fellowdhip. The letter stating this acceptance or refusal must be postmarked not later than April 25, 1966. Upon receipt of a refusal the fellowship will be offered to an alternate.

11. Nature of the Program

(a) Purpose. The purpose of this program is to take the displaced teacher where he is now and by added training improve his professional competence in the field of physics. We expect to achieve this goal by providing an opportunity for a teacher to take courses during the regular academic year. At Earlham College the academic year is divided into three equal terms. Courses are so designed that during any one term three courses constitute a full load. Fellows enrolled in this program are expected to take a full complement of nine courses. The courses selected would depend upon the experience and training of each fellow.

This program does not lead to a graduate degree itself, but may be a first step in attaining such a degree through additional study in a graduate degree program.

(b) Typical Programs*

(i) Fellow with minimal experience in physics:

Term I	Introduction to Physics I	Mathematics Preparation	Humanities Elective
Term II	Physics II or Elective	Mathematics 2	Social Science Elective
Term III	Physics 22	Electronics	Educ. Psychology and Measurement

(ii) Fellow with Introductory training in physics:

Term I	Introduction to Physics I	Wave Phenomena	Humanities Elective
Term II	Modern Physics	Theoretical Physics	Social Science Elective
Term III	Electronics	Electricity& Magn.	Educ. Psych.

(iii) Fellow with Certification to teach physics:

Term I	Wave Phenomena	Intro. Quantum Mechanics	Humanities Elective
Term II	Mechanics I	Electricity & Mag. I	Social Science Elective
Term III	Mechanics II	Physics Seminar	Educ. Psychology

* These programs are intended to be illustrative of the type of program which can be worked out to meet the needs of individual teachers.

(c) Outline of courses (Prerequisite courses are not indicated but generally increase with course number.)

1. Introduction to Physics I: The purposes of the course are to review the relationships among physical quantities, to make use of physical theory to find quantitative results, and to appreciate the ways twentieth century discoveries have influenced all phases of physics. The course will primarily cover electricity and magnetism. The first part will cover DC circuits; a concrete, practical subject

which can be treated with simple mathematics. Next, electric fields and potential will be introduced, with a review of topics from mechanics such as force and energy. Finally, magnetic fields, electromagnetic induction, and AC circuits will be treated. Laboratory will involve experiments which can be done in high school, such as PSSC and HPP experiments. An open-ended approach emphasizing discovery of concepts and relationships will be employed.

2. Introduction to PhysicsII: The level and content of this course will be determined from our experience in teaching Introduction to Physics I.
Introduction to Physics I. Second term fellows who are not well prepared should take this course. The course will probably involve a more extensive treatment of topics from mechanics.

3. Special Preparation in Mathematics: This is a course whose content and processes will be determined through conferences between the Mathematics and Physics departments, with consultation of the Education department. It will be designed to satisfy the need of fellows for a refresher mathematics course, and their need to experience both the thrust of modern mathematics as it is being taught in secondary schools <u>and</u> the problems inherent in applying this modern mathematics to physical phenomena. Thus we will seek to bring about an integration of so-called "pure" and "applied" mathematics which will enable fellows to handle the mathematical aspects of physics courses they take, and at the same time to perform adequately in such courses as Mathematics 21 if they show sufficient ability. It may be taught by a member of the Mathematics department, or a member of the Physics department, or jointly. Probable topics will be functions, equations, systems of equations, exponents, logarithms, trigonometric functions, identities, plus concepts (and simple applications) of differential and integral calculus.

Physics 21	General Physics I - Mechanics (Winter Term)
Physics 22	General Physics II - Heat, Sound and Light (Spring Term)
Physics 23	General Physics III - Electricity (Fall Term)
Physics 50	Introduction to Modern Physics (Atomic, Nuclear and Solid State Physics) (Winter Term)
Physics 51	Wave Phenomena (Optics and Waves) Fall Term
Physics 52	Classical Mechanics I Winter Term
Physics 53	Classical Mechanics II Spring Term
Physics 54	Theoretical Physics Winter Term
Physics 55	Thermal Physics Fall Term
Physics 56	Electronics and Instrumentation Spring Term

Physics 57 Electricity & Magnetism II Winter Term
Physics 58 Electricity & Magnetism III Spring Term
Physics 60 Introd. to Quantum Mechanics Fall Term

(d) Program Staff

(i) From the Department of Physics:

1. Stuart Whitcomb, Professor of Physics, Co-Director of Program; Ph.D. Ohio State, 1939
   Professor Georgia Tech., 1939-42, Kansas State U. 1942-57, Earlham College 1964-present
   Research Physicist, Ballistics Research Lab., 1944-45
   Research Physicist, Sandia Corporation, 1957-64
   Office of Naval Research, 1946-50
   Papers in I.R. Spectra, Solid State Mechanics.

2. George VanDyke, Professor of Physics, one-fourth time.
   Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1926
   Professor of Physics since 1930
   Publications in field of optical constants of crystals, X-rays, L-absorption edges

3. Clifford Crump, Professor of Physics, one-half time.
   Ph.D. Michigan, 1927
   Taught Carleton 1916-17, Ohio Wesleyan 1917-29, University of Minnesota 1929-30, Ripon 1936-57, Earlham 1957-present.
   Staff Member Yerkes Observatory full time, 1930-33
   Research interests, astronomy and astrophysics

4. Alfred Henderson, Instructor in Physical Sciences, one-fourth time.
   M.A. Columbia, 1948
   High School Teacher
   Vice Principal, Comprehensive High School, Chavakali, Kenya, Earlham AID project, 1960-64

5. James Wanner, Assistant Professor, consultant
   Ph.D., Harvard, 1963
   Swarthmore College 1963-66, Earlham 1966-present
   Staff Member, Sproul Observatory 1963-66
   Thesis work at Harvard's South Africa Observatory.

6. Larry Turner, Assistant Professor, consultant
   Ph.D. Carnegie, 1964
   Resident Research Associate, Argonne, summer 1964, summer and fall, 1965, consultant on bubble chamber construction
   Research in particle physics, 1 paper.

7. David Telfair, Professor of Physics
   (On leave, term I)
   Ph.D. Penn State, 1941
   Research Physicist, Monsanto, 1941-46
   Research, Kettering Foundation, 1958-60
   Visiting Professor Washington University, 1960-61, for development of new laboratory materials for introductory physics course.
   NSF Faculty Fellowship, 1960-61

(ii) From the Department of Education:

1. M. Daniel Smith, Assistant Professor of Education, Co-Director of the Program
   A.B. Dartmouth, Ed.D. Harvard 1961
   Teacher, private and public secondary schools, math and physics, 1950-57
   Fellow, Academic Year Institute, Harvard, 1957-58
   Consultant PSSC, 1958-60
   Consultant SMSG, 1959
   Research Assistant, B.F. Skinner teaching machine laboratories, 1960-61
   Consultant CBA, 1961-63
   Director, Earlham Self Instruction Project, 1961-62
   Programing consultant and project designer, Great Lakes Colleges Programed Instruction Project, 1963-present.
   Programing Coordinator and Director of Multi-Media Adjunct, Harvard Project Physics, 1964-present

2. Milton Kraft, Professor of Education and Chairman of the Education Department
   Consultant, special lecturer in Comparative Education

3. Annanell Hardt, Director of Elementary Education
   Special Consultant on the Education of the Disadvantaged.

12. <u>Placement of Fellows after Completion of Programs</u>

Following completion of the academic year program fellows will be given assistance by the Earlham College Placement Bureau in obtaining a teaching position. This may be in one of the many school systems which regularly visit Earlham College to recruit teachers or it may be in a large urban center such as Detroit in situations involving disadvantaged students. The

Detroit Public School Administration has already expressed an interest in fellows from this program.

13. Earlham College

(a) Earlham College is a small liberal arts college with an enrollment of about 1000 students. It was founded in 1847 by the Society of Friends and still receives strong support from that Society. It is located in Richmond, Indiana about 30 miles west of Dayton, Ohio and 70 miles east of Indianapolis. It is located on a spacious campus with a student body drawn from all of the United States and a dozen foreign countries.

(b) The Department of Physics is housed in Dennis Hall, the Natural Science Building built in 1951 . The department graduates about eight students each year and sends them to graduate schools or into industrial work with a strong foundation in both theoretical and experimental physics.

(c) As a church related liberal arts college Earlham endeavors to provide for its students a broad range of cultural opportunities. As regularly enrolled students, fellows in the displaced teachers program will be encouraged to participate in these activities. Speakers in all fields visit Earlham to speak at the semi-weekly All-College Convocation, to talk to less formal groups or to visit various classes and talk informally with students. In conjunction with Richmond Civic Groups the College sponsors an artists series to which the students are admitted free. There are active music and drama groups on the campus for those interested in the performing arts. The newly built Lilly Library houses a good selection of books and records. As a small school Earlham encourages considerable interaction between students and faculty in the various disciplines. The importance of this interaction is evidenced by the presence of a social science and a humanities elective in the programs outlined above.

(d) Recreational Opportunities. The spectator sports at Earlham range from football and soccer in the fall to volleyball and baseball in the spring, all on the intercollegiate level. An extensive intramural program is maintained for which fellows under this program would be eligible. Less formal recreational activities available include hiking, picnicking, horseback riding, tennis and similar individual sports.

Project Directors (to be contacted for further information)

Dr. Stuart E. Whitcomb
Department of Physics
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana 47374

Ref. in gen. correspondence file

Dr. M. Daniel Smith
Department of Education
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana 47374

EDUCATION

New School Standards Push Consolidations

AC 4/21/66

BY JOE BROWN

The State Board of Education adopted a set of "standards" Wednesday designed to force small schools eventually to consolidate or forfeit state funds.

Most of Georgia's 195 school systems receive better than 80 per cent of their budgets from the state.

"This is the single most important document ever adopted in the field of education," said Fourth District board member Donald Payton.

Payton, who authored SB 180 under which the board operates, says that bill empowers the board to withhold funds from systems which fail to meet the standards.

The new standards also ban athletic contests or high school entertainments on nights other than Friday or Saturday.

"These standards don't spell out numbers," explained Payton, "but to meet these standards you've got to have numbers."

Without sufficient pupils, say officials, a school system will not have enough state - paid teachers for all the subjects the new standards require.

Four-year high schools will have to offer at least 37 courses to be considered "standard."

Systems not having enough state - paid teachers may, of course, raise local money to hire enough teachers to meet the new board requirements. Most however, cannot afford to.

Payton says he believes most small systems will consolidate their schools before the board makes any move to cut funds.

"Their own pride will make them," said Payton. "The very stigma alone of being labeled substandard will be enough."

Payton added that the standards will be enforced with "discretion" in the case of isolated areas where pupils would have to travel long distances if schools were consolidated.

All schools will be surveyed during the 1966-67 school year to see if they meet the standards, Payton said.

Ninth District board member Cliff Kimsey, who is chairman of the committee that drew up the standards, says they "will increase the effectiveness of our schools."

The standards are in three categories: required, essential and desired.

The "required" standards, explained Associate State Supt. Titus Singletary are provided by law or board policy. "Essential" standards are those the committee feels are needed "to effectively operate a school program."

The "desired" standards, Dr. Singletary said, are goals.

SYSTEMS WON'T BE RUSHED

EDUCATION

Rules Mean Less Schools

AC 4/24/66

By TOM GREENE

It is widely believed that the new standards for schools passed last week by the State Board of Education inevitably will lead to consolidation of many small schools, but systems apparently will have some time to work it out.

While the standards do not stipulate minimum school sizes as such, built in formulas will require that high schools have a minimum of 300 students and elementary schools 200 to 225 in order to get their full state-paid allotment of teachers.

Many schools in the state do not meet these size requirements, and therefore will have to be consolidated or lose some state money. They can, of course, come up with local funds to finance the extra teachers they would need, as some systems already do. But many others can not afford this.

"It just means fewer schools and larger schools," one superintendent said.

THE COMPREHENSIVE standards cover all phases of school operation — administration and supervision, including boards of education; qualifications of superintendents, principals, teachers and other personnel, specialized services, school plant, food service, maintenance, transportation, fiscal policies, services for exceptional children, libraries and curriculum.

The board actually adopted five different sets of standards covering elementary, secondary, junior high, combination and system wide schools.

These standards are broken down into three categories — "required" standards, "essential" and "desired" ones. The various categories will be used to "score" the local schools and imum of 12 teachers must be provided. This would require 300 students to qualify.

— Elementary school teachers will be allotted on the basis of one per 28 students. A school must have at least one earned state - allotted teacher for each elementary grade, and not less than six teachers. Also, a maximum student-teacher ratio of 30 to one and a minimum of 22 to one is suggested. State officials say this will require 200 to 225 students in grammar schools.

AMONG OTHER REQUIRED standards are:

— Principals and superintendents must have a least a master's degree in administration and the professional administrator's certificate.

— All teachers must hold at least a bachelor's degree and a professional or provisional certificate appropriate to their teaching field.

— At least 20 per cent of the teachers in a school must hold a master's degree.

— By the fall of 1967-68, a minimum of 98 per cent of the teachers in a school must be teaching in their area of certification.

— Schools must have a full-time secretary.

— There must be a full-time, fully qualified guidance counselor for each 500 students.

— Schools must have adequate library space and a librarian.

—Elementary school curriculum must include health and physical education, language arts, mathematics, music, science and social science.

—High schools must offer a minimum of 37 course units, with 18 required for graduation.

—A driver-training program must be offered for all 10th grade students, or during the

J. E. Culpepper, superintendent in Echols, Georgia's smallest county in population, said "It looks like we're going to be hard put to it" to meet the size qualifications. "They've got us in a pinch. It's going to take more than just laying down a dictum like that. We're going to have to sit down and plan things to accomodate our children."

HE SAID THE COUNTY is sparsely populated and children already are being transported long distances to get them to school. The two high schools in the county combined would not meet the minimum size requirements. The white school has only 127 students and the Negro school 38.

But Mr. Culpepper said he had been expecting the problem and "we're adaptable to change. We want to do all we can to help our children."

Paulding County Supt. J. C. Scoggins said the schools there do not meet the size requirements at this time, but will by next fall because the three high schools will be consolidated into one with a combined enrollment of about 800.

Lee County Supt. Robert Clay said neither of the two high schools there have 300 students, but the system does have 12 teachers in each one by providing some local money to pay the extra ones. "We've always employed additional teachers over the state allotment and I think we will continue to do that," he said.

Ben Hill County Supt. J. C. Hunter said attendance is small in his rural area and "it looks like the way they are closing down on this thing means more consolidation."

He said the county has a contract with the Fitzgerald City System to send its 10th, 11th and 12th grade white students here, but there are only about 160 students in the Negro high school.

"Whether they say do it or not, it just means fewer schools and larger schools, that's the meaning of it," he said.

PRICE BOWEN, superintendent in Lumpkin County, said he doesn't think the standards are "too bad" and his system can live with them. Both Lumpkin high schools more than meet the minimum requirements and the elementary schools, except one, will be consolidated next year.

Supt. George Holliman of Warren County said he would rather not comment until he had a chance to read the standards, but said the two high schools there probably would meet the minimum size.

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The board actually adopted five different sets of standards covering elementary, secondary, junior high, combination and system wide schools.

These standards are broken down into three categories — "required" standards, "essential" and "desired" ones. The various categories will be used to "score" the local schools and systems to see if they are providing the minimum necessary for quality education.

NO PROVISION for scoring the schools or for enforcing the standards was passed last week. Supt. Jack Nix said the standards will be used at first to analyze the situation and come up with a "cutoff score" designating when a school meets the standards. After that, the board will decide how to enforce them.

Dr. Titus Singletary, associate state superintendent, said copies of the standards probably will be sent to local school officials after next week to allow them to begin checking themselves. These local evaluations will be followed up by state staff next fall, he said.

After the basic information is gathered, it will be fed into computers for analysis and evaluation to determine the cutoff. Dr. Singletary said it may be November or December before this point is reached.

While the standards have been adopted and technically are applicable now, Dr. Singletary said, "I'm sure this first year the board is going to give those systems who don't meet the score time. It won't just be an arbitrary decision at that point. They will be given a reasonable length of time to comply."

DR. SINGLETARY ADMITS that the standards do not refer to school sizes by numbers. "They're going to require numbers if the schools are going to be able to meet the standards. This is bound to lead to consolidation, and point out the advantages of consolidating across county lines."

But he also emphasizes that the standards allow for "flexibility and latitude" in a school system and include "objective qualitative measures" as well as quantitative.

Those standards that will require minimum numbers before a school will receive its full allotment of teachers are:

— High school teachers will be alloted on the basis of one per 25 students, based on average daily attendence, and a minimum student-teacher ratio of 30 to one and a minimum of 22 to one is suggested. State officials say this will require 200 to 225 students in grammar schools.

AMONG OTHER REQUIRED standards are:

— Principals and superintendents must have a least a master's degree in administration and the professional administrator's certificate.

— All teachers must hold at least a bachelor's degree and a professional or provisional certificate appropriate to their teaching field.

— At least 20 per cent of the teachers in a school must hold a master's degree.

— By the fall of 1967-68, a minimum of 98 per cent of the teachers in a school must be teaching in their area of certification.

— Schools must have a full-time secretary.

— There must be a full-time, fully qualified guidance counselor for each 500 students.

— Schools must have adequate library space and a librarian.

—Elementary school curriculum must include health and physical education, language arts, mathematics, music, science and social science.

—High schools must offer a minimum of 37 course units, with 18 required for graduation.

—A driver-training program must be offered for all 10th grade students, or during the students 15 to 16 age level.

—Boards of education must have a written policy of education and personnel policies must be distributed to each employe.

—The number of state-earned teachers must be used in the school for which they are earned.

THE STANDARDS also say that "each school system shall make provision for the education of all exceptional children," including mentally retarded, mentally gifted and others. But there is no "required" provision for this at this time.

Perhaps the most controversial standard, however, is the one prohibiting athletic and other interscholastic activities on school nights, with the exception of tournaments. There is expected to be some revision of this policy.

A survey of several local school superintendents showed mixed reaction to the new standards.

While none of them had received copies of them, most admitted many of their schools would not measure up in the numbers required.

dren."

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Bomb Cache Charged to Castro Foes

NAPLES, Fla., April 23 (AP) — The head of a Miami-based anti-Castro action group, Dr. Orlando Beach Bosch, has been arrested again and charged with possessing and transporting explosives without a permit.

The 39-year-old Bosch and two other Miami exiles were arrested with a carload of bombs, police said. All are free on their own recognizance.

Bosch is head of the Insurrectional Movement for Revolutionary Recovery (MIRR), which had used planes and speedboats in hit-run raids on Cuba.

Collier County Sheriff E. A. (Doug) Hendry quoted Bosch as saying that the three were taking bombs to be loaded on a Cuba-bound ship.

Bosch was arrested at Orlando last year by agents who said they found him with a cache of bombs and guns. He also was indicted on a charge of trying to extort funds from fellow exiles.

Rev. King Assails Biased Politicians

EDUCATION

AC 5/5/66

By MARGARET HURST

Recent attacks on federal school desegregation guidelines suggest that educators in Georgia are "far more sensitive to the unfair biases" of parents and politicians than they are to basic educational needs of all children, Dr. Martin Luther King said Wednesday.

Addressing the Invitational Conference on Social Change and the Role of Behavioral Scientists, Dr. King asked: "Must it be necessary for social activists to once again take to the streets and demonstrate this time for quality-integrated education?"

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

He said the "present terrible conditions in the segregated 'Negro' schools" must be coped with immediately, but added, "We must keep in mind that this is not an argument for separate but equal schools, but a statement that schools which have been reserved for Negroes need complete restructuring during this transition period."

Dr. King said that Negro public schools in the South, and to some extent in the North, "although desegregated in name," tend to remain Negro with all of the previous "disadvantageous" conditions still present.

PRECARIOUSLY ON BRINK

The Negro, at present, "stands precariously on the brink between taking his rightful place in American society, and seeing his dream vanish amidst the subtle hard core prejudices and discriminations that are less overt, but equally as damaging as the covert discriminations and prejudices that were part of the Negro's life in the South, Dr. King added.

He said the subtle but "firm" social and economic barriers are leading to "frustration and smoldering resentment" on the part of the Negro which is "more pronounced" in the crowded urban centers.

The conference, being held at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, continues through Friday.

Muscogee School Shuns Lee Novel

AC 7/26/66

EDUCATION

COLUMBUS, Ga. (AP)—What books should high school pupils be permitted to read in the normal routine of classroom study? Teachers in Muscogee County raised the question Monday with the removal of "To Kill a Mockingbird" from a list of books approved for classroom use.

The Pulitzer Prize winning novel by Alabama-born Harper Lee deals in part with the court trial of a Negro man charged with raping a white woman. It was removed from the reading list at Hardaway High School.

Dr. Fred Kirby, assistant superintendent of schools in the Muscogee County system, said the book was removed from the list "because of the integration question."

Kirby made it plain that the book has not been removed from the library shelves, but that it no longer will be included among books which pupils may use for book reports or regular study.

"We have no objections to any student reading it voluntarily," he said. "But if we prescribe it, it's another thing."

"To Kill a Mockingbird," which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1961, is about the life of a small child whose father, an attorney, is appointed to defend an innocent Negro charged with rape.

The book was widely acclaimed, particularly in the South, for its gentleness and sensitivity.

EDUCATION

SCHOOL AID FOUND LAGGING FOR POOR

Johnson Panel Says Needy Children Are Neglected

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., May 9—Congress was informed today that the new Federal education program for disadvantaged children was in many areas not reaching those who needed it most.

The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children said it had found the greatest lack of local leadership and initiative in making maximum use of Federal funds in areas of widespread poverty.

Migrant children and those attending parochial schools are also being neglected under the program, the council said.

There is generally "an alarming lack of personnel," it continued, and in some areas the Federal antipoverty agencies have "handicapped or delayed program initiative by local school boards."

President Renews Vow

The council is made up of 12 educators outside Government and headed by O. Meredith Wilson, president of the University of Minnesota. It was appointed by President Johnson to study the administration of Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

On March 31 the council submitted a 33-page report to the President. Mr. Johnson, who was winding up a stay at his LBJ Ranch near here, sent the report to Congress today.

"I have pledged that every effort will be made to meet these problems," he said in an accompanying statement, "And I am confident that Congress will join in these efforts."

Title 1 represents a huge effort to educate possibly 15 million children classified as disadvantaged. By March 18 more than $757-million had been allocated for projects in 11,500 of the nation's school districts. The Office of Education expects seven million children to receive some benefits from the program this year.

Special Programs Funded

Under Title 1, school districts are given money to begin or expand a wide variety of special educational programs ranging from kindergartens for the poor to work-study classes for mentally retarded high school students.

The council said a sampling of 484 projects showed that Title 1 funds were being used chiefly to help children from 3 to 12 years old, with the concentration on language arts—reading, writing, speaking and listening.

Frequently, it said, these children have not lived in a world of books or of ideas and they do not understand concepts in tests devised for the majority of children. Failure to educate these children in the past, the council declared, "perpetuated the cycle of poverty-ignorance, ignorance-poverty."

The council stressed that it was "particularly concerned about areas where poverty is widespread, where the resources available to support the schools are small and where the ability to hire outstanding educators and staff is low."

"It is our belief that the major problems in the administration of the act arise because inadequate leadership seems concentrated in the very areas where the need for imagination and reform is greatest," it said.

Local Pressure Cited

"In some cases," the Council's report continued, "school administrators have succumbed to local pressure to spread the limited amount of money over as many children as possible."

Efforts in some cities to make Title I programs compatible to similar projects sponsored by community action programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the council declared, have "handicapped or delayed program initiative by local schools and given excess authority to community action program agencies."

The council said there were "some early indications that the disadvantaged children in private and parochial schools are receiving less help than Title I intended them."

Many school districts, the council said, "seem to involve private school pupils in the periphery of a project," and many projects it reviewed "were either vague or silent about the participation of disadvantaged children from nonpublic schools."

The council recommended that the Office of Education require all applicants to make "a clear statement of the extent to which each project will involve children from private and parochial schools."

The council also said that "new and imaginative services" should be developed for the 150,000 children of migratory workers.

It urged increased funds be made available by Congress for training teachers and specialists. And also that Congress appropriate this year's funds no later than the early summer "to permit more careful program development."

The President will return to Washington tomorrow and is expected to confer with Henry Cabot Lodge, the Ambassador to Vietnam, shortly after his arrival at the White House.

This morning at his ranch, Mr. Johnson had breakfast with Mexican Foreign Minister Antonio Carrillo Flores and his wife.

A White House spokesman said Mr. Carrillo's visit was "mainly social."

North Carolina U. Picks Chancellor

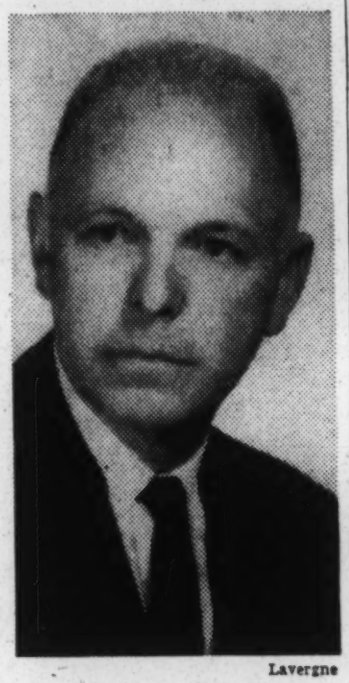
Special to The New York Times

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., May 9—A former chairman of the American Conference of Academic Deans and Kenan Professor of History, Joseph C. Sitterson, was appointed today Chancellor of the University of North Carolina.

Dr. Sitterson once served simultaneously at dean of the college of arts and sciences and as dean of the general college. He has been serving since Feb. 15 as acting Chancellor.

A native of Kinston, N. C., Dr. Sitterson is 55 years old. He was graduated at Chapel Hill in 1931, received an M.A. in 1932 and a Ph. D. in 1937. He has been a member of the faculty since 1935, and became a Kenan Professor in 1961.

During World War II, Dr. Sitterson wrote a history of the War Production Board.



Lavergne

Joseph C. Sitterson

SOUTHERNERS ASKED TO RIGHTS HEARING

WASHINGTON, May 9 (UPI) Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. said today he would invite chief school officials of 17 Southern and border states to testify at subcommittee hearings on the Administration's new Civil Rights bill.

A spokesman for the North Carolina Democrat's Judiciary subcommittee on civil rights said the school officials were being invited to speak out especially on an amendment that he is introducing.

Mr. Ervin said on the Senate floor that his amendment would halt present administrative policies that he said required "racial balances" in schools and other institutions receiving Federal funds.

One target of his amendment is the policy of the various Federal agencies, including the Office of Education, to order deferment of Federal funds if certain desegregation goals are not met.

A spokesman for the office estimated the latest round of "deferrals" would affect less than 200 school systems in the 17 states.

EDUCATION

AC 5/14/66

RALPH McGILL

A Small School, Big Handicap

A condemning parallel continues in the news.

A carefully documented report by the Center for Southern Education Studies at Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, reaches this conclusion: "The prevalence of small high schools constitutes the most serious obstacle to quality education in the South. Course offerings in most (but not all) high schools are adequate to meet graduation and state college entrance demands, but are of little additional benefit to the overwhelming majority of those who do not go to college."

The study includes 4,773 high schools in the following 11 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. They have an enrollment of 2,308,449 young men and women. By next fall the total may reach 2,500,000.

Inadequacy

At least 1,500,000 pupils presently are enrolled in high schools too small to provide them with adequate instruction. Many of them, for example, cannot, and do not, prepare a young man or woman to enter even the engineering schools of their own region or to be qualified to apply at one of the really quality demanding universities or liberal arts colleges. More than one half the high schools now enroll fewer than 300 pupils — a number that makes impossible adequate instruction.

The report discloses that courses in industrial arts, art, music, and strategic vocational areas rarely appear in the curriculum of schools below 500 in enrollment. In fact, offerings in

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The report discloses that courses in industrial arts, art, music, and strategic vocational areas rarely appear in the curriculum of schools below 500 in enrollment. In fact, offerings in those areas show very little increase until enrollments of 1,000 or more are reached.

Additional course offerings in most academic areas, particularly that of one or more foreign languages, are noted as enrollments exceed 1,000 pupils. The consistent increase in the number of mathematics courses offered as enrollments increase is a striking illustration of the relationship between school size and curriculum program depth.

Conclusive evidence shows that a Grade 9-12 high school should enroll an absolute minimum of 500 pupils. Comparable minimums are about 800 pupils for a six-year high school and 375 pupils for a three-year senior high school. Schools of these minimum sizes will have about 100 pupils in Grade 12. **Approximately 87 per cent of the South's high schools have fewer than 100 pupils in Grade 12.**

Equal Break

This study demonstrates that a four-year high school must offer at least three times as many credit courses as are required for graduation if noncollege-bound youth are to have an equal break with college-bound students.

The implications are clear: **The quality of high school programs must be improved; and much of the improvement depends upon overcoming the inequalities of educational opportunity perpetuated by small high schools.**

A parallel is established by the almost daily news of individuals in positions of leadership who strongly defy the federal guidelines, which have as their ultimate purpose the ending of the South's costly, educationally inadequate dual school system. The public school system as such is not working well and has not for a long time. It has too many centers of failure and incompetence, as the Peabody report proves. There is urgent need of crash training for teachers, for raising the reading and mathematical level of elementary schoolchildren, mostly Negro, but by no means all Negro. A program for enabling the less-well-trained Negro teachers to upgrade themselves is another need. This cannot be done so long as the impossible dual system, rather than an education, is the objective.

EDUCATION

Slang Called Big Handicap For Negroes

AJ 5/26/66

Washington Post News Service

WASHINGTON, May 25 — "You've got to learn the 'man's' language," Howard University Prof. Charles G. Hurst Jr. exhorts his students.

The "man" is Negro slang for the white man. By freeing Negroes from their dependence on this special slang and teaching them to get the point across in unidiomatic English, Hurst expects to give them a better chance for jobs.

He is operating a pilot project at Howard, a predominantly Negro college here. He uses tape recorders and the same electronic techniques used to teach foreign languages.

The twist is that now they are being used to teach English to students whose native tongue is English but who developed their own distinctive variation.

That ghetto idiom works fine inside the ghetto. But it has limited effectiveness outside. Hence it often tends to keep its speakers in the ghetto.

Even a sympathetic listener has to strain to understand the ghetto pronunciation, Hurst feels. And to the job interviewer, these pronunciations are too often related to the stereotype of the lazy, shiftless, ignorant Negro. Thus the dialect becomes a severe handicap in the job market.

HURST'S project at Howard goes beyond merely teaching proper enunciation. It also gives the students a bigger vocabulary and a new grammar.

The double negative, ". . . I don't have no . . . ," is perfectly proper and well understood in the ghetto, Hurst said.

But in a situation where a Negro knows his grammar is improper, he is too often left without an alternate way of expressing himself, and so remains unimpressively mute.

While the dialect is most noticeable in low income and poorly educated groups, college students are not free of it, Hurst said.

Howard University students have their troubles. More than half of this year's entering freshmen distorted at least one word in 10 beyond recognition, according to Hurst.

BUT NOW, by imitating the language they hear on the tapes, they are making rapid progress, he said.

Hurst feels that imitation is a powerful teacher when constant correction of errors fails because of what he believes is the Negro's special ability to reproduce rhythms and sounds.

Hurst smiled in embarrassment when he said this, knowing that it appeared to be an appeal to the stereotype.

He said the idea came to him years ago when he first recognized how easily and accurately Negro children could mimic pop singers.

This convinced him that the dialect wasn't innate, but was a faithful reproduction of the only talk that Negroes heard.

Living in the cultural and social isolation imposed by segregation, Negroes naturally developed their unique pronunciations, Hurst explained.

Up to now, little has been done to correct them, and they have been passed on, even among educated Negroes, from teacher to student.

EDUCATION AJ 5/29/66

NEGRO TEACHES INTEGRATED COBB CLASS

Adults Learn to Read, Figure

By JOHN MEDLIN

The class of full-grown men and women groaned when their teacher, Mrs. Tempie Ebster, announced that they were going to take up long division.

But half an hour later, they had grasped the idea and were ready for practice. "Throw 'em up there. We'll try it," they said. On the board, Mrs. Ebster wrote two multipart word problems from a fifth grade text, although her adult class is at the second grade level, roughly speaking. In five minutes, the first students were bringing their work up to her desk for checking. Most of them were correct.

Mrs. Ebster, who lives in Atlanta, is amazed and delighted with the progress of her class since it began last February. The whole idea was slightly discouraging at the start, when she decided to teach in the federally financed adult education program, an offshoot of the Economic Opportunity Act. In the first place, during her five years of teaching, she had worked with fifth graders only. Now she would be confronted with a class full of adults who had not seen the inside of a school building for 20 or 30 years.

Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall

MRS. EBSTER DISCUSSES CLASS WORK WITH SOME OF MEMBERS
(L-R) Winford Harding, William Tollison, Mrs. Ebster and Mrs. F. M. Lake

A NEGRO, Mrs. Ebster also would be teaching an integrated class in Austell's Washington Street Elementary School. How would that work out? The Cobb County Board of Education said later it had had some misgivings about trying out an integrated class in south Cobb.

Nothing happened, however, except that Mrs. Ebster's class learned to read, to write, and to add and subtract. It also swelled from a handful to about 50 students, some of whom were recruited from other towns and counties by their friends. The only trouble came when it finally was necessary to split up the class. Nobody wanted to leave Mrs. Ebster.

"I'm just tickled to death over the response," Mrs. Ebster declares. "My words are inadequate to express how I feel about my class."

She and her students want to end up in the same classroom next fall, if the county decides to continue with the program.

The students meet three evenings a week. Since they got a late start, and must complete 200 hours of class time in order to fulfill the requirements of the program, they have started coming in on Fridays too.

"AT FIRST, I just didn't know what to do," Mrs. Ebster confides.

She says her class was convinced it would never read. In fact, some of them didn't know what sounds the letters of the alphabet made when pronounced.

"I wrote the word 'put' on the board and pronounced it, and they couldn't tell me what letter it started with," she says.

So they started out with the alphabet, and now, four months later, they're reading at the second-grade level.

Teaching adults is not very much different from teaching children at the same level, but the adults progress much faster over the same material, Mrs. Ebster says.

"They're here to learn and they're eager to learn. The main difference between them and children, as students, is that they are much more interested, and their attention span is longer. A child will get restless, but not the adult. They're here for one purpose, and that is to get something they feel they have missed. Sometimes they don't even take their breaks, and they'll come in early and begin working on their own."

She does make them work. One man says, "Whenever you miss something, she won't tell you what it is, but she'll keep after you till you figure it out yourself."

TRIPPING OVER difficult words is a problem with some of the readers in the class, and Mrs. Ebster's favorite method of getting the student to figure them out is to find a small word in the larger one, and then build on it until he has pronounced the hard one. One man, reading aloud recently, boggled when he got to "splitting."

Mrs. Ebster didn't pronounce it and let him go on. Instead, she wrote it on the board and asked him to find a little word.

"It," he said.

"All right. Now we put an 'l' in front of it. What do we have?"

"Lit."

In a few more seconds, the man had mastered the word.

Although her curriculum is limited to the three R's, Mrs. Ebster says she gets all kinds of teaching in through reading assignments and word problems. The reading is not the "Alice and Jerry" material usually associated with elementary reading, but includes instead short essays on subjects of interest to working adults. The articles are written simply, with much word repetition, but they remain interesting nevertheless.

DISCUSSIONS OFTEN arise from the articles, and Mrs. Ebster uses them to impart more learning. "I look for every opportunity to teach," she says. "Even from one sentence on the board, we can get a little English, a little spelling, a new word. If it deals with time or with some number concept, then we can learn that."

The class is just as enthusiastic as Mrs. Ebster is. "I'm going to keep going as long as they have it," one member says. Another explains that he decided to come back to school because he saw how necessary it was for his work. "I don't like having to ask my buddy how to divide something," he says. A woman says she doesn't have much time for home study, since she's rearing a family and working. "But I've really been studying those multiplication tables. Sometimes I'll fall asleep with the book in my hand."

Memorization and the "right answer" don't fit into the Ebster brand of teaching. She thinks its more important for students to learn the right methods than it is to get the right answer. "They're learning the multiplication tables, not memorizing them. If they're memorized, it's too easy to get scared at an individual problem, and forget every table you ever knew. We've been through each one, learning why two times four is eight, and how it is.

METHOD IS IMPORTANT in word problems, she says. "If we learn the right method, we can work so many more problems than if we just get the right answer to one," she tells the class. She's proven this by slipping in those fifth-grade math problems, and says they could work a problem out of any book if they got the methods down first.

Summer is closing in on the class, now. Mrs. Ebster has applied for Operation Head Start this summer, but suspects she'll get a reading program instead. Head Start is a program for preschool children, and if Mrs. Ebster finds herself in the program after all, she may find the children of some of her adult education pupils in her summer classes. She says they've been asking her about it all spring. But mostly, she wants to start back with the same class next fall, and stick with it "all the way through."

65 Rights Workers Awarded $65,000 to Continue Education

NYT EDUCATION 6/3/66

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

Sixty-five students, some of whom have been in jail and few of whom have made high grades, have been awarded a total of $65,000 in Eleanor Roosevelt Scholarships.

The grants, announced yesterday by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, go to students who have shown outstanding leadership in the civil rights movement.

Academic achievement is not emphasized because a student may have found difficulty studying in a Southern jail or in a Northern slum or while organizing voter registration drives.

One of the recipients of a $1,500 scholarship is James Potts, who in February, 1965, at the age of 18, became the first Negro admitted to Louisiana Polytechnic Institute in Ruston.

Letter Recalled

"I've learned how to smile when someone spits on me," he wrote back to the fund then.

In addition to his civil rights activities, which caused him to be briefly expelled until a court ordered his reinstatement, Mr. Potts last year earned grades unusually high for recipients, 3.4 on a scale of 4, a high B plus. He is a mathematics major.

A $1,700 scholarship was awarded to John Gaines of Rock Hill, S.C., who spent February of 1961 on a chain gang after being arrested at a sit-in in a local store. He later attended Bennett College in North Carolina, also on a grant from the fund, and is now enrolled in the Howard University Law School, Washington, D.C.

The 65 recipients, whose awards range from $200 to $2,000, depending on their expenses, come mainly from the South. Several are from the Northeast and Middle West and one is from California.

Those from the metropolitan area are Wallace Murphy, Columbia University School of General Studies; Lee Jeanne Parlin, Manhattan Community College; Ira Simmons, Howard University Law School; Earl Harris, University of Pittsburgh Law School; and Samuel Leiken, Columbia University.

Mr. Leiken is one of the four white scholarship winners. The recipients represent most of the major civil rights organizations.

2 Scholarships in 1963

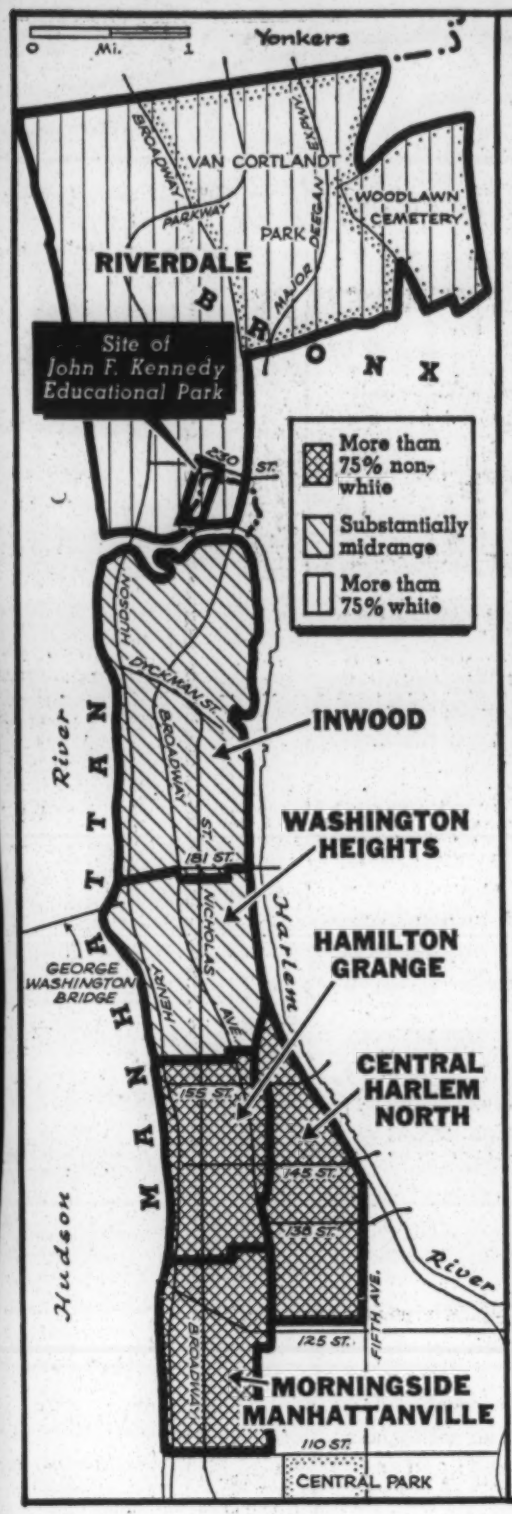
The fund was established in 1963, by former workers for the Congress on Racial Equality, as the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. Eleanor Roosevelt had agreed to be the first chairman but she died shortly afterward. The scholarships were named in her memory.

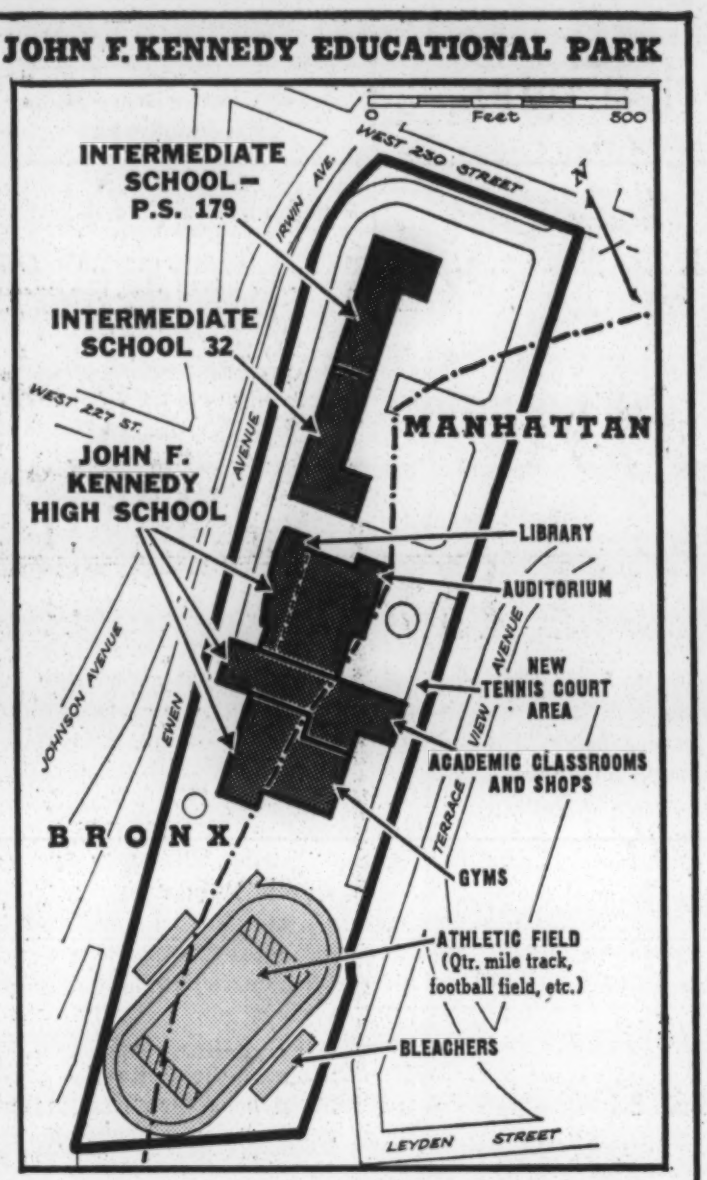
Last March, the fund dropped "CORE" from its title and added the words "for Racial Equality." Marvin Rich, the executive director, said that the fund wanted to establish a clearly separate identity. He surmised, for example, that some contributions meant for the fund had gone to CORE instead.

The first year, 1963, only two scholarships were awarded. The next year there were 29. In 1965 there were 44.

This year the fund's budget totals $300,000. The money comes from contributions by individuals and organizations. The largest single contribution this year was $20,000 from the Stern Family Fund.

CORE does not contribute to the scholarship fund, Mr. Rich said.





NEW APPROACH TO INTEGRATION: Proposed educational park (above) will draw pupils from wide area (left) to overcome de facto segregation resulting from ethnic neighborhood compositions. Two intermediate schools will serve largely white Riverdale community and mixed and heavily Negro and Puerto Rican sections in Manhattan. High school will cover wider area. Community boundaries are taken from Board of Education map.

establishment of a Candidate's Degree.

In effect, the certificate — and certainly the new degree—would confer academic prestige on doctoral students, even if they never do get the degree. This would be similar to the status accorded to students in many European countries and the Soviet Union, where Candidate is a recognized title.

More important, the Michigan certificate, the Yale M. Ph. and the proposed Berkeley doctorate would signify that the student has the academic qualifications to teach—if not in universities, then in schools and colleges. And they would help preserve the standards of the Ph.D. by reserving it for those who take the necessary further steps.

Now 'Educational Parks'

By LEONARD BUDER

"The most promising — and the boldest — scheme yet proposed for achieving a more durable balance of races in the public schools," Dr. John H. Fischer said last week, "is the educational park, which would assemble on a single large site children from an attendance area broad enough to include a substantial number of both majority and minority children."

Dr. Fischer, the president of Columbia University's Teachers College spoke at a conference on school integration sponsored by the college and the National Urban League. At the same conference, Harold Howe 2d, the United States Commissioner of Education, admitted that school desegregation in the nation has so far proved a failure. The small progress toward desegregation made in the South in the last 12 years, he declared, "has been offset by increasing de facto segregation in the cities in the North."

Mr. Howe's appraisal may give added impetus to Dr. Fischer's call for educational parks. Mr. Howe, in fact, illustrated the importance his office attaches to these school complexes — clusters of schools in a park-like setting — in a speech last month in Chicago, a city torn by problems of de facto school segregation.

"While such a park would deny the neighborhood school," he said, "it would express the vitality, the imagination and the cultural mix that every vigorous city exemplifies. Students in such a facility would attend a genuine city school in the deepest sense, rather than going to school in one section of the city which is untouched by the broader influence of metropolitan life as a whole."

The idea of the educational park is not new. Many communities already have central school campuses and, lately, the term has been applied to a variety of school organizations both here and abroad. But its urban concept as an antidote to de facto school segregation represents a new approach to an old problem.

Educational parks are under construction in East Orange, N. J., and New Haven, Conn. They are in the planning stage in at least two major cities, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

The New York City Board of Education has approved the establishment of two experimental parks, scheduled to open three years from now.

One of the proposed parks will be situated in a fast-growing section of the northeast Bronx. The other — the John F. Kennedy Educational Park — will be located across the borough in the Kingsbridge section, on the Manhattan-Bronx border.

A look at the Kennedy park shows how the plan, in theory, will work.

It will have three components: a high school for 4,000 students; and two intermediate schools covering the middle grades, one for 1,800 pupils and the other 1,200 pupils. The latter would also have a wing for 600 children in the primary grades.

The Kingsbridge site was selected because it is accessible by bus and subway to children from heavily Negro and Puerto Rican Northern Manhattan and could also draw pupils from the largely white Northwest Bronx, including Riverdale. In line with the system's new organization policy, only the small primary unit would remain a neighborhood school.

The wide drawing power of the park's schools is expected to give the high school and the two intermediate schools pupil populations that will be 40 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican and 60 per cent "others." School officials regard this as a "viable ethnic mix."

Those who espouse the educational park concept, however, assert that better ethnic mix is only one of many benefits. The parks, they say, would result in a higher quality of education for all children.

Richer Programs

The concentration of pupils, teachers and resources, the contention runs, would enable each component of the park to offer richer programs and more services than any individual school could provide, thus attracting white middle-class families who might otherwise exit to the suburbs or to private schools.

According to supporters of the park, coordination in administration and operation would also bring about closer contact between levels of instruction, better utilization of facilities and greater economy through shared resources.

Opponents see the educational parks as educational monstrosities with too many children pouring in and with too many age groups attending school together, that would wreak havoc on the established school structure. The "cure," they assert is more devastating than the illness.

Moreover, the charge is frequently made that the changes and uncertainty engendered by the parks would accelerate the already serious middle-class white exodus from the public schools. If this happens, the hoped-for viable ethnic mix would be even more difficult to achieve.

No one, not even its most ardent supporters, asserts that the educational park represents the whole answer to the problem of urban school segregation. Dr. Fischer noted last week that "there is no single plan, no magic key by which instant integration can be achieved."

Since none of the other devices have provided satisfactory answers to big-city school integration, it now appears certain that educational parks will move into the forefront of civil rights strategy and educational experimentation, probably with the blessing and financial support of the Federal Government.

NEGRO EDUCATION IS FOUND INFERIOR

EDUCATION

U.S. Public Schools Survey Confirms Racial Disparity

7/2/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 1 — A survey of educational opportunities ordered by Congress has shown that predominantly Negro schools are inferior to those attended largely by whites and that this tends to widen the achievement gap between the races.

In achievement tests conducted as part of the survey, the average Negro scored distinctly lower than the average white at every level. The difference was greater in the 12th grade than in the first.

The United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, said in releasing results of the survey today that these findings had not been unexpected but would be useful in documenting what was already known or suspected.

He said the Office of Education was surprised, however, to learn that differences in schools had very little effect on the achievement scores of children with a strong educational background in the home.

"This is an unexpected and interesting finding," Mr. Howe remarked, noting that the office was still trying to evaluate its meaning. He said the survey clearly showed, however, that "family background is more important than schools."

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 instructed the Commissioner of Education to conduct a survey and report to the President and Congress within two years on "the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion or national origin" in the nation's public schools.

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Prof. James S. Coleman, head of the sociology department of John Hopkins University, had major responsibility for the design, administration and analysis of the survey.

The report, which contained no recommendations, showed that American children attended schools that were largely segregated. Almost 80 per cent of all white pupils in grades one and 12, it said, attend schools 90 to 100 per cent white. More than 65 per cent of all Negro pupils in the first grade attend schools that are between 90 to 100 per cent Negro.

"For Negro pupils, segregation is more nearly complete in the South—as it is for whites also—but it is extensive also in all the other regions where the Negro population is concentrated: the urban North, Midwest, and West," the report said.

The survey also showed that for the nation as a whole "white children attend elementary schools with a smaller average number of pupils per room, 29, than do any of the minorities, which range from 30 to 33.'"

The survey also showed that Negro pupils had fewer of the facilities related to academic achievement such as laboratories and books, and fewer curricular and extracurricular programs.

"The average Negro pupil attends a school where a greater percentage of the teachers appears to be somewhat less able than those in schools attended by the average white student," the report continued.

Test Geared to Society

Achievement tests used in the survey were acknowledgedly "culture-bound." They measured skills important in American society for "getting a good job and moving up to a better one, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world."

The average minority pupil scored lower on every level than the average white pupil, and "at the 12th grade, results of tests in the same verbal and nonverbal skills show that, in every case, the minority scores are further below the majority than the first graders," the report said.

For example, the report found that in the metropolitan Northeast Negroes in the sixth grade are about 1.6 years behind whites; at grade nine, 2.4 years, and at grade 12, 3.3 years.

Regional differences were also found.

"By grade 12," the report said, "both white and Negro students in the South score below their counterparts — white and Negro — in the North. In addition, Southern Negroes score farther below Southern whites than Northern Negroes score below Northern whites."

"The average white student's achievement," it noted, "is less affected by the strength and

weakness of his school's facilities, curricula and teachers than is the average minority pupil's. To put it another way, the achievement of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils."

Another important factor, the report said, is the extent to which a pupil believes he has some control over his destiny.

"The response of pupils to questions in the survey show that minority pupils, except for Orientals, have far less conviction than whites that they can affect their own environments and futures," it declared. "When they do, however, their achievement is higher than that of whites who lack that conviction."

CONSUMER FRAUDS THRIVE IN GHETTOS

CONSUMER EDUCATION

Victimization of City's Poor Is Found Widespread

NYT 8/20/66

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

A young mother on the Lower East Side bought a set of children's books from a door-to-dor saleswoman who said she represented the Board of Education.

A woman on Social Security was high-pressured into buying an off-brand vacuum cleaner that ended up costing $341.40.

An East Harlem housewife, shopping in a local used-furniture "special," was talked into signing a $1,414.80 installment contract for furniture that fell apart after delivery.

These cases of victimization of the poor are typical of thousands of others that point to a broad pattern of consumer fraud and overpricing in the city's ghettos.

Food prices, recently investigated by city and Federal agencies, are only a small part of the picture. Fraudulent selling practices in Harlem, the Lower East Side, the East Bronx and Brooklyn involve appliances, furs, food-freezer plans, burials, furniture, books and even wigs.

The extent of the problem was pointed up in a recent series of interviews with lawyers, anti-

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

CONSUMER FRAUDS THRIVE IN GHETTOS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

poverty workers and the victims themselves. The Legal Aid Society estimates that it defended 5,000 poor consumers against unfair or fraudulent selling practices last year. The consumer fraud lawyer for Mobilization for Youth, the Lower East Side antipoverty agency now has a file of 250 cases and estimates he has handled 2,000 over the last three years.

"Most of the ones [companies] we deal with," said Stephen Mindell, an assistant state Attorney General in the Consumer Frauds and Protection Bureau, "are making money sucking the blood of the poor."

"The poor," said Barnett Levy, who heads the bureau under Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, "are less able to cope with the small print and legal terminology of contracts that even lawyers have trouble understanding."

The bureau received more than 30,000 personal and written complaints last year, most of them, Mr. Levy believes—although no breakdown is kept—from the poor.

Earlier this week the bureau obtained a State Supreme Court order restraining a book sales company at 11 West 42d Street from doing business under the name Operation Home Start.

The bureau's petition, filed after a policewoman infiltrated the company's staff, alleges that the concern sent salesmen into poor areas to sell at "unconscionable markups" children's books represented as allied with Operation Head Start, an official antipoverty program for preschoolers.

Myron Gelrod, president of the company, denied that his salesmen concentrated on ghetto areas or that there was any intent to deceive. The choice of the name, he said, "is truly indicative of the work we are doing." A court hearing has been set for next week.

Mrs. Florence Rice, consumer education consultant for the League of Autonomous Bronx Organizations for Renewal (LABOR), an East Bronx summer antipoverty project and one of the many groups now investigating consumer frauds, rates the food-freezer plans of some companies as the most notorious source of misleading or fraudulent deals.

Bronx Woman Victimized

On the walls of the project's office at 1052 Washington Avenue at 165th Street are posters telling of the case of Mrs. Joyce Tutt of 1451 Washington Avenue.

Mrs. Tutt called a company that had advertised a plan on television. The salesman who called said she would save so much on food that the freezer would be free. She signed a contract for a freezer priced at

Champion of Poor

Florence May Rice

The New York Times

"I just feel there's a tomorrow"
(Mrs. Rice at her consumer-education office)

WHEN things go wrong in the East Bronx, Mrs. Florence May Rice is a likely person to be called on for help. Yesterday the heavy-set and jovial but deadly serious antipoverty aide got a call from a neighborhood tenant who wanted to know what to do about a snake in a friend's apartment. "Just ask her how long the snake is," Mrs. Rice said. "Is it three inches or what? I know what I'd do. Light sulphur candles and call the Fire Department. Of course, you should kill it. How can you go to sleep tonight with a snake in the apartment?"

Woman in the News

While Mrs. Rice handles many problems at the League of Autonomous Bronx Organizations for Renewal (LABOR) at 1052 Washington Avenue near 165th Street, she is working there this summer as a consumer education consultant. She is determined to curb some of the more notorious schemes to defraud the poor.

"There is nowhere for a poor consumer to go," she said quietly, without bitterness. "Really nowhere to go."

To give them a place, Mrs. Rice and another woman organized Harlem Consumers in 1963. Both women knew the need for such a group. Mrs. Rice's associate had worked in fur stores where she watched expensive furs pointing: only four persons showed up. Subsequent meetings drew more people, however, and Mrs. Rice became known as a formidable, though self-taught, champion of increased consumer protection.

She was subsequently retained as the consumer consultant of MEND, the Massive Economic Neighborhood Development, Inc., an East Harlem community action group. Mrs. Rice helped to prepare a survey that showed food and other prices were higher in Harlem than other parts of the city.

"Everybody is supposed to have a price," she said. "Well I have — getting things changed."

She was born Mar. 22, 1919 in Buffalo, abandoned by her mother and placed in an orphanage. She spent her childhood and early teen-age years living in foster homes from Peekskill to Long Island. At the age of 17, while she was living in New York, she had a daughter out of wedlock, a daughter who is now happily married with two children of her own.

Mrs. Rice's first job was as a domestic day worker. She would get the jobs by waiting at the "Slave Market," an area in the East Bronx where the jobless would wait on corners for work offers. She worked for a while in a laundry and, when the war broke out, in a New Jersey defense plant.

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Mrs. Tutt called a company that had advertised a plan on television. The salesman who called said she would save so much on food that the freezer would be free. She signed a contract for a freezer priced at $995 and two months of meat and frozen food at $189.82. With three years of credit and other charges the bill for the freezer without the food came to $1.454.70.

The two months of food ran out after five weeks. When she called for extra food, the company at first refused, then offered to send neck bones, pigs' feet, pigtails and frankfurters.

After Mrs. Tutt stopped her payments and turned the case over to the Legal Aid Society, the food-freezer company agreed to repossess the item. Scores of similar cases fill the files of Legal Aid and the Consumer Fraud Bureau.

A check with a large department store in the city showed that it sells a comparable 16 cubic foot freezer with a food plan for $459—a deal comparable to the one for which Mrs. Tutt was charged $995 in cash or $1,454.70 in installments.

Furniture sales cause another large number of complaints. Mrs. Juanita Brame of 350 East 124th Street was the woman who went into a Harlem furniture store to look at an advertised special — three bedrooms of used furniture for $179 — and came out committed to a $1,414.18 purchase.

When the furniture was delivered, several pieces were damaged. One table had no legs. She returned it and when it came back it had three brown legs and one black. The couch and chairs were not the same color she had ordered. Disappointed with the furniture, she stopped payments after several months and the furniture was repossessed. That was about three years ago. Last April she received a bill demanding payment for the full amount, $1,414.18.

In the Alice-inWonderland world of Harlem furniture stores, one warehouse demands a $10 to $30 "deposit" from customers before thay are allowed to see anything; one store charges $799 for a comparable set of traditional furniture priced at $399 in another store.

Fur-remodeling establishments have been cited in a number of complaints. A consumer aide who formerly worked in a fur store put The Times in touch with two poor people who turned in furs for remodeling and received pieces they later learned were inferior substitutions. A third customer was never given back her fur.

Housewives living in low income apartment projects complained that they were besieged by door-to-door salesmen selling dishes, books (one salesman sold books on the Negro heritage that that turned out upon delivery to be just newsclippings about the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King), vacuum cleaners and expensive wigs.

"We would only hit the poor people," said a young man who used to sell vacuum cleaners on commission. "Only the projects."

Once the customer signs a credit sale contract, the seller turns around and sells the contract to a credit company or a bank, which informs the customer that he has ten days to report any complaints.

After that period — which is often too short to discover malfunctioning in a product — the credit company is free from responsibility for the product. It just wants its payments. The original seller, meanwhile, says he no longer holds the contract and can do nothing about complaints. If an aggrieved purchaser then defaults on payments, his wages can be garnisheed.

Woman in the News

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"There were many ways of taking the people's money," she recalled. "They would be asked to put down a deposit before seeing the merchandise. The idea was to get their deposit. They'd sit there waiting and waiting to get it back."

Won Drive for Coffee Breaks

Mrs. Rice is frank to admit that the store dismissed her. She left her selling post, she said, to argue with a store officer when he told a worker not to take a coffee break. The coffee breaks were a concession Mrs. Rice helped win after a strenuous union organizing campaign at the store.

The first meeting of Harlem Consumers was disappointing, she also recalls, the massive Economic Neighborhood Development, Inc., an East Harlem community action group. Mrs. Rice helped to prepare a survey that showed food and other prices were higher in Harlem than other parts of the city.

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Recalls Past Troubles

After the war, she worked in the garment center as a piece worker until she ran afoul of the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, whom she accused of anti-Negro bias. She then began work in the furniture store.

She is not bitter and smiles often recalling her years of troubles. "It's not that I'm any stronger or better than other people," she says. "I just feel there's a tomorrow."

What she likes to tell people is, "If somebody knocks you down, the only thing to do is get up again."

Mrs. Rice lives alone at 540 West 158th Street in Manhattan. When she's not working on a special consumer project she likes to take some of the East Bronx children aside and explain to them the importance of keeping a savings account or the intricacies of credit buying.

EDUCATION 8/24/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDN

U.S. Aide Urges Exposure of Schoolbook Bias

Education Chief Tells House Unit He Opposes Censorship of Racial Distortions

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (UPI)—The United States Commissioner of Education said today that the best solution to the problem of racially distorted schoolbooks was to expose them to public view.

"We should no longer let this problem be swept under the rug," Harold Howe 2d told a House Education subcommittee. He said public hearings were helpful.

But Mr. Howe told the subcommittee his agency could do little to force schools to use balanced library and textbooks because it was strictly forbidden to interfere with state and local educational policies.

"Our efforts should be to encourage voluntary action by the states and localities by getting information into their hands," he said. Mr. Howe emhasized he had no wish to be a censor.

North and South Problem

"Such a power is wholly inconsistent with the concept of democracy as we know it," he said. "The Office of Education does not possess such power, nor do we seek it."

The problem of evading "meaningful" reading material on Negroes and other minority groups exists in the North as well as the South, Mr. Howe said. He described the general tone of many schoolbooks this way:

"The world of 'Look, Jane, Look' usually is a white suburban world. Daddy goes off to work each morning and returns each evening; mother stays home with her children and her pretty house and well-kept green yard.

"What relevance does this scene have to the child of the city whose mother works outside the home, whose yard is in the street? The world presented is competely alien, its elements bear no relationship to everyday existence in the city."

Powell Calls Hearing

Mr. Howe was the first witness at a planned five-day hearing called by Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan. Mr. Powell has said something should be done about "racially distorted and offensive textbooks and biased library books which depict minority groups solely in an inferior and subjugated position—or even worse, ignores them altogether."

Mr. Howe deplored the fact that many history books in the schools ignore African and Asian history and until recently made no mention of American Negroes since the Civil War.

He said one Virginia high school history text discussed the "advantages" of slavery to the Negroes in America.

EDUCATION
Clipsr + Info

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT

JULY • AUGUST 1966

IN THIS ISSUE:

Southern Association: A New Emphasis
A Dropout's Own Story
Prince Edward's 'Crippled Generation'

NEGRO EDITOR SCORES 'SEGREGATED' TEXTS

Boston Post
9/1/66 NYT

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31 (AP)—A Negro editor chargd today that most history textbooks ignored the contributions of his race to American society.

Lerone Bennett of Chicago, editor of Ebony Magazine, told a House Education subcommittee the current turmoil in many of the big cities reflected a school failure to prepare youths to live in a multiracial society. He called for a Federal conference to study textbooks.

"It is my opinion, and the opinion of many writers and scholars in this field," he said, "that segregated textbooks—the segregated and segregating use of words, symbols and ideas—are as dangerous to the internal peace of America as segregated schools and residential areas."

"Contrary to the popular view," Mr. Bennett said, "Black people came to America long before the Mayflower. They were with the first French and Spanish explorers. The fought with Prescott on Bunker Hill, they were with Washington at Valley Forge, they were with Grant in Virginia.

"With rare exceptions, American textbooks ignore free Negroes and present a rose-colored view of American slavery."

LEGAL NOTICE

Education

The Federal Role Grows

By FRED M. HECHINGER

In the days of the Little Red Schoolhouse, public education may have been an inexpensive, nonpolitical enterprise. Last week the American Political Science Association, at its annual meeting in New York, heard impressive evidence that public education today, being a matter of Big Money, cannot stay out of the mainstream of high-level politics.

Alan K. Campbell, professor of political science and director of the Metropolitan Studies Program at Syracuse University, painted a grim picture of the growing gap between the schools of the big cities and those of the surrounding suburbs. He blamed in large measure the fact that, in the financially hard-pressed urban centers, the school boards lack political influence beyond the boundaries of their districts. Therefore they are unsuccessful in pressing for adequate state and Federal aid. He saw such aid as the only hope for the urban schools' rebirth.

His colleague from Syracuse, Stephen K. Bailey, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Public Affairs, however, documented the growing role of the Federal government—with Congress now pressing for far greater expenditures than asked for by "a parsimonious President."

Large Piece Of Pork

Mr. Bailey, a former professor, ex-Mayor of Middletown, Conn., and alumnus of several Presidential task forces, said: "The fact is that education has now become a large element in the Congressional pork barrel."

These two analyses are not in conflict. They supplement each other.

Professor Campbell, in depicting the plight of the cities, showed that in 1957 the expenditures per pupil were about the same for city and suburb, while the cities today are about $150 behind. Moreover, the proportion of nonwhites since 1900 has increased from 6.8 per cent to 17.8 per cent of the population in the central cities, while it has declined from 9.4 to 5.2 per cent in the areas outside the cities. Within the cities, in 1964, the median family income for Negroes was $4,463, compared with $7,212 for whites.

But exactly because the suburbs are prosperous and the central cities are plagued by huge fiscal problems in all departments, not alone in education, state and Federal school aid given to the cities has increasingly resulted in reductions in the local budget, while such aid has been almost entirely in addition to previous local effort in the suburbs. Thus, even with outside aid, the gap widens.

Professor Campbell's studies indicate that slight improvements in the slum-blighted cities—reduction of class size by a few pupils—will simply not make any difference. Only a massive effort can do the job, and there is little hope that such an effort can be underwritten by anything other than city-oriented outside aid.

Mr. Bailey would not disagree with this estimate, but he nevertheless does not share his colleague's pessimism. The Bailey study was made, not on the local school level, with its lack of political sophistication, but in Washington. There, a totally different picture emerges.

The revolution in the Federal role appears in Mr. Bailey's painstaking study of the transformation of the United States Office of Education. From a sleepy statistical office in the days before President Kennedy, it was transformed by Francis Keppel (1962-65) and his successor, Harold Howe 2d, into a key instrumental in shepherding major Federal aid legislation through Congress and administering such funds.

It was a transformation that could not take place without drastic and even brutal changes within the bureaucracy. That education had become a top political priority was reflected in the fact that the battles involved the White House itself. When Mr. Keppel insisted on getting Henry Loomis, then Director of the Voice of America, as his deputy in charge of remolding the U.S. Office of Education, the repercussions were felt on the highest level.

"Loomis's transfer from V.O.A. to U.S.O.E. was marked and marred by Presidential pique," Mr Bailey wrote. ". . . Loomis had been uncooperative in buying and selling tickets for Democratic party dinners. . . . It came down to the question whether the White House was going to permit the Commissioner of Education to have a deputy of his own choice." The only picture that decorated Mr. Loomis's office, it might be added, was a portrait of General Eisenhower.

New Form Of Help

Out of this test of strength, followed by a year of internal turmoil, emerged a new leadership structure for education in Washington.

It is at this point that the Campbell plea for a rescue mission to save the city schools and the Bailey account of the new leadership in Washington become key pieces in the same jigsaw puzzle.

For if the local school boards in the cities (especially in competition with the wealthier suburbs) lack political know-how and the anti-urban state legislatures lack sympathy, there is now a promise of help from a new educational force at the center of national politics.

This may, as Mr. Bailey hints, invite the dangers of the pork barrel.

But it also promises a source of aid with a less provincial point of view.

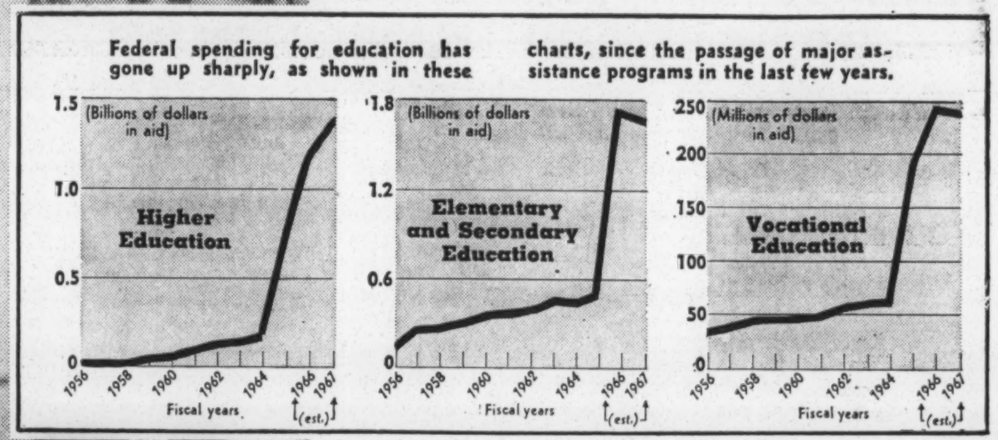
Professor Campbell fears that the cities will not get enough. Mr. Bailey fears that the pork barrel will get too much. But a new fact may well be that the streamlined Office of Education, for the first time close to the center of governmental power, may make up for the lagging political sophistication in the urban school leadership—at least until a new educational power group can be trained in and for the cities.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bailey hinted that, though strengthened, the Office of Education is still in need of higher status and greater efficiency to prevent educational spending from being scattered aimlessly and ineffectively. He raised again the old question of the need for a separate Cabinet department of education.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner has argued with persuasive finality that the three major areas of his department are and should be inextricably intertwined. It is far more likely that the solution will be sought in another arrangement now much discussed behind the scenes in Washington—re-organization along Pentagon lines. H.E.W. would still be headed by one over-all secretary, but three new Secretaries (Health, Education, Welfare) would function under him much as the Secretaries of Army, Navy and Air Force operate under the Secretary of Defense.

Such grand strategies confirm that education is at the center of the national political controls, even as urban school boards still struggle to develop enough political muscle to do education's most crucial job. The unresolved question remains whether the Office of Education can be made powerful and efficient enough to promise to the nation's urban schools the kind of alliance which the provincialism of the state capitols and the impotence of the city halls have denied them.

The New York Times (by Robert Walker)



A VOICE FOR EDUCATION: Hard-pressed urban schools are increasingly looking to Washington for new funds. Here Harlod Howe 2d, United States Commissioner of Education, is shown at recent House subcommittee hearings which tried to determine whether the reorganized Office of Education is up to its new Federal aid mission. Charts show how Federal funds, distributed by the office, have skyrocketed as a result of recent legislation.

Integration Gaining

By LEONARD BUDER

Until about five years ago school segregation was regarded as largely a Southern problem. Integration was a major issue in perhaps no more than half a dozen Northern school systems.

Then the realization set in, sparked largely by pressures from civil rights groups, that school segregation was a problem whether it was the result of discriminatory laws (as in the South) or discriminatory practices or subtle prejudices (as in the North).

Last week, as most of the nation's schools reopened for the new academic year—the late starters will open tomorrow—there were hopeful signs of new progress toward school integration.

In Washington, the United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe 2d, predicted that there would be as much progress this school year as in the previous 12 years since the historic United States Supreme Court decision on school segregation.

Most of the progress, Mr. Howe said, will take place in the South.

In New York City, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a report on its four-and-a-half-year campaign to promote school integration in the North, which now involves 130 public school systems in 22 states. In about two-thirds of these systems, some progress toward integration has been made—although it has often been not no more than tokenism.

The gains have been greater in the suburban systems and smaller cities, Miss June Shagaloff, the association's national education director, noted. And frequently, she added, they have come about not through enlightened school leadership but as the result of "extended community pressure, protest demonstrations and litigation."

Northern and Western school systems where total or substantial desegregation will take place for the first time this fall, the report said, include Albany, Amityville and Roosevelt, N. Y.; Lansing, Mich.; and Sacramento, Carlsbad, Fullerton, Riverside, Indio and Fresno, Calif. New plans expanding existing desegregation efforts will take place in Freeport and Malverne, N. Y.; Stamford, Conn.; Englewood and Montclair, N. J.; Denver; and Sausalito and Berkeley, Calif.

Plans Held 'Inadequate'

The desegregation efforts employed in these communities, Miss Shagaloff observed, range from school pairing and rezoning to closing old, all-Negro schools and establishing new primary and intermediate schools.

New but limited (and "inadequate," according to the N.A.A.C.P.) desegregation plans will go into effect in a number of other communities, including Bridgeport, Conn.; Cincinnati, Des Moines, Iowa; Detroit and Indianapolis.

All told, some 38 school districts in the North and West have taken steps to desegregate, including New York City, which has embarked on a reorganization that will result in a new system of primary, intermediate and comprehensive high schools. Another 42 communities will continue desegregation efforts started since 1962. And a few others have announced plans to take effect next year.

In other communities, however, school officials have been evasive, Miss Shagaloff said.

"But the problem," Miss Shagaloff added, "is not that of administrative know-how—it is the unwillingness to change the status quo."

A Survey Of Surveys

The American Psychological Association, at its annual meeting in New York last week, took yet another stab at the perennial question of what ails America. It diagnosed a severe case of "survey sickness."

A panel of experts charged that researchers working for foundations or Government agencies, graduate students and a variety of expense-account tourists with para-academic interests and credentials are a disruptive nuisance. However, one of the complainants, Prof. Kalman H. Silvert, of Dartmouth College, admitted that he is currently mailing 5,600 questionnaires to schools in Chile which, if conscientiously completed, would require 10,000 hours of effort.

The survey sickness has many causes. One of the most fundamental is that American schools, as foreign observers frequently note, inoculate students with the notion that compilations of facts is synonymous with unlocking knowledge and understanding.

Indeed, educators themselves frequently create the impression that the battle for school improvement and social reform could be won, if only all the data were collected. Moreover, survey findings are just as useful to document the need to preserve the status quo as to propagate change. Pressures for change can be cushioned and deflected by protestations that nothing should be done until all the facts are in—and, of course, all the facts are never in.

Questions By Rote

Thus, surveys are often conducted on questions to which the answers are really not in doubt (such as the impact of undesirable environment on young children) when effective social and educational reform could be introduced on the basis of general knowledge and common sense. Many effective changes, of course, are made by hunch rather than by survey.

Finally, surveys proliferate simply because a huge number of doctoral candidates must, under current ground rules, produce "original scholarship." Since such fields as education and sociology are, for better or for worse, deeply committed to the imitation of the scientific method, such scholarship depends largely on surveys and often on the frantic search for new questions about old issues.

It is in revolt against such redundant efforts, merely to fulfill the Ph.D. requirements, that increasing numbers of critics, even in academia, are urging the substitution of critical analysis and creative commentary on social and educational problems for the too often hothouse grown research that is neither original nor productive and keeps the questionnaires coming.

F.M.H.

Education

The Integration Fight Pays Dividends

By FRED M. HECHINGER

In recent years, it has become fashionable and expedient to insist that there is no difference between school segregation North and South. For Southern segregationists, this is a way of telling the North to mind its own backyard. For Northern liberals, it is a well-intentioned device to push for speedier integration. Last week's opening of a new school year—in New York and in Grenada, Mississippi—offered classic documentation of the fact that "North equals South" is a phony equation.

The violence, including the beating of young Negro pupils, that followed attempts to desegregate two all-white public schools in Grenada, underlined once again that Southern desegregation remains largely a local and political problem, not an educational issue. It is a question of marshaling sufficient protective force to break a local custom of apartheid which has, since the historic Supreme Court decision of 1954, become a violation of the law of the land.

Taking the events in New York as a sample of the Northern situation, it quickly becomes evident that the issue there is now predominantly educational. Integration is still a vital part of the issue, but desegregation is not. Negro children are not kept out of white schools, nor white children out of Negro schools, if their parents wish to send them there.

Controversy

The controversy of the week in New York was raised when a group of Negro parents prevented the Board of Education from opening the new Intermediate School 201, the only fully air-conditioned school in the city, because its location in East Harlem threatened to make it a predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican school, unless white parents volunteer to send their children there.

The parents, aided by various Negro groups, a local white minister and some academic integration experts, gave the board two alternatives:

¶Bring in white pupils and integrate the school.

¶Or give the Negro parents "total control" over the administration of the school, including the selection of principal and teachers.

Neither demand was ever likely to be met. The board had distributed some invitations to white parents outside the Harlem ghetto to send their children to what it promised to turn into an academic showcase. But it was not likely that enough, if any, parents would volunteer to bring about such reverse integration. (The I.S. 201 parents stressed, however, that their objections had been ignored when the site for the new school was picked).

As for "total control," no school board is legally permitted or educationally able to give any group or neighborhood such powers.

Moreover, any such move would be cheered by racists in predominantly white areas who could then claim equal "total control." This would, in short order, lead to total fragmentation of public education and abandonment of the public schools' mission to give cohesion to society. (It is legal segregation in the South that has blocked this cohesion.)

Late last week, however, Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, the Superintendent of Schools, offered the residents of the district of I.S. 201 a considerable voice in the running of the schools, including participation in the screening of the teaching staff.

But quite apart from the specific demands and controversies in New York, the following crucial differences from the Southern situation emerge:

While Negroes in the South are fighting for their children's right to be taught along with white children and by some white teachers, the battle cry in the Northern cities is increasingly to get greater numbers of Negro teachers and principals for Negro children. "Black teachers for black children" has become a battle slogan in Harlem. While this reflects in part the voice of a small but vocal Black Nationalist element, it more generally represents the legitimate demand to open up equal professional opportunities for Negroes and to bolster the Negro pupils' pride in their place in society.

Underlining further the difference between the Northern and Southern problem is the fact that enforced desegregation in the South has led to the firing of considerable numbers of Negro teachers there—to avoid admitting them to jobs in desegregated white schools—while New York is feverishly trying to recruit Negro teachers. It is a measure of the depth of the Southern school problem that few Negro teachers there have had the chance for the kind of professional training that qualifies them for appointment to Northern schools.

One reason why the phony North-equals-South equation tended to be accepted so widely for so long was the fact that civil rights leaders at first focused primarily on demands for integration of all Northern schools through a variety of devices—pairing of Negro and white schools, busing to other neighborhoods, redrawing of district lines, etc. These devices not only aroused opposition among the white majority who feared that their own children's education might be hurt, but they also proved inadequate to bring about anything resembling effective integration in those urban centers where huge areas are inhabited almost exclusively by Negroes.

Negro Concern

Today—as I.S. 201 indicates—the Negro concern in the North is increasingly with better education, with pertinent teaching (including full presentation of Negro history), with an equal role for Negroes in the teaching and administration and with the right of the community to have its demands heard. ("Total control" demands may well be the momentary, misguided reaction to a past situation in which the Negroes, like other poor and disadvantaged at other times, exercised no control at all because they lacked political power.)

As a result, the Northern Negroes' fight for a better educational deal for their children is no longer a black-versus-white argument—as it so brutally is in diehard sections of the South.

The Northern school integration crusade has begun to pay off—in better educational opportunities for all children. A superficial but telling illustration is the fact that all hands, from school clerks to principals, in New York's vast, 860-school system seemed more considerate and courteous as school opened last Monday.

Minority spokesmen in the past often complained that they were given a run-around or were even insulted by brusque school secretaries. They often saw in this a racial insult. In fact, the keepers of the schools' gates frequently behaved like disgruntled bus drivers or police state bureaucrats toward all comers, without regard for race, color or creed.

Now, alerted and reoriented as a consequence of civil rights spokesmen's complaints, a new attitude of public service is beginning to turn the schools into happier places for all.

Even more significant is the designation of I.S. 201 itself. One of the first of a new group of Intermediate or Middle Schools, it reflects the trend toward the replacement of junior high schools.

For years, junior high schools had been severely criticized. Created largely for the purpose of sheltering the younger adolescents from the influence of the high school crowd, the junior high school instead became the isolation ward in which the worst immaturities of adolescence flourished. These schools, from grade 7 through 9, turned into kings of the roost the youngsters who normally would have been meek high school freshmen.

In these schools, as Dr. James B. Conant complained, all the worst trappings of the high schools—marching bands, varsity sports and even steady dating—were hothouse-grown.

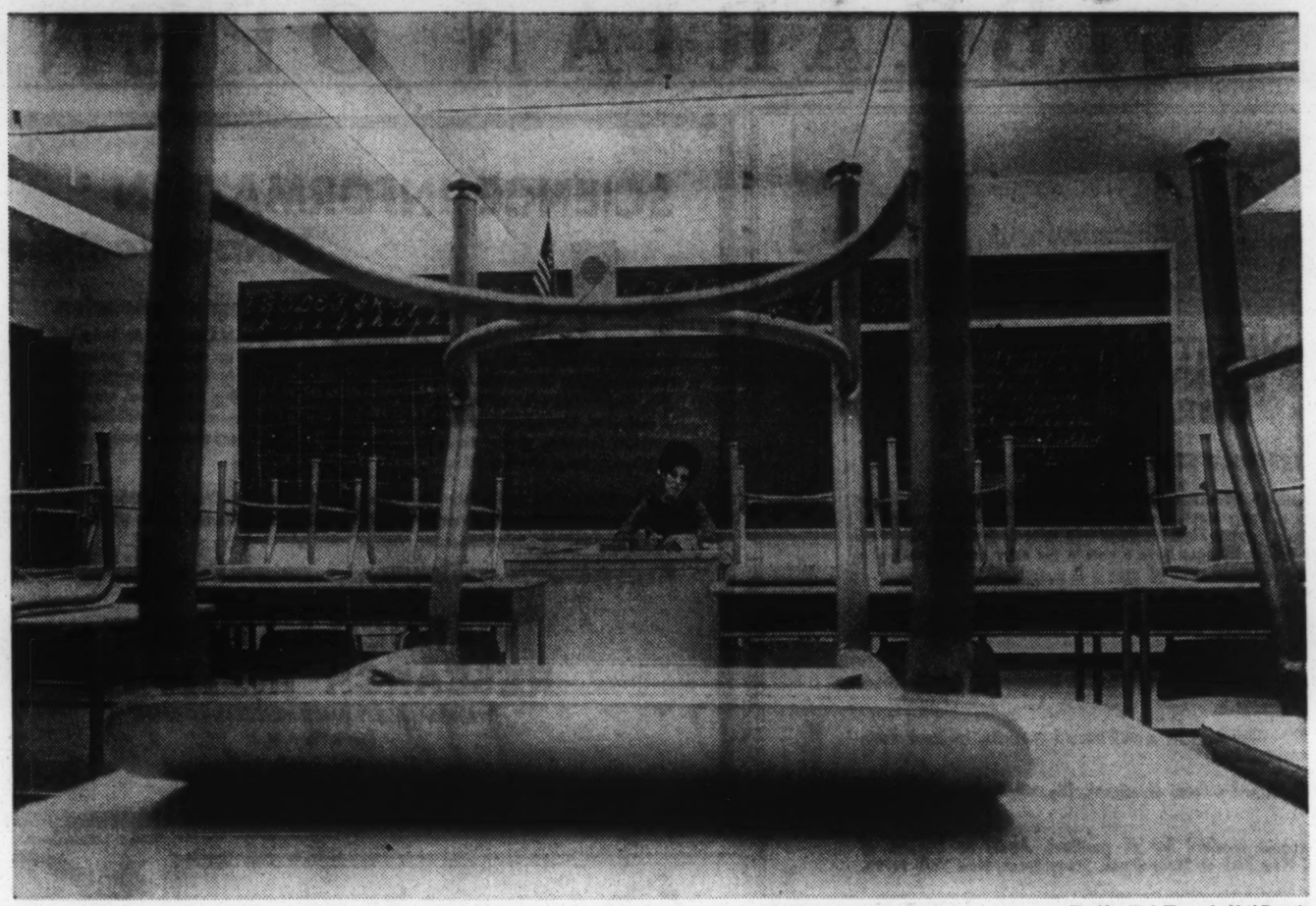
Despite all the dissatisfaction, the junior high school lobby remained strong and immovable.

Only under civil rights pressure did reorganization plans begin to get a fair hearing. The proposal of the 4-4-4 plan—four years each of elementary, middle, and high school—was strongly advanced for purposes of better integration. Youngsters would remain in the "neighborhood school," which most strongly reflects de facto housing segregation, only for four years. Since the middle school serves (not unlike the junior high school) a wider area, it is more likely to feed youngsters out of the neighborhood into a more effectively mixed enrollment two years sooner.

Valid as the integration reasoning is, it is more than matched by potential education gains for everybody.

The Southern school story last week remained political rather than educational. It was still a question of equal political rights under the law. The Northern school story, as dramatized in New York was one of the quest for better education, whether inside or outside the ghetto. Some critics charge that for those who live in de facto segregated parts of the Northern cities this amounts to a re-enactment of the "separate but equal" doctrine. They overlook the importance of current efforts to make the ghetto schools educationally superior, not to persuade Negroes to submit permanently to apartheid, but rather to use education as the ladder out of poverty, substandard living and, with it, segregation.

This is in the tradition of the American public schools as the gateway for the last-arrived minorities. The Southern course of using the schools as the instrument of exclusion—as in the conflict in Grenadalast week—remains educationally and politically un-American in the most basic sense of that term.



The New York Times (by Neal Boenzi)

NO PUPILS: Teacher in empty classroom at New York's new, fully air-conditioned Intermediate School 201 in East Harlem. Negro parents have kept their children out of school pending Settlement of dispute over integration and other school policies.

YUMMY ROLE IN PITTSBURGH

A decade ago, Norwegian school experts discovered that most pupils did their least effective work at the start of the school day, when they should be rested and raring to go. They traced the slow start to the fact that most youngsters eat unsatisfactory breakfasts—the poor because they are not served a decent meal and the affluent because they get up too late to have time for more than a bite on the run. The official answer was a school breakfast for everyone, which came to be known as the Oslo Breakfast. The early morning learning curve immediately rose.

Last week, after extensive research, the Pittsburgh schools disclosed that they, too, found pupils in need of a nutritional head start. Looking for a cheap and efficient way for quick mass-feeding, the system unveiled a new high-protein roll available in three flavors (meat, cheese and peanut butter) which is packed with protein, vitamins and the necessary calories and was unhappily christened the Pittsburgh Yummy Roll.

'Mustn't Teach, Teacher!'

An old Jewish story, ridiculing the follies of official bureaucracies, tells of a little boy who breathlessly tries to gain admission to the synagogue during services on the High Holy Days. The guard at the door demands to see the admission ticket, but the youngster, close to tears, pleads that he just wants to get to his father in the temple to tell him to come home in a hurry because his mother, who was ill, has taken a turn for the worse.

At first, the guard adamantly insists on seeing the admissions pass, but eventually he succumbs to the child's pleading. "All right," he says, "go and get your Dad, but," shaking his finger at the boy, "don't let me catch you praying!"

Last week Congress appeared determined to re-enact the story in its dealings with the National Teacher Corps.

Under a resolution passed by the House of Representatives, more than 1,200 young men and women who spent the summer training to become members of the Corps, to be assigned to classrooms across the country, were told that they were welcome to go into the schools as observers—so long as no Congressional investigator caught them teaching.

The Corps, proposed by President Johnson more than a year ago, has become a victim of delays and legislative harassment.

Although part of the Higher Education Act of 1965, it has never had the wholehearted support of many of the education supporters in Congress, perhaps partly because the powerful professional education establishment on the state level, especially in the South, fears that Corps volunteers might, as outsiders, undermine the existing power structure.

Fashioned to some extent along Peace Corps lines, the N.T.C. worried some observers. The conservative view appears to be that the kind of fresh ideas that might be good for an Asian village could be disturbing in Appalachia.

In addition — more understandably—there was concern lest the local teachers might resent the greater glamor of the Corpsmen and be envious of certain advantages in terms of graduate fellowships offered corps members.

Whatever the reasons, the potential impact of the Corps has been steadily reduced, even in the planning stage. The original budget proposal was cut. The number of trainees was reduced from 4,000 to 1,616 last summer on a training budget of about $9-million.

Nevertheless, these young college graduates, who were to be sent to schools in teams under the supervision of highly experienced teachers, spent the summer in special training on 42 university campuses. As the summer ended, Congress had not yet acted on the funding to make the Corps operational, even though the request had been reduced from $30-million to less than $20-million. A Senate appropriations subcommittee last week recommended that the Corps be given $7-5-million. Even that inadequate amount still requires Senate and House approval.

New Contracts Curtailed

A trickle of trainees has left to take other jobs, but Corps officials stress that even today 1,252 are still sticking with the uncertain mission. Others are said to be ready to return to active duty when the financial go ahead is given.

But—apparently to show its legislative muscle—a House resolution of June 30, reaffirmed on Aug. 30, warned that until the program is funded "no new contractual arrangements shall be entered into in connection with the National Teacher Corps nor shall any contract of any kind be made with respect to the assignment of any teacher to teach in any school under that program."

To give teeth to this prohibition, Representative Melvin Laird, Republican of Wisconsin, ordered an investigation. Eight special investigators are currently trying to make sure that the Corpsmen, who have since been assigned to schools as "observers" and for additional training by the universities that trained them, are not violating the Congressional edict.

Thus, as schools opened, faced with the most serious teacher shortage in a decade, the House, not unlike the synagogue guard, appeared to say: "All right, go into the schools, if you must, but don't let us catch you teaching."

EDUCATION

TURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1966.

TEACHER OPPOSES THE TERM 'NEGRO'

Urges Federation to Drive for Use of 'Afro-American'

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9—A conference of teachers was urged today to mount a drive to drop the "slave name" Negro and use the term Afro-American to describe the black population of the United States.

Keith Baird, a Barbados-born teacher of languages at Bushwick High School in Brooklyn, introduced a resolution to this effect at a national meeting of the powerful American federation of teachers. The topics were Negro history and "racism in education."

Mr. Baird said it was high time that Negroes moved up to hyphenated status such as the Italian-Americans and other minority groups, thus indicating an "ethnic identity" and a connection with "land, culture and history."

The term Negro, he said, was used "solely to describe the enslaved and the enslavable," dating from the time that Africans were brought forcibly to this country.

Charles Cogen, the federation's President and a prime oranizer of New York City's teachers in the early nineteen-sixties, supported Mr. Baird's plea for the term Afro-American. So also did Ossie Davis, actor and civil rights activist, who gave the keynote speech.

James McPherson, a historian at Princeton University, sounded another major theme of the conference, which was that until recently, American textbooks gave a distorted picture of the contributions and roles of Negroes in the life of this country.

He told the more than 1,000 teachers attending the conference that until the middle of the nineteen-fifties, American school children, both black and white, had been shaped by school books that universally portrayed Negroes as happy, carefree children under slavery, and Northern abolitionists as fanatics.

Dr. McPherson cited "American Negro Slavery" by Ulrich B. Phillips, published in 1918, as the most influential work for decades propounding this point of view. Mr. Phillips, a Southerner, and his students, assumed the "innate inferiority" of the Negro and the benevolent paternalism of the planters, according to the Princeton professor.

He also named the classic textbook, "Growth of the American Republic," by Samuel Eliot Morrison and Henry Steele Commager. Dr. McPherson said that through the thirties and forties, editions of this book referred to Negro slaves as Sambo, and maintained that they were adequately fed, well cared for, better off than Northern laborers, and devoted to their masters.

Mr. Davis, whose speech was subtitled "The English Langua Is My Enemy," noted that English was one of the "prime carriers of racism."

He said that in Roget's Thesaurus" there were 134 synonyms for the word "whiteness", mostly favorable such as purity, clean, chaste, innocent; and 120 synonyms for "blackness," at least 60 offensive such as blot, smut, begrime, sinister and foul.

The actor suggested that the English language be "reconstructed" to cure the problem so that teachers would not be forced "to teach the Negro child 60 ways to despise himself and the white child 60 ways to aid and abet him in the crime."

THIS WEEK in SEL Southeastern Education Laboratory

Volume 1, No. 1 December 12, 1966

Component Centers Appoint Advisory Councils

Now that all Component Centers of Southeastern Education Laboratory are staffed with a Director and other key personnel, rapid progress is being made in the establishment of Component Advisory Councils. In accordance with the By-Laws of the Laboratory, each Advisory Council includes:

1. School personnel—selected by Boards of Directors of state organizations as follows: elementary teachers (2), secondary teachers (2), elementary principals (2), secondary principals (2), supervisory personnel (2), superintendents (2).
2. State department of education personnel—selected by chief state school officers (2).
3. Teacher education institution personnel—selected by institution presidents as follows: with Doctoral programs (2), with Master's programs (1), with Bachelor's programs only—a minimum of one or one-third of the eligible institutions.
4. Other representatives—selected by the representatives appointed in categories one, two, and three above—a minimum of ten members, broadly representative of other educational agencies (including private and parochial schools) and related organizations, governmental and community groups, business and industry, labor, and lay citizens.

Members of Component Advisory Councils serve rotating two-year terms. Each Council elects a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary. The Councils meet at least semi-annually. Executive Committees, typically composed of officers and two other Council members, meet more frequently with the staff in each Component Center. Purpose of the Advisory Councils is to give grass roots advice on activities of the Laboratory.

Current Chairmen of Advisory Councils are as follows:

Athens—Dean J. A. Williams, University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Atlanta—Mr. Lynn F. Shufelt, Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Auburn—Dean Truman Pierce, Auburn University
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Tampa—Dr. J. Hartley Blackburn, Manatee County Board of Public Instruction
Bradenton, Florida

Miami—Dean J. R. Beery, University of Miami
Miami, Florida

A complete roster of the Advisory Council in your component area can be obtained from the Component Center Director.

Regional Council Reviews Laboratory Activities at Semi-Annual Meeting

December 8 and 9 members of the Laboratory's 62 man Regional Council met in Atlanta with the Board of Directors, Central Staff, Component Center Directors, Chairmen of Component Advisory Councils, and other educational leaders from Florida, Georgia and Alabama to review the status of SEL activities. The theme of the meeting was, "The Challenge of Alleviating Educational Deprivation." Following a resumé of current SEL operations, the group devoted its attention to identifying new opportunities for alleviating educational deprivation through the Laboratory.

AROUND THE REGION

November 28—Gainesville Component
Meeting of the Advisory Council's Executive Committee.

November 30—Miami, Florida
Laboratory Staff Represented on a Panel Regarding Regional Laboratories at the Southern Association Meeting.

December 5-7—Georgia Components
Statewide meeting of Instructional Supervisors to enhance utilization of Title I equipment.

December 7—Central Office
Component Directors meet with Central Office Staff.

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THIS WEEK in SEL Southeastern Education Laboratory

Volume 1, No. 2 EDUCATION December 19, 1966

ERIC - 2½ Tons of Research At Your Fingertips

ERIC is an educational information service created in 1964 by the U. S. Office of Education "to facilitate and coordinate information storage and retrieval efforts in all areas of research."

ERIC gets its name from the Educational Research Information Center, a unit in the Division of Research Training and Dissemination, Bureau of Research, Office of Education.

ERIC disseminates information in much the same way that other government agencies and private industries do — with *one basic difference*: ERIC is decentralized. Research specialists are left where they are. Twelve field operations have so far been selected which serve as informational input clearing houses or research documentation centers in the ERIC system. They are located across the nation where well-developed collections of educational materials already exist.

Each center specializes in one area of research and has the responsibility for being aware of research projects in its specialty that are underway everywhere in the country. Center specialists clear documents for inclusion in the ERIC-central system. If a paper is judged desirable, it is carefully summarized in 250 words and sent to Washington for scrutiny.

When a document is approved by the Office of Education, it goes into the ERIC system, becomes available in abstract form to the entire educational world through the ERIC MICROFISCHE FILE. Microfische cards are indexed for easy use and are distributed to all 50 state departments of education, 100 large city school systems and 500 randomly selected medium-size city school systems.

Presently the ERIC system provides abstracts of 1,740 documents on Microfische that are particularly useful as support material for planning programs for the educationally disadvantaged. For intensive study of promising material, copies of original documents may be obtained at nominal cost, either on microfilm or hardcopy, through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. Additional educational research documents will be available as new abstracts are received from ERIC information centers, reviewed and included in the Microfische file. Orders for materials are generally filled within five days after requests are received. Thus, by providing a systematic and comprehensive communication link between researchers in the field and the many potential users of new knowledge—particularly teachers and administrators — ERIC can effectively contribute to speedy and widespread implementation of new programs which promise to alleviate educational deprivation.

SEL staff are currently reviewing the ERIC Microfische library in the Central office to discover which new educational materials described in it are applicable to the Laboratory's nine program dimensions:

1. Development of our region's human resources.
2. Improvement of classroom teaching and learning.
3. Resolution of problems created by desegregating dual school systems.
4. Development of new leadership to accelerate educational improvement.
5. Preparing more effective teachers for the underprivileged.
6. Introducing and testing new curricula and instructional materials.
7. Aiding development and use of new school facilities.
8. Projects designed to illuminate the processes of dissemination and innovation.
9. Projects designed to develop appropriate new cross-cultural programs, particularly as they involve children, youth and adults of different cultural, national and/or racial backgrounds.

Information about these materials will soon be available through the Laboratory Component Center nearest you.

Can ERIC help solve some of the problems of the educationally deprived in *your* area? SEL staff members think it can and are eager to assist you in the use of this new information storage and retrieval system.

A Slide Presentation explaining the ERIC program and how it can be useful to you is now ready for distribution to SEL Component Offices. Ask the SEL Component Director in your area to arrange a showing for you. He will be prepared to direct you to the ERIC Microfische File in your vicinity, and SEL invites you to explore ERIC's information as we work to alleviate educational deprivation across the region.

AROUND THE REGION

December 2 — Atlanta, Georgia. Central Staff presents overview of Laboratory and ERIC system to Southeastern Region, American Association on Mental Deficiency.

December 14 — Tallahassee, Florida. Gainesville Component Staff meets with Curriculum and Instruction Division, Florida State Department of Education.

December 15, 16 — Raleigh, N. C. Central Office Staff meets with Advisory Council for Research, Center for Occupational Education, North Carolina State University.

December 18 — Marietta, Georgia. Athens Component begins preliminary planning for comprehensive curriculum study in Hancock County schools.

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this is SEL...

SOUTHEASTERN EDUCATION LABORATORY was founded in June, 1966, to help all educators in Georgia, Alabama and Florida produce more and more responsible citizens for our free society through the formal education process. The goal of SEL is to provide regional leadership for educational program improvements which are particularly beneficial to educationally deprived people in the Southeast. The Laboratory is financed in part with funds from Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and in part with funds from other public and private sources. The immediate aim of SEL is to help all educators in schools, colleges and educational agencies of the region provide appropriate and exciting new educational experiences that will motivate continuing good growth and development of deprived children in our schools. As one of twenty new federally sponsored regional education laboratories blanketing the nation, SEL also will seek to develop some of its programs to serve broader regional and national purposes.

LABORATORY COMPONENTS

Educators are assisted in SEL activities through eight service centers conveniently located around the tri-state region. Service centers are located in Tuscaloosa and Auburn, Alabama; Athens and Atlanta, Georgia; Tallahassee, Gainesville, Tampa and Miami, Florida. The component service centers are the action arms of your regional education laboratory. The SEL central office in Atlanta facilitates and coordinates the work of these centers.

SOUTHEASTERN EDUCATION LABORATORY

PROGRAM FOCUS

SEL is responsible for performing several major educational service functions. These are: (1) to assist in the development of region-wide programs that hold promise for the rapid elimination of educational deprivation among the region's culturally and educationally disadvantaged; (2) to provide planning assistance and program development services to appropriate operating agencies and institutions in the region, particularly in the development of new programs for the educationally disadvantaged; (3) to disseminate ideas and information that are relevant to a region-wide attack on educational deprivation; and, (4) to stimulate and support research, particularly that which is relevant to the acceleration of educational improvement for the educationally deprived.

SEL supports on-going programs and activities for the socially, culturally and educationally disadvantaged with a systematic focus on the elimination of educational and cultural deprivation. In particular, the Laboratory seeks to provide region-wide leadership to assist in the functional coordination and focusing of such diverse programs as those presently in operation or being planned under Titles I and III of P. L. 89–10; NDEA, Title XI; Title IV of the Civil Rights Act; EOA; the National Teacher Corps, etc. SEL fosters the development of a comprehensive regional program of research, local school system experimentation, planning assistance, and personnel training, which will assist responsible agencies and institutions in the process of solving problems resulting from dual school systems and their integration. SEL assists in developing appropriate new curricula as well as new curricular and instructional materials, and in establishing new programs to prepare educational personnel who are skilled in the use of these tools for learning. Laboratory activities are reinforced by a number of important supporting services and activities including, ultimately, a region-wide educational data processing and evaluation system.

The professional staff in the central office and component centers of SEL seeks to provide professional leadership assistance services to educators in three ways: (1) by focusing attention and activity principally upon educational problems of regional and national concern; (2) by maximizing use of the region's resources and institutions; and, (3) by coordinating the activities of independent agencies within the context of a cooperatively developed regional program and plan.

SEL may best be viewed as a new system of relationships among the state education agencies, universities, school systems, and other education related agencies, both public and private. As such, the Laboratory provides a powerful new mechanism through which the region may pursue excellence in educational endeavors, ultimately assuring each of its citizens an excellent and equal educational opportunity.

ACTIVITIES UNDERWAY

Southeastern Education Laboratory has received, reviewed and evaluated to date 73 separate proposals for action projects from 21 of the region's universities, state education departments, large urban school systems and other related educational organizations and agencies. Each proposal for action has been examined in detail by professionals in the component service centers. A panel of 10 distinguished educators has been assembled to review these proposals as well, and to select from the 73 possible projects those meriting immediate support. The panel chose 27 proposals for intensive review. Eight of these were selected for immediate funding.

They are:

A. Projects Designed to Improve Classroom Teaching and Learning

1. The Effects of Teacher In-Service Education on The Development of Art Ideas with Six-Year Old Culturally Deprived Children
2. A Demonstration of the Role of Sciences in the Programs of Educationally Deprived Children in Grades 7–9
3. Problem Solving Processes of School Children and Their Amenability to Improvement

B. Projects Designed to Improve School Personnel

4. A Pilot Project in the Use of Video Tape Techniques and Micro Teaching Strategies in the Supervision of Interns and Classroom Teachers
5. Special Training Program, and Follow-up In-Service Program for Junior High School Teachers of Culturally Deprived Children

C. Project Designed to Improve Educational Leadership

6. Educational Media Conferences for Instructional Supervision—Georgia, Alabama, Florida

D. Projects Designed to Develop and Introduce New Curicula and Instructional Materials

7. The Use of Technological Devices and Materials in Disadvantaged Classrooms
8. Minnesota Mathematics and Science Teaching Project

In addition to the 8 projects listed above, 13 additional projects were deemed by the review panel to be so significant and timely as to warrant funding by December 31, 1966.

Educational Research Information Center files of the U. S. Office of Education are being located in or near all 8 component service centers and in the central office of SEL. ERIC materials are for all educators in the region to use. The many, many programs for disadvantaged children and youth summarized in ERIC will help all of us build the most effective programs possible for disadvantaged children.

A weekly SEL newsletter also is in the design stage. This publication will summarize new laboratory activities, provide information about new educational materials as they become available, and will show a weekly schedule of SEL meetings around the region. An automated mailing list is presently being prepared and equipment acquired so that approximately 10,000 educators and friends of education in the region can regularly receive the SEL newsletter. The mailing list ultimately will include about 30,000 names.

LABORATORY LEADERSHIP

Professional staff members in each of the 8 component service centers of SEL are assisted by an Advisory Committee. These committees are composed of leading professional educators in the area and prominent lay citizens selected for their enthusiastic interest in education. The central office staff is assisted in its work by a Board of Directors. The Board meets monthly to formulate policies under which SEL operates. Members of the Board presently include the following individuals:

Dr. Robert E. Bills, Dean, College of Education, University of Alabama

Dr. J. C. Blair, Director of Secondary Education, State of Alabama

Dr. Horace M. Bond, Director, Bureau of Educational and Social Research, Atlanta University

Mr. Neil Davis, Editor, Auburn, Alabama

Mr. Clyde Kimball, Principal, Continental Colony Elementary School, Atlanta

Dr. Charles T. Lester, Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Emory University

Dr. J. Stanley Marshall, Associate Dean, School of Education, Florida State University

Dr. Truman M. Pierce (President), Dean, School of Education, Auburn University

Dr. H. Titus Singletary, Jr., Associate State Superintendent of Schools, State of Georgia

Dr. Kimball Wiles (Vice-President), Dean, College of Education, University of Florida

Mr. Arthur Wolfe, Director, Nova Schools, Fort Lauderdale

Dr. J. A. Williams, Dean, School of Education, University of Georgia

To help make the impact of SEL programs *regional* in fact, a Regional Council also has been appointed. The Council meets semi-annually to critically review the status of SEL programs, and annually to elect the Board of Directors. The Regional Council's membership is broadly representative of various groups of people in the tri-state area who are concerned about improving education.

A LOOK AHEAD

For the immediate future SEL energy and resources will be focused upon:

1. Development and use across the region of Title I and III programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.
2. Completion of a regional inventory of educational programs for deprived children and youth.
3. Development and utilization of curriculum and instructional material innovations in school classrooms across the region.
4. Development of professional educational personnel.

Three supporting services also will be undertaken simultaneously by SEL as the four activities above get underway. These services include:

1. Designing and implementing a regional educational data and evaluation system called SEED, Source of Essential Educational Data.
2. Disseminating ideas, information and materials for improvement of learning in educationally deprived classrooms.
3. Funding SEL activities.

A Bi-lingual Instructional Materials Program soon will be initiated under the auspices of SEL. This program aims to develop more effective textbooks and other teaching-learning tools for school children from Spanish speaking families. These new tools will be tailored for use by children of Cuban refugees in the region and their teachers. The tools also will be used in American schools abroad in Latin and South America. The program is financed by the U.S. Department of State and marks the beginning of a continuing working relationship between the Laboratory and that arm of the Federal government.

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EDUCATION
(Clips + information file)

EDUCATION IN THE FIFTY STATES

Department of Education

AFL-CIO

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D.C.

ERRATUM

Table O on page 11 for Ohio should read 69.3%.

Third Revised Edition
1966
oeiu#2 afl-cio

INTRODUCTION

This third edition of Education in the Fifty States has been completely revised and reorganized to include up-to-date figures and a great deal of new material. The various charts bring together information about education throughout the nation and in each of the fifty states.

As an illustration of how to use this handbook, we might take the state of Pennsylvania. From these charts one can learn that Pennsylvania is slightly above the national average in per capita income (Column A), but slightly below average in per pupil expenditure for elementary and secondary education (Column B). Pennsylvania therefore ranks low in "effort," that is in school expenditure as a percentage of personal income (Column C). Pennsylvania spends only 3.65% of its personal income on elementary and secondary schools, compared to the national average of 4.74%. By glancing through the chart, it can be seen that Pennsylvania is among the lowest states in effort. Pennsylvania, more easily than many states, could maintain adequate levels of educational expenditure. By committing 6.09% of its income to elementary and secondary education, less than several states are already doing, Pennsylvania could raise its per pupil expenditure to $800 (Column D), enough to pay teachers an average of $8,000 a year and to match New York State's average expenditure for other current needs. The average state would need to spend 7.83% of its income to accomplish the same result, and many states would need to commit more than a tenth of their income to education.

The state government provides 43.4% of educational expenditures in Pennsylvania, slightly higher than the national average (Column N), but considerably less than many other states do. Local communities pay 53.6% of school costs and Federal assistance accounts for only 2.8% of school costs. It should, of course, be noted that these figures are for a school year prior to the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Inadequate support for education is reflected in several ways. Teachers' salaries in Pennsylvania are below the national average (Column E), considerably lower than they should be in view of the resources of the state. A surprising 58.2% of the schools in Pennsylvania have no school library (Column G). Classroom shortages in Pennsylvania are severe. The state now has 79,500 classrooms in use (Column I), but 19,800 new classrooms are needed to replace substandard classrooms now in use (Column J) and an additional 16,900 classrooms are needed to bring class size down to 25 elementary and 20 secondary pupils to a room (Column K), making a total of 36,700 new classrooms needed in the state (Column L).

Dropouts in Pennsylvania are fewer than for the nation as a whole, with 80.8% of the ninth graders in public school going on to graduate from the twelfth grade (Column H). Columns R, S, and T tell the story of what happened to a typical group of 1000 Pennsylvania students who entered the ninth grade, either in public or non-public schools, in the fall of 1960. In 1964, 815 of them graduated from the twelfth grade, 185 of them having dropped out somewhere along the way. Of those who graduated, 309 entered their freshman year of college in the fall of 1964. In Nevada 528 of the original 1000 would have entered college and in California 724 of the original 1000 would have started college. These figures, computed by the AFL-CIO Education Department, have not been published prior to their appearance in this handbook.

With regard to higher education, Pennsylvania's per capita public expenditure is considerably below average, $6.29 as compared to the national average of $14.12 (Column U). Perhaps this partially explains the fact that fewer of Pennsylvania's high school graduates enter college than is the case in the average state, 38% in Pennsylvania as compared to 51% in the nation (Column V). Of the Pennsylvanians who do enter college, 22.4% go outside the state for their education, as compared with only 9.8% in Michigan and 5.4% in California (Column W).

Since the last edition of Education in the Fifty States, several important new programs of federal aid to education have been enacted. Some of the authorized appropriations for 1966 under these programs are given on pages 16 and 17. Pennsylvania is authorized to receive $56,501,000 for improving educational opportunity of disadvantaged children under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; $9,410,000 under the Vocational Education Act of 1963; and $27,539,000 for student aid, academic facilities, and community extension services under the Higher Education Act of 1965.

As can be seen from the charts, many states with much less income are doing much both absolutely and relatively than Pennsylvania in elementary, secondary and higher education. Using these charts, this same kind of information can be obtained about each of the states. Some states, it will be discovered, are straining their resources to support their schools; others could do more. All in all, these charts add up to compelling statistical justification for full federal partnership in financing education from the elementary schools to the universities.

	A	B	C	D
	Per Capita Personal Income (1964)	Current School Expenditure Per Pupil (1964-65)	Effort: State and Local School Expenditure as % of Personal Income (1964-65)	% of Income Needed to Raise Expenditure to $800 per Pupil
UNITED STATES	$2,550	$484	4.74%	7.83%
Alabama	$1,737	$277	4.52%	13.05%
Alaska	$3,128	$683	6.68%	7.82%
Arizona	$2,218	$478	6.12%	10.24%
Arkansas	$1,633	$317	4.88%	12.31%
California	$3,092	$565	5.71%	8.08%
Colorado	$2,591	$470	5.38%	9.15%
Connecticut	$3,250	$600	3.87%	5.16%
Delaware	$3,426	$539	4.24%	6.29%
District of Columbia	$3,515	$498	2.87%	4.61%
Florida	$2,280	$412	4.88%	9.47%
Georgia	$1,933	$330	4.31%	10.44%
Hawaii	$2,579	$418	4.59%	8.78%
Idaho	$2,012	$341	4.87%	11.42%
Illinois	$3,003	$551	3.97%	5.76%
Indiana	$2,529	$490	4.87%	7.95%
Iowa	$2,370	$464	4.80%	8.27%
Kansas	$2,311	$487	5.21%	8.55%
Kentucky	$1,811	$324	4.04%	9.97%
Louisiana	$1,864	$418	5.61%	10.73%
Maine	$2,130	$371	4.39%	9.46%
Maryland	$2,888	$503	4.59%	7.30%
Massachusetts	$2,922	$528	3.40%	5.15%
Michigan	$2,733	$510	5.29%	8.29%
Minnesota	$2,373	$534	5.90%	8.83%

more.....

	A	B	C	D
	Per Capita Income	Expenditure Per Pupil	Effort	% of Income to Raise $800 Per Pupil
Mississippi	$1,444	$273	5.34%	15.64%
Missouri	$2,595	$449	3.81%	6.78%
Montana	$2,183	$570	6.76%	9.48%
Nebraska	$2,302	$407	4.58%	9.00%
Nevada	$3,248	$543	5.95%	8.76%
New Hampshire	$2,343	$440	4.41%	8.01%
New Jersey	$2,962	$607	4.36%	5.74%
New Mexico	$2,010	$475	6.71%	11.30%
New York	$3,139	$790	4.84%	4.90%
North Carolina	$1,900	$322	4.50%	11.18%
North Dakota	$2,012	$424	5.81%	10.96%
Ohio	$2,623	$465	4.53%	7.79%
Oklahoma	$2,095	$366	4.63%	10.12%
Oregon	$2,602	$569	5.77%	8.11%
Pennsylvania	$2,575	$479	3.65%	6.09%
Rhode Island	$2,479	$514	3.72%	5.78%
South Carolina	$1,647	$284	4.66%	13.12%
South Dakota	$1,832	$444	6.07%	10.93%
Tennessee	$1,852	$300	4.25%	11.33%
Texas	$2,175	$396	4.77%	9.63%
Utah	$2,174	$407	6.89%	13.54%
Vermont	$2,144	$522	4.80%	7.35%
Virginia	$2,224	$380	4.36%	9.17%
Washington	$2,634	$534	5.88%	8.80%
West Virginia	$1,962	$327	4.30%	10.51%
Wisconsin	$2,492	$543	4.91%	7.23%
Wyoming	$2,475	$554	6.16%	8.89%

	E Average Annual Salary, Classroom Teachers (1964-65)	F Percent of Children (5-17) in Families with Income under $2,000 (1960)	G Percent of Public Schools with no School Library (1962)	H Public High School Graduates (1964) as % of 9th Grade Enrollment (1960-61)
UNITED STATES	$6,220	12%	51.7%	73.1%
Alabama	$4,700	25%	58.8%	59.8%
Alaska	$7,016	9%	74.7%	64.2%
Arizona	$6,700	11%	45.1%	66.5%
Arkansas	$4,200	29%	38.8%	69.5%
California	$7,900	6%	56.1%	90.6%
Colorado	$6,025	8%	50.5%	75.2%
Connecticut	$6,975	4%	42.9%	80.1%
Delaware	$6,800	7%	35.6%	75.3%
District of Columbia	$7,450	10%	54.1%	56.3%
Florida	$6,140	13%	22.1%	70.4%
Georgia	$5,050	21%	19.3%	59.1%
Hawaii	$6,024	6%	14.2%	83.0%
Idaho	$5,100	7%	44.9%	70.2%
Illinois	$6,809	7%	52.4%	71.6%
Indiana	$6,530	7%	49.9%	66.3%
Iowa	$5,747	11%	59.4%	87.1%
Kansas	$5,587	8%	56.2%	78.0%
Kentucky	$4,700	24%	65.0%	63.8%
Louisiana	$5,175	21%	34.6%	73.5%
Maine	$5,200	8%	74.7%	66.8%
Maryland	$6,727	7%	30.8%	72.1%
Massachusetts	$6,950	4%	65.1%	79.1%
Michigan	$6,700	7%	53.6%	72.6%
Minnesota	$6,463	9%	64.9%	86.2%

more.....

	E Teachers' Salaries	F Children in Families Under $2,000	G Schools with no Library	H Graduates as % of 9th Graders
Mississippi	$4,103	37%	37.3%	60.6%
Missouri	$5,660	12%	70.5%	67.1%
Montana	$5,600	8%	61.4%	76.8%
Nebraska	$4,893	11%	83.6%	76.4%
Nevada	$6,530	5%	55.9%	75.0%
New Hampshire	$5,435	5%	73.2%	78.2%
New Jersey	$6,698	5%	49.8%	79.2%
New Mexico	$6,200	14%	55.6%	59.8%
New York	$7,800	6%	27.6%	81.0%
North Carolina	$5,022	24%	14.6%	58.4%
North Dakota	$4,800	13%	60.2%	80.5%
Ohio	$6,025	7%	49.2%	75.8%
Oklahoma	$5,160	15%	56.2%	69.8%
Oregon	$6,420	6%	42.1%	78.0%
Pennsylvania	$6,150	7%	58.2%	80.8%
Rhode Island	$6,251	7%	60.0%	82.6%
South Carolina	$4,500	28%	35.0%	62.1%
South Dakota	$4,475	17%	81.2%	81.8%
Tennessee	$4,850	23%	56.5%	64.7%
Texas	$5,463	16%	38.6%	61.9%
Utah	$5,945	5%	37.7%	71.3%
Vermont	$5,362	8%	78.6%	72.5%
Virginia	$5,450	17%	39.3%	62.2%
Washington	$6,400	5%	23.4%	78.7%
West Virginia	$4,590	20%	82.7%	66.6%
Wisconsin	$6,125	6%	65.6%	77.9%
Wyoming	$5,975	6%	32.6%	66.6%

	Classrooms Now in Use (1964-65)	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Replace Substandard Classrooms	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Bring Class Size Down to 25:1 and 20:1	Additional Classrooms Needed: Total
	I	J	K	L
UNITED STATES	1,536,500	352,000	285,900	637,900
Alabama	28,000	6,800	7,100	13,900
Alaska	1,900	700	200	900
Arizona	13,700	2,000	2,600	4,600
Arkansas	15,000	3,200	2,600	5,800
California	130,700	50,100	33,500	83,600
Colorado	18,100	3,500	3,600	7,100
Connecticut	21,000	4,200	2,000	6,200
Delaware	4,100	200	500	700
District of Columbia	4,900	1,000	1,100	2,100
Florida	39,300	6,500	10,000	16,500
Georgia	37,200	5,200	9,600	14,800
Hawaii	5,800	2,400	1,200	3,600
Idaho	6,900	2,100	1,100	3,200
Illinois	76,000	17,800	13,500	31,300
Indiana	40,400	9,600	7,300	16,900
Iowa	28,500	9,500	3,500	13,000
Kansas	25,200	4,700	2,700	7,400
Kentucky	23,400	4,500	4,400	8,900
Louisiana	32,000	6,200	5,600	11,800
Maine	8,300	4,100	1,100	5,200
Maryland	25,700	4,200	6,600	10,800
Massachusetts	36,400	12,100	5,000	17,100
Michigan	64,500	9,200	14,700	23,900
Minnesota	33,000	8,000	3,800	11,800

more....

	Classrooms Now in Use	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Replace Substandard	To Reduce Class Size	Total
	I	J	K	L
Mississippi	20,900	2,100	5,500	7,600
Missouri	34,100	7,300	4,900	12,200
Montana	8,600	2,800	900	3,700
Nebraska	17,300	6,100	1,500	7,600
Nevada	3,500	500	600	1,100
New Hampshire	5,200	1,500	700	2,200
New Jersey	46,000	10,800	6,500	17,300
New Mexico	10,200	1,200	1,600	2,800
New York	118,100	22,000	22,900	44,900
North Carolina	45,000	7,600	8,100	15,700
North Dakota	7,400	2,400	800	3,200
Ohio	83,200	16,900	15,100	32,000
Oklahoma	25,800	4,800	3,100	7,900
Oregon	18,900	7,500	2,200	9,700
Pennsylvania	79,500	19,800	16,900	36,700
Rhode Island	5,900	1,700	1,100	2,800
South Carolina	23,200	3,500	5,700	9,200
South Dakota	8,600	3,700	600	4,300
Tennessee	31,400	7,400	6,700	14,100
Texas	92,000	13,600	13,300	26,900
Utah	10,100	2,400	2,300	4,700
Vermont	3,700	1,600	300	1,900
Virginia	34,500	5,800	7,800	13,600
Washington	29,200	7,900	4,300	12,200
West Virginia	17,100	5,500	4,000	9,500
Wisconsin	32,600	7,300	4,900	12,200
Wyoming	4,500	800	400	1,200

	Percent of School Revenue by Source (1961-62)			Percent of Persons Over 25 yrs. old with Less Than 5 yrs. of Schooling (1960)
	Federal	State	Local	
	M	N	O	P
UNITED STATES	4.3%	38.7%	56.5%	8.3%
Alabama	9.1%	60.5%	20.7%	16.3%
Alaska	27.2%	46.8%	26.0%	8.2%
Arizona	7.7%	34.9%	57.3%	10.0%
Arkansas	8.2%	45.5%	46.1%	15.4%
California	3.6%	37.0%	59.4%	5.7%
Colorado	7.5%	21.9%	70.5%	4.7%
Connecticut	2.9%	35.2%	61.7%	6.3%
Delaware	3.7%	79.9%	16.3%	6.6%
District of Columbia	14.6%	0.0%	85.0%	7.2%
Florida	5.7%	52.2%	41.3%	9.2%
Georgia	7.1%	66.3%	26.3%	17.6%
Hawaii	14.0%	67.5%	17.9%	15.0%
Idaho	7.6%	29.6%	62.5%	3.3%
Illinois	2.6%	19.8%	77.4%	6.3%
Indiana	2.9%	30.7%	66.3%	4.9%
Iowa	3.5%	11.3%	85.3%	3.0%
Kansas	5.6%	21.9%	72.6%	3.7%
Kentucky	6.7%	56.0%	37.1%	13.8%
Louisiana	4.7%	66.9%	28.4%	21.3%
Maine	6.7%	26.5%	66.6%	4.7%
Maryland	5.1%	36.3%	57.9%	7.7%
Massachusetts	4.8%	22.9%	72.3%	6.0%
Michigan	2.6%	41.0%	55.9%	5.8%
Minnesota	3.0%	38.4%	57.7%	4.0%

more.....

	Percent of School Revenue by Source (1961-62)			% of Persons Over 25 with Less Than 5 yrs. Schooling
	Federal	State	Local	
	M	N	O	P
Mississippi	7.3%	57.6%	34.5%	18.8%
Missouri	4.4%	33.7%	61.8%	7.1%
Montana	6.3%	27.2%	66.6%	4.1%
Nebraska	5.9%	5.9%	87.6%	3.6%
Nevada	7.9%	51.3%	40.6%	3.9%
New Hampshire	6.3%	6.9%	86.4%	4.4%
New Jersey	2.4%	22.9%	74.7%	7.0%
New Mexico	12.4%	76.5%	11.1%	12.2%
New York	2.4%	41.4%	56.1%	7.8%
North Carolina	5.8%	70.4%	22.9%	16.5%
North Dakota	6.9%	28.0%	64.7%	6.0%
Ohio	3.1%	26.7%	29.3%	5.4%
Oklahoma	8.3%	27.7%	63.9%	8.6%
Oregon	4.0%	28.4%	67.3%	3.3%
Pennsylvania	2.8%	43.4%	53.6%	6.9%
Rhode Island	5.9%	31.0%	63.0%	7.4%
South Carolina	8.2%	66.5%	25.3%	20.3%
South Dakota	8.3%	8.9%	81.9%	4.1%
Tennessee	7.9%	56.4%	35.3%	14.8%
Texas	4.5%	49.8%	44.5%	13.4%
Utah	5.5%	48.3%	46.0%	2.8%
Vermont	3.8%	26.2%	69.5%	3.8%
Virginia	9.1%	40.2%	50.1%	13.1%
Washington	5.3%	62.4%	31.9%	3.4%
West Virginia	4.3%	53.5%	42.1%	11.0%
Wisconsin	3.6%	25.0%	71.4%	5.3%
Wyoming	5.3%	46.9%	46.2%	3.6%

WHAT HAPPENED TO AN AVERAGE 1000 NINTH GRADERS (1960-64)
(Public and Non-Public Schools)

	Ninth Grade 1960-61	Failed to Graduate From High School	Graduated From High School 1964	Entered College 1964
	Q	R	S	T
UNITED STATES	1,000	258	742	378
Alabama	1,000	393	607	194
Alaska	1,000	360	640	300
Arizona	1,000	330	670	408
Arkansas	1,000	300	700	329
California	1,000	106	894	724
Colorado	1,000	250	750	412
Connecticut	1,000	178	822	476
Delaware	1,000	218	782	352
District of Columbia	1,000	368	632	379
Florida	1,000	291	709	439
Georgia	1,000	400	600	234
Hawaii	1,000	150	850	416
Idaho	1,000	298	702	435
Illinois	1,000	266	734	455
Indiana	1,000	327	673	296
Iowa	1,000	132	868	416
Kansas	1,000	215	785	423
Kentucky	1,000	346	654	307
Louisiana	1,000	258	742	348
Maine	1,000	305	695	215
Maryland	1,000	264	736	382
Massachusetts	1,000	178	822	435
Michigan	1,000	262	738	324

more.....

	Ninth Grade	Failed to Graduate	Graduated	Entered College
	Q	R	S	T
Minnesota	1,000	145	855	393
Mississippi	1,000	387	613	318
Missouri	1,000	309	691	338
Montana	1,000	230	770	446
Nebraska	1,000	229	771	416
Nevada	1,000	245	755	528
New Hampshire	1,000	143	857	325
New Jersey	1,000	206	794	420
New Mexico	1,000	398	602	294
New York	1,000	185	815	383
North Carolina	1,000	410	590	212
North Dakota	1,000	191	809	404
Ohio	1,000	243	757	333
Oklahoma	1,000	301	699	377
Oregon	1,000	222	778	420
Pennsylvania	1,000	185	815	309
Rhode Island	1,000	117	883	397
South Carolina	1,000	377	623	211
South Dakota	1,000	185	815	415
Tennessee	1,000	342	658	276
Texas	1,000	376	624	355
Utah	1,000	284	716	400
Vermont	1,000	250	750	255
Virginia	1,000	359	641	301
Washington	1,000	215	785	447
West Virginia	1,000	327	673	249
Wisconsin	1,000	216	784	337
Wyoming	1,000	334	666	419

HIGHER EDUCATION

	U Per Capita Public Operating Expenditures for Higher Education (1964-65)	V Residents of State Entering College (1963) as % of High School Graduates (1963)	W % of Students Who Leave Home State for Under-graduate College (1963)
UNITED STATES	$14.12	51%	---
Alabama	8.99	32%	18.0%
Alaska	24.31	47%	51.8%
Arizona	19.05	61%	11.0%
Arkansas	10.62	47%	14.8%
California	19.83	81%	5.4%
Colorado	18.61	55%	18.2%
Connecticut	7.16	58%	38.8%
Delaware	13.47	45%	49.7%
District of Columbia	---	60%	40.1%
Florida	13.10	62%	18.5%
Georgia	9.95	39%	20.2%
Hawaii	19.63	49%	34.0%
Idaho	17.04	62%	31.1%
Illinois	14.19	62%	22.2%
Indiana	16.64	44%	16.0%
Iowa	17.54	48%	24.0%
Kansas	20.37	54%	15.2%
Kentucky	13.74	47%	16.1%
Louisiana	18.94	47%	8.1%
Maine	10.00	31%	31.1%
Maryland	11.60	52%	27.7%
Massachusetts	3.99	53%	22.2%
Michigan	17.10	44%	9.8%

more.....

	U Per Capita Expenditures	V College Entrants as % of High School Graduates	W Students Leaving State for College
Minnesota	$15.66	46%	14.5%
Mississippi	11.32	52%	9.6%
Missouri	10.71	49%	20.0%
Montana	18.38	58%	19.3%
Nebraska	12.88	54%	15.9%
Nevada	16.30	70%	28.5%
New Hampshire	7.89	38%	38.9%
New Jersey	6.91	53%	42.5%
New Mexico	18.88	49%	21.9%
New York	12.79	47%	22.1%
North Carolina	10.80	36%	11.6%
North Dakota	19.10	50%	19.3%
Ohio	6.71	44%	15.7%
Oklahoma	13.78	54%	9.5%
Oregon	22.77	54%	16.5%
Pennsylvania	6.29	38%	22.4%
Rhode Island	10.11	45%	31.2%
South Carolina	7.75	34%	21.8%
South Dakota	17.43	51%	18.7%
Tennessee	8.46	42%	16.8%
Texas	11.22	57%	6.3%
Utah	9.13	56%	5.1%
Vermont	13.35	34%	36.3%
Virginia	9.36	47%	32.5%
Washington	24.48	57%	11.7%
West Virginia	13.23	37%	14.6%
Wisconsin	14.73	43%	14.5%
Wyoming	19.84	63%	30.1%

AUTHORIZED FEDERAL FUNDS FOR 1966

	X Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I	Y Vocational Education Act of 1963	Z Higher Education Act of 1965
UNITED STATES	$1,151,390,000	$156,518,000	$495,314,000
Alabama	34,981,000	3,752,000	8,950,000
Alaska	1,710,000	187,000	455,000
Arizona	10,464,000	1,296,000	4,866,000
Arkansas	22,826,000	1,982,000	5,576,000
California	78,665,000	10,811,000	48,037,000
Colorado	9,684,000	1,496,000	5,854,000
Connecticut	7,286,000	1,652,000	6,082,000
Delaware	1,995,000	298,000	1,136,000
District of Columbia	5,436,000	544,000	3,050,000
Florida	27,754,000	4,603,000	12,660,000
Georgia	37,716,000	4,576,000	10,489,000
Hawaii	2,399,000	630,000	1,848,000
Idaho	2,471,000	731,000	2,105,000
Illinois	61,707,000	6,840,000	24,029,000
Indiana	18,562,000	4,165,000	12,811,000
Iowa	18,839,000	2,538,000	8,488,000
Kansas	10,588,000	2,005,000	6,967,000
Kentucky	30,433,000	3,442,000	8,495,000
Louisiana	38,728,000	3,592,000	10,254,000
Maine	4,054,000	1,014,000	2,447,000
Maryland	15,402,000	2,482,000	7,698,000
Massachusetts	16,705,000	3,759,000	15,051,000
Michigan	35,075,000	6,463,000	21,203,000
Minnesota	24,754,000	3,110,000	10,875,000

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Connecticut	7,286,000	1,652,000	6,082,000
Delaware	1,995,000	298,000	1,136,000
District of Columbia	5,436,000	544,000	3,050,000
Florida	27,754,000	4,603,000	12,660,000
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Hawaii	2,399,000	630,000	1,848,000
Idaho	2,471,000	731,000	2,105,000
Illinois	61,707,000	6,840,000	24,029,000
Indiana	18,562,000	4,165,000	12,811,000
Iowa	18,839,000	2,538,000	8,488,000
Kansas	10,588,000	2,005,000	6,967,000
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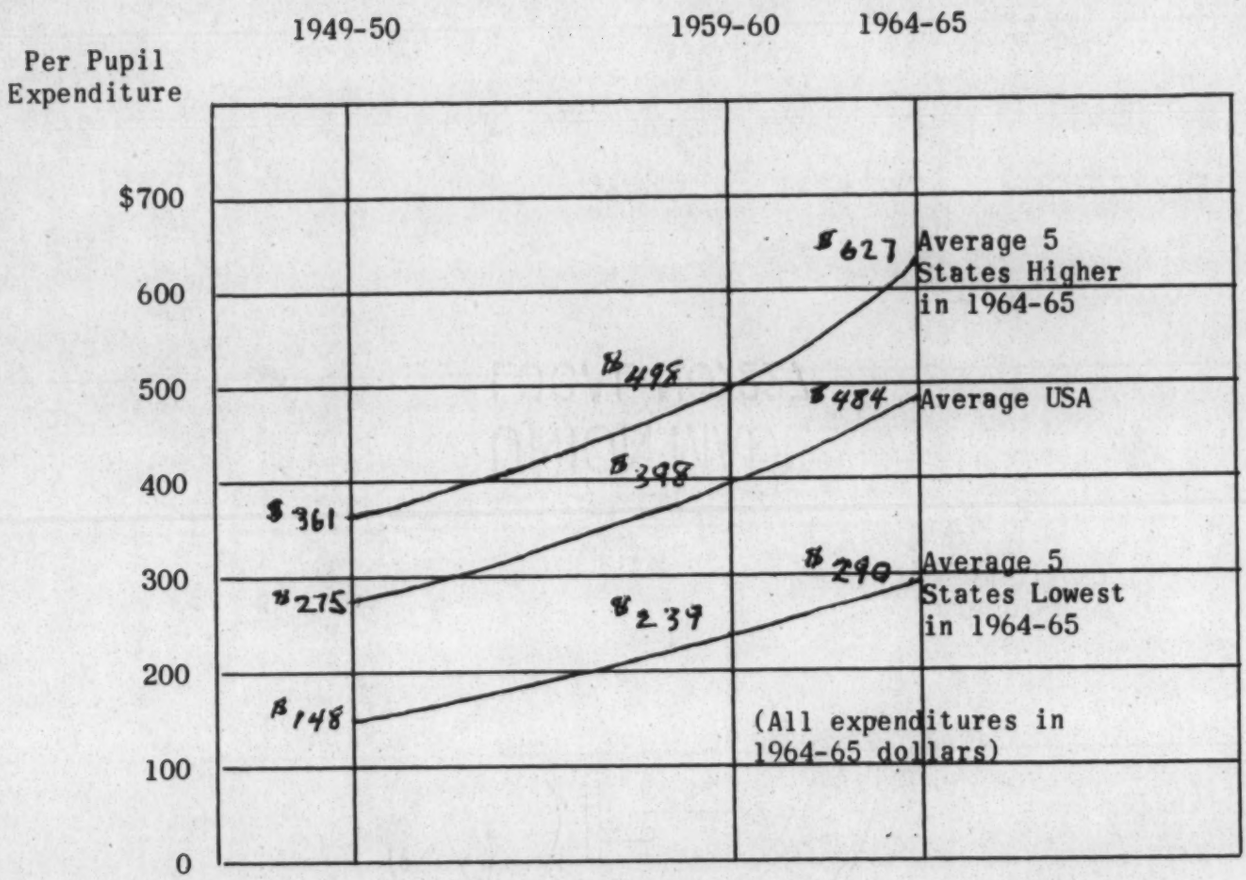
Michigan	35,075,000	6,463,000	21,203,000
Minnesota	24,754,000	3,110,000	10,875,000

more.....

	X	Y	Z
	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Vocational Education Act of 1963	Higher Education Act of 1965
Mississippi	31,203,000	2,547,000	7,116,000
Missouri	30,157,000	3,695,000	11,781,000
Montana	3,668,000	646,000	2,137,000
Nebraska	6,989,000	1,255,000	4,364,000
Nevada	959,000	196,000	749,000
New Hampshire	1,467,000	555,000	1,863,000
New Jersey	24,806,000	3,908,000	11,949,000
New Mexico	9,888,000	1,058,000	2,888,000
New York	110,736,000	10,920,000	39,881,000
North Carolina	53,354,000	5,514,000	13,848,000
North Dakota	5,272,000	697,000	2,333,000
Ohio	39,578,000	7,790,000	24,455,000
Oklahoma	17,550,000	2,495,000	7,722,000
Oregon	8,248,000	1,496,000	5,703,000
Pennsylvania	56,501,000	9,410,000	27,539,000
Rhode Island	4,080,000	769,000	2,407,000
South Carolina	27,754,000	2,990,000	6,796,000
South Dakota	6,962,000	712,000	2,367,000
Tennessee	32,528,000	4,065,000	10,740,000
Texas	78,300,000	9,844,000	27,054,000
Utah	2,849,000	970,000	4,203,000
Vermont	1,749,000	411,000	1,438,000
Virginia	30,925,000	4,464,000	9,855,000
Washington	10,801,000	2,370,000	8,800,000
West Virginia	17,161,000	2,071,000	5,288,000
Wisconsin	18,211,000	3,417,000	11,581,000
Wyoming	1,478,000	282,000	1,030,000

INEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PERSISTS



Although significant gains have been made in education over the past fifteen years, inequality of educational opportunity nevertheless persists. The above chart plots educational expenditures over a fifteen year period in the five states which were highest in their per pupil current expenditure in 1964-65 and the five states which were lowest in per pupil expenditure. As can be seen from the graph, the difference in the average expenditure of the five lowest and five highest states in 1949-50 was $213; by 1964-65 school year the difference had actually widened to $337. Per pupil expenditures in the five lowest states were $127 below the national average in 1949-50. By 1964-65 they were $194 below the national average. Dollar for dollar, inequality of educational opportunity has widened rather than narrowed over the last fifteen years.

(Note: All of these figures have been adjusted to constant dollars of the 1964-65 school year.)

NOTES AND SOURCES

Column

A U. S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, April, 1965.

B U. S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965.

C U. S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965.

D Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

E U. S. Office of Education, Fall, 1964 Statistics of Public Schools.

F U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960.

G U. S. Office of Education, National Inventory of School Facilities and Personnel, 1964.

H Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

Note: The difference between the percent of ninth graders grading four years later and 100% will give an approximate indication of the percentage of school dropouts. In the United States as a whole, for example, 73.1% of the ninth graders of 1960-61 graduated in 1964. This means that approximately 26.9% of the ninth graders dropped out of school before graduating. However, certain factors other than dropping out are included. Among them are death and in some instances migration from the state.

I-J-K-L U. S. Office of Education, Condition of Public School Plants, 1964-65, 1965.

M-N-O U. S. Office of Education, Statistics of State School Systems, 1961-62.

Note: These are the most recent dependable figures. However, more recent estimates indicate that the figures have changed little through the school year 1964-65

P U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960.

Q-R-S-T Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

Note: Column S differs slightly from Column H because Column H includes only students enrolled in public schools whereas Column S includes students enrolled in both public and non-public schools.

Column	
U	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
V	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
W	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
Y-X-Z	U. S. Office of Education.
Page 18	Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

* * *

General Note: In using all charts which give dollar figures, it should be remembered that because of the high cost of living in the state of Alaska, a truer comparison will be obtained if dollar figures for Alaska are reduced by approximately 25%.

EMPLOYMENT

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Urban League Leader Warns That New Laws Leave Negro Still 'Outside'

Says Civil Rights Cr

Executive Director Whitney Young of the National Urban League was a principal speaker at the 1965 Washington Conference on Women's Activities, Legislation and Civil Rights held by the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, September 20-24, 1965. Following are excerpts from his remarks.

THIS occasion provides me an opportunity to see some longtime old friends. It also gives me a chance to express my respect and appreciation for what this particular International Union has done—the effort it has made under the able and understanding leadership of Ralph Helstein and your devoted Secretary-Treasurer, a contribution to the whole cause of civil rights that I want to publicly acknowledge.

I am pleased to be here because it is my impression that the truly crucial decisions about what America and American institutions and individuals are going to do in the field of civil rights and human relations is now upon us. What will happen in the next few months will largely determine whether America is up to this challenge, whether it in fact truly believes in a democratic society.

It will also tell us a whole lot about our institutions including labor, education and business. It will tell us a lot about individual Americans and to what degree we do really qualify as members of a society having a Judeo-Christian ethic and the democratic idea as expressed in the Constitution.

Now, to many of you this might come as some shock and surprise—even disappointment. I am sure the large bulk of Americans (and included in that group would be many Negro citizens) would like to feel that if these last three or four years have not been crucial years then they would hate to look forward to the next, thinking of all of the confrontations, the demonstrations, the marches, the violence (in some cases). And they would be thinking, also, that we now have on the books important and unprecedented legislation—the Civil Rights Act, a Voting Rights Act, a Poverty Act. They would be considering, too, that we now have a new attitude and a new policy on the part of major corporations in this country, and we have a reaffirmation in terms of policy statements from other institutions including labor unions. So, many of you can with a reasonable amount of validity feel that the crisis is over.

Cleaning Out Debris

I WOULD submit to you, however, that it is just beginning. What we have done with all of the Supreme Court decisions and the legislative changes and the new policy statements is but to clear out the debris, to remove the visible barriers which had no business to be there to begin with.

These things, as you must know, do not in and of themselves assure full-class citizenship. The passage of a bill does not automatically grant to a functional illiterate the necessary skills he must need in an automated society. So the actual facts at this moment, as dismal as they may sound, show that on the basic issues of meat, bread and potatoes, food, clothing and shelter, the Negro still stands far out on the periphery of the main stream of American life.

Economically, today, the average Negro family has a family income of about 56 percent of that of the average white family. In terms of unemployment—it is two and a half times to three times as great. Of the million kids in this country who are out of work and out of school between the ages of 16 and 21, 500,000 of these are Negro kids. This is 50 per cent, whereas they represent only 15 per cent of the population.

Sixty percent of all Negro families in the country have a family income of less than $3,000, 75 percent less than $4,000.

The average Negro child receives 3½ years less education. In health, the Negro parents die 7½ years sooner. This is what I mean by the meat, bread and potato issues. As excited as we may get, as grateful and appreciative as we are for the passage of these bills, we have to face reality. You don't take Title VII down to the A & P store. You have to take money to the A & P store.

Now, I think that we ought to be able to understand why this situation exists. The Negro is not a superior person, and, given the fact that he has suffered 350 years of denial and deprivation, gets the poorest kind of education, inferior housing, the lack of cultural opportunity, we must add the fact that his family was deliberately split and weakened by the society.

There is no way in the world for the Negro (any more than any other ethnic group in our society) to overnight remove the scars of those generations of deprivation. He is bound to be behind; and when a man is behind there is no way for him to catch up; unless you say he is a whole lot faster than I am, or unless you either slow the one guy down or push the other one along. What I am suggesting is that if America is to be honest, and not just try to set up the symbols and things to satisfy its conscience, then it has got to do more than to pass laws.

I have heard so many people, some Negroes included, who say rather glibly that other groups have faced deprivation and denial—"my old grandmother came to this country not knowing how to speak the language and not having any money and little education. Look what the Jew has done, the Italian, the Irishman. He has pulled himself up by the bootstraps."

There are many people who say this, and in the next breath say the Negro is suggesting that he must be treated different.

Legacy of Slavery

THE truth of the thing is the Negro is unique. He has had something happen to him that has happened to no other American citizen. One was that he had families deliberately destroyed by a society that wouldn't even let slaves get married. And, if they somehow managed to form a comman law relationship, when they sold them on the block they rarely sold that husband and wife together. And they always separated the children from the families except in Louisiana where there was a law that said that when you sold the slaves on the block you couldn't separate the child from the parents until they were ten years of age; but that was the only state where you had that kind of regulation.

Now, the society didn't do this accidently. It was done deliberately, because if you wanted to keep people weak and divided you have to destroy the institution that was best equipped to give stability and help people organize—the family. And it didn't stop a hundred years ago when we signed the Emancipation Proclamation, because even after that there was a conscious, deliberate effort to keep the Negro male humiliated and castrated, unemployed and everything else. That is one thing that no other ethnic group had done to it.

The other thing is that, unlike every other group, when they got to that little port of entry in the city where they had a chance to learn the language and get a little education and a little money, and learn how to take baths and all those things that the poor immigrant from Europe had to learn . . . when that immigrant from Europe got to that point he could then escape. He could get lost and move out into the large community. If he had difficulty because his name sounded funny, he just shortened it, you know, changed it. Many, many did. But the Negro couldn't do that. He scrubbed but he couldn't wash that color off. He was still a Negro.

Now, those things made for the Negro a unique situation and anybody, therefore, who stands up and says, "Well, I don't see why the Negro doesn't pull himself up like everybody else," may be saying that to satisfy his conscience, but he is not dealing with fact, and it is a sign of ignorance.

I ALSO know that the solution to removal of the invisible barriers calls for activity and responsibility on the part of the Negro citizens as much as the white. Now, the visible barriers have to be removed by white people because they put them up there to begin with, so it was their major responsibility to take them down. But when we talk about the invisible barriers we have to have teamwork, and the sooner we begin to see that this is no longer a struggle between white people and Negro people, this is a struggle of those people who would hold America back into the 19th and 18th Century, and those who want us

Whitney Young

Urban League's Whitney Young tells delegates that labor movement must remain champion of the 'under dog.'

to move ahead progressively, the better. It is a struggle between those who have and those who have not, even in the same society. It is a struggle in which we have got to recognize that poor people, whatever their color, have far more in common than they do by way of differences, and that poor white people and poor Negroes have an awful lot more in common than poor white people and the President of General Motors and United States Steel.

I don't think there is anything that has been more helpful for progressive legislation in this country than the civil rights movement. The civil rights movement has been the chief trigger that has brought us all of these programs we are now talking about . . . Federal Aid to Education, War on Poverty, Public Works Programs, all of these things. And they don't just help Negroes. Some poor people, even though some of these are the most hostile to Negro citizens, have the right to be the most grateful because their children are also getting a head start in life, their children are also benefiting from improved federal aid to education. They are benefiting from all of the poverty programs.

Labor Showed the Way

NOW, what about this role of labor? I think the first thing that labor has to do is to understand, and be the first to say it, that they understand what the revolution is all about. When I hear labor people sit around and talk about, "I wish these people would quit demonstrating and sitting in," and "this terrible violence, why don't they quit marching," it really annoys me. I know all about the struggles the labor movement went through, and I know about Green and Murray, and I know what Ralph Helstein and you have done—if not you, the people in your past. We have not done a single thing unique in the civil rights movement in this country that other groups at other points in history didn't do when they felt themselves discriminated against.

risis Is Not Yet Over

Sees Entry of Negroes Into 'Bread & Butter' Of Life as Key Issue

Civil disobedience didn't begin with Jim Farmer in court. It began with the Boston Tea Party, and the people who participated in it are now heroes in history. You remember the suffrage movement, women fighting for the right to vote. Certainly you remember the struggle of the labor movement. You remember the violence of Republic Steel. You remember the sit-ins, and the picketing, and the boycotting.

We learned from you, from the labor movement. And you didn't stop until you got the Wagner Act in 1935, until you got recognition from the companies. And then you continued (but in a little more dignified way); but don't you

ever forget that you would not be where you are today if you were not engaged in those same activities — and don't try to get so respectable!

I would also suggest that you not only remember your history, but think a little bit about your future and your destiny. I am convinced that when the time comes that the union movement stops identifying itself with the underdog, the moment you stop becoming reformists, the moment you stop being in the forefront of social legislation (or, to put it negatively, the moment you become just protective organizations concerned only about your membership), then the labor movement in this country is through.

Labor Needs Friends

THE moment you aren't carrying that flag for that little guy, whether he is a member of your union or not, then the labor movement has lost most of its political friends, most of its political impact. That I submit to you, my friends, is the reason that most liberals and most minority groups have identified with the labor movement. Because they felt you were for the little guy. If you lose that, then your own destiny is at stake; because, if you don't have friends out there who will also support labor in the legislative halls and with the administration, you are in serious trouble.

Now, I think your first challenge is to be sure that your own family is straight, you know. One of the dangers that I see happening so often is that the labor movement has a smugness and complacency not related to what it is doing now but in relation to what it used to do.

At one point, the labor movement was miles ahead in its social perceptions. That is no longer true, and it isn't because management has gone so fast itself, it is that you slowed down so much.

You ought to be raising sand about these unions, these building trade unions that have one or two or no Negro apprentices. We can count on one hand, almost, the number of apprentices in the Plumbers and Sheet Metal Workers. And many of the other unions don't have Negroes on their board of directors.

The other thing is that for an individual union like this one that is so far ahead of, not only management but, as far as I am concerned, any other labor union, that doesn't necessarily mean that you are so good. It often means that the others are so bad that you are less bad.

Just a 'Kitten' in the Tank

NOW, you need to provide the leadership that you once did, and here I am thinking about programs. Sure, the war on poverty was a very important bit of legislation, but it is not a tiger in your tank. It is more like a kitten in your tank. We talk about taking thirty-five million people out of poverty. We spent in Europe in the Marshall plan $17 billion in a four-year period. For one shot to the moon we spent $20 billion. Yet we settle now for even less than two billion dollars to lift 35 million people out of poverty in the most affluent society the world has ever known. So we have got to push for more.

We ought to be pushing for housing programs. Not just public housing that people rent, but we ought to be pushing for private housing that poor people can buy without down payment and use that money they are now paying for rent to build up equity, like we did for the G.I. who suffered for the country. The people I am talking about have really suffered for the country too.

We ought not to settle for medical care for our people over age sixty-five. No American should die sooner than he must or should suffer more than he need because he is broke, because he doesn't have money to go to the best specialist and get the best doctor, whatever his age, and you ought to be fighting for this.

A $2 minimum wage. Of course you fight for it. That is just a little bit over poverty. Why is it that laundry workers and domestic workers and agricultural workers are not even covered by that $1.25 minimum wage that the government has at least called for?

Some people actually earn seventy-five cents an hour, some less in our society today. You ought to be pushing for those things, expanded welfare programs. A man should not have to go to an agency and humiliate himself and grovel and beg to get a pittance. We make them chronic dependents, we demoralize people. We take a man who is ambitious but who runs into a streak of bad luck because of automation or something else and we give him so little and so late, and in such humiliating manner, that he reaches the point he doesn't give a damn.

Negroes Need a Lift

THERE is no way in the world that we are going to do anything about strengthening the Negro family until we start giving the Negro male the opportunity to be the provider in his home; or else he isn't going to stand very tall in front of his children and in front of his wife, especially in the kind of society in which we live.

What I am really suggesting to you here is that particularly for the Negro citizen we have got to have a special effort for a brief period of time. I am not asking for equal time. I am not asking for 300 years of preferential treatment like white people had. I am saying for 10 years we have got to consciously say to the Negro population of this country, "Somewhere along the way you have been done a disservice and we have got to correct it." There has got to be some compensatory activity. There has got to be some indemnification, if you will, some re-creation, or something like we did for the Cuban refugees. We did it for the people escaping Krushchev. We did it for the returning veteran because he had been out of the main stream.

I make no apologies today. This is just being honest and fair. If this hand is infected and this one isn't, it is not preferential treatment to put penicillin in this hand until it gets up to the health of the other hand. If you don't, in time that whole body is going to be infected — and you better believe it.

We spent $3.5 million dollars this summer on one project in Harlem that employed some 3,500 kids who last summer were throwing rocks. This summer they were throwing shovels of dirt, cleaning up, fixing up. In one three or four-day period in Los Angeles they spent $170 million dollars in damages and people say it was terrible, terrible what these Negroes are doing.

Don't forget that of the 37 people killed, 36 of them were Negroes; and don't forget it was a Negro community that was mainly destroyed. When anybody comes up and says he isn't going to support the civil rights movement because of Los Angeles, all I can say to that person is that if the Negro community has not generalized about all white people being evil, based on their experiences with the Klan, based on the fact that some white people bombed their children in Birmingham, then Lord knows that the white community must not generalize about the Negro because some few people get desperate and do things that are wrong.

This is important because an awful lot of people today are saying, "I'm disenchanted with the civil rights movement because of violence." I didn't get disenchanted with the labor movement when it engaged in violence. These things sometimes happen.

World Is the Loser

WHAT this world has lost out of our inability to see beneath the thin layer of a man's skin! What we have denied to this world because we have taken some 70 per cent of the world population and left their talent to go to waste — because we couldn't take our blinders off!

We could have had a cure for cancer. We might have had a cure for heart trouble, we might have had a cure for the common cold. But this is negative to think about the past. What I am thinking about now is the future, the potential that exists in this world, if only we are willing to take these people from whatever country—and certainly within our own country — and see in that little child greatness which can benefit all mankind.

Look what we stand to gain. But don't do it just because we want to find a cure for cancer and we want to effect a better economic well being. Do it because in the final analysis it is a test of you as a human being. You see, what UPWA does as an organization, what America does as a nation, basically boils down to what you as individuals feel and are willing to say and do on the basis of courage and conviction. But, you aren't going to do much if you are insensitive to other human beings, if you have the inability to put yourself in the place of another human being who is a mother or father, who has the same hopes and dreams for themselves and for their children as anybody else. Unless you are somehow going to be able to feel with those people, and to say, "There but for the Grace of God go I," then nothing much is really going to happen.

An Inner Confrontation

IF YOU are fearful because you feel you will be ostracized, or criticized, or isolated for defending poor people, then nothing much is going to happen. This is a test of you as a person. And what kind of a human being are you? Are you a robot that just smiles when the button is pushed? Are you somebody who cares? Do you just care about yourself and your own family? Are you ready to extend yourself? That is what gives meaning to life, and that is the difference between real human beings and just a bunch of vegetables sitting around with clothes on.

Now, your union has the legacy. You have the heritage. You were born to be great and to give to this country this kind of human quality many of your forefathers gave. I have confidence that you too will do likewise.

Thank you very much.

EMPLOYMENT

A Counselor's Guide to Federal Aid Programs

The Federal Government offers a wide variety of occupational and educational assistance to help people—particularly youths—prepare for, begin, or continue their participation in the work force. Assistance ranges from basic education and job information to vocational training and work experience. Here is a capsule view of selected recent legislation showing some programs that are available, who qualifies for them, and where to get additional information.

PROGRAM	FOR WHOM	PROVISIONS	SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
Youth Opportunity Centers (established within the U.S. Employment Service System).	Youths, ages 16 through 21.....	Provides a focal point for efforts to aid youth. Supporting technical and developmental services provided on three major fronts: (1) preparation for employment, (2) development of job opportunities, and (3) placement in a suitable job.	Local Youth Opportunity Center. Local Employment Service Office. Youth Opportunity Centers, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Employment Service, Washington, D.C., 20212. Request Fact Sheets about Youth Opportunity Centers.
Higher Education Act of 1965.....	Undergraduate college students and graduate students training for teaching.	Provides for scholarships of up to $800 based on need; up to $1,000 based on need and academic standing in high school. Interest free loans provided while in school, with low interest provisions following graduation. Work-study programs expanded to include needy students. Graduate fellowships provided for students preparing for elementary-secondary teaching careers.	Public Inquiry Branch, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965:			Local Superintendent of Schools. State Director of Guidance Service.
Grants to Local Public School Districts to Broaden and Strengthen Elementary and Secondary School Programs—Title I.	Educationally deprived children living in school districts having high concentration of low-income families.	Grants for educational projects as determined by local educational agencies.	Bureau of Educational Assistance Programs, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request reprint, *The First Work of These Times.*
School Library Resources, Textbooks, and other Instructional Materials—Title II.	Elementary and secondary schools.	Financial assistance makes library resources, textbooks, and other published materials available.	
Supplemental Educational Centers and Services—Title III.	Elementary and secondary schools.	Grants for supplementary enrichment programs in guidance, remedial instruction, school health, psychological and social work services, and special programs when schools are not in session. Model or exemplary demonstration projects may be established.	
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964:			
Job Corps-Youth Programs—Title I, Pt. A.	Out of school and unemployed youths, ages 16 through 21, lacking education and skills for jobs.	Establishes residential centers providing a coordinated program of basic education, skill training, and constructive work experience.	State Director of Guidance Services Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 20506. Request booklet, *Job Corps Facts.*
Work-Training Programs (Neighborhood Youth Corps)—Title I, Pt. B.	Youths, ages 16 through 21, in need of work to enable them to stay in or return to school, or increase their employability.	Financial and other assistance to provide full- or part-time work experience and training. Program can be carried out by agency of State or local government or nonprofit organization. Enrollees are placed in newly created jobs in hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries, courts, parks, playgrounds, etc.	Local Director of Neighborhood Youth Corps. State Director of Guidance Services. Neighborhood Youth Corps, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 20212. Request booklet, *Earn, Learn and Serve.*
Work-Study Programs (Administered by the Office of Education as of October 1965)—Title I, Pt. C.	College students from low income families. (See also Higher Education Act of 1965.)	Grants to increase opportunity for part-time employment. On-campus jobs include dormitory and plant maintenance, food service, clerical work, library indexing, and laboratory assistance. Off-campus employment, conducted under agreement with public or private nonprofit organizations, includes work as tutors, youth workers, recreation leaders, and community service aids.	College where student has been accepted. Division of Student Financial Aid, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request information sheet about Work-Study Programs.

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PROGRAM	FOR WHOM	PROVISIONS	SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
Urban and Rural Community Action Programs—General Community Action Programs—Title II, Pt. A.	Needy persons, including migrant farm workers, Indians, and preschool children.	Up to 90 percent financial support for local antipoverty campaigns. Projects include literacy instruction, job development, vocational rehabilitation, and health, social, and legal services. Preschool child development centers (called "Project Head Start") seek to improve the physical condition of the poor, develop their self-confidence and ability to relate to others, increase their verbal and conceptual skills, and involve parents in educational activities with their children.	Local Director of Community Action Programs. Community Action, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 20506. Request booklet, *War on Poverty—A Hometown Fight*, and Project Head Start Fact Sheet.
Adult Basic Education Programs—Title II, Pt. B.	Adults 18 years of age and over whose inability to read and write makes it difficult for them to get or keep a job.	Offers assistance in programs to eliminate illiteracy and raise the level of education, thus improving participants' ability to hold jobs and benefit from occupational training projects. The program is coordinated with Community Action and Work-Experience programs and other antipoverty efforts.	Local Director of Community Action Programs. Director, Adult Education Branch, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request Fact Sheet about Title II, Part B, of the Economic Opportunity Act.
Rural Loans—Title III, Pt. A...	Low-income rural families and cooperatives in need of small loans to improve their earnings but unable to obtain credit from other sources.	Loans of up to $2,500 to individuals, currently at 4½ percent interest on the unpaid principal. Maximum repayment period for loans to individuals is 15 years; to cooperatives, 30 years. Technical aid and counseling also provided.	Farmers Home Administration County Supervisor serving your area. Director of Information, Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., 20250. Request publications PA 662 and PA 663.
Small Business Loans—Title IV.	Prospective and existing businesses which lack the collateral needed to qualify for conventional financing.	Loans of up to $25,000, repayable in 15 years, usually at 5½ percent, to businesses in communities establishing Small Business Development Centers. Management counseling and training provided.	Nearest Small Business Administration Field Office. Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C., 20416. Request publication OPI-22.
Work-Experience Programs—Title V.	Needy adults, particularly unemployed parents with dependent children.	Up to 100 percent Federal financing for work experience and job training projects. Basic literacy instruction and social services also provided.	Office of Special Services, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20201. Request Fact Sheet about Work-Experience Programs.
Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)—Title VI, Pt. A, Sec. 603.	Persons ages 18 and over.....	Provides an opportunity for service in the War on Poverty. Volunteers work with migrant laborers, on Indian reservations, in urban and rural community action programs, in slum areas, hospitals, schools, and in institutions for the mentally ill and retarded. A living allowance of $50 a month is provided, and the period of service is 1 year.	VISTA Volunteers, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 20506. Request booklet, *An Invitation To Serve*.
Nurse Training Act of 1964:			
Nursing Student Loan Program.	Persons enrolled or accepted for enrollment as full-time students in an accredited school of nursing having a loan fund under the Act.	Establishes a student loan fund from which nursing students may borrow up to $1,000 an academic year, on reasonable terms. The act also provides for funds to establish traineeships for the training of professional nurses.	Institution where student is enrolled or has been accepted. Bureau of State Services (Community Health), U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20201. Request publication 1154.
Vocational Education Act of 1963:			
Local School Program of Vocational Education—Sec. 4a.	Persons who wish to learn, upgrade, or continue learning a skill.	Vocational education in secondary and post-secondary schools, colleges, and nonprofi agencies. Training for any occupation except the professions.	Local Director of Vocational Education. State Director of Guidance Services. State Director of Vocational Education. Publications Distribution Unit, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request publication O.E.-80034.
Work-Study Program—Sec. 13...	Vocational education students ages 15 through 20.	Up to 15 hours a week of employment for full-time students in vocational education who are in need of money to commence or continue their program. Salary may not exceed $350 per year for noncommuters, $500 for commuters.	

PROGRAM	FOR WHOM	PROVISIONS	SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
The Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963 as amended in 1965:			
The Health Professions Student Loan Program—PT.A.	Those enrolled or accepted as full-time students in a school which has a loan fund under the Act.	Establishes student loan funds, for students pursuing a degree in medicine, dentistry, optometry, or osteopathy, from which needy students may obtain loans of up to $2,000 a year. Part F, Sec. 780 of the Act provides for grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, optometry, podiatry, and pharmacy for scholarships of up to $2,500 a year to needy students.	Institution where student is enrolled or has been accepted. Bureau of State Services (Community Health), U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20201. Request publication 1347.
Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Center Construction Act of 1963.			
Project Grants—Title I, Part B.	Physicians and other specialized personnel needed for research, diagnosis and treatment, education, training, or care of the mentally retarded.	Grants to schools for traineeships.	Public Inquiry Branch, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201
Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended—Title II.	Unemployed or under-employed persons 16 years of age and older who cannot reasonably be expected to secure appropriate full-time employment without training.	Testing, counseling, and occupational training. Subsistence allowance provided during training, if enrollee is at least 17, is a high school graduate, and has been out of school for 1 year.	Local Director of Vocational Education. State Director of Vocational Education. Local Director of State Employment Service. State Director of Guidance Services. Publications Distribution Unit. U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request publication OE-10031-A.
Area Redevelopment Act, 1961:			
Area Redevelopment Program—Sec. 16. (In April 1965, this program, effective July 1, 1965, became Pt. C of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.)	Unemployed or under-employed persons living in a "redevelopment area" as designated by the Secretary of Commerce on the basis of a sustained high rate of unemployment.	Occupational training. Subsistence allowance provided during training in accordance with provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act cited above.	Local Director of Vocational Education. Local Manager of the U.S. Employment Office. State Director of Vocational Education. State Director of Guidance Services. Publications Distribution Unit, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request publication OE-10031-A.
National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended in 1963:			
Student Loans for Higher Education—Title II.	College students	Establishment of a loan fund at institutions of higher education, for needy students. Loans may not exceed $1,000 per year or $5,000 for all years to any student.	College where student is enrolled or has been accepted. Division of Student Financial Aid, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202. Request publication OE-55001-65.
Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1954, as amended in 1965:			
Vocational Rehabilitation Program.	Disabled persons capable of earning a living if given occupational training.	Rehabilitation services including medical help to reestablish or improve work skills; physical aids such as braces, trusses, artificial limbs, and hearing devices; vocational guidance and training; board and room and travel allowance during rehabilitation; help in finding a job; tools and licenses; and help on the job. The Act also provides for up to 4 years of graduate level training to students specializing in rehabilitation counseling.	State Director of Vocational Rehabilitation. State Guidance Director. Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20201. Request booklet, *For the Disabled—Help Through Vocational Rehabilitation.*

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U.S. Department of Labor
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

EMPLOYMENT NYT 3/13/66

We Near Bottom of Manpower Barrel

By DAVID R. JONES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 12—President Johnson sent to Congress this week a green-covered report on a subject destined to occupy more of his attention in the months ahead: manpower.

The 229-page document was stuffed with forbidding charts and complex economic comment, but it contained one point of particular signficance to everyone. The booming economy has reached the point, it said, where the nation is starting to run short of workers.

This is an important development, because as the present labor shortages spread, which they are expected to do, they are certain to add to the inflationary pressures in the economy. This in turn will influence what the Johnson Administration does about such matters as raising taxes, or eventually heading toward wage-price controls.

Major labor shortages feed inflation in two ways. They can force employers to bid against each other for workers, or to hire less-productive workers, which pushes up labor costs. And they can create bottlenecks that limit production, encouraging companies to raise prices because they are enjoying strong demand.

The tightening labor supply was underscored this week when the Department of Labor reported that the nation's unemployment dropped in February to 3.7 per cent of the labor force. That was down from 5 per cent a year earlier, and the lowest level since the jobless rate stood at 3.5 per cent in November, 1953.

Government experts admit that "there are numerous indications of developing labor stringencies." But they insist that these have been limited so far to a few industries, occupations and areas. They assert that "at the present time there is little evidence of a general labor shortage" of the kind that would create significant production jams or force widespread bidding for workers.

Where Help Is Wanted

Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, says the tightest job markets are in the Great Lakes region—including Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and Cleveland—where heavy manufacturing is centered and unemployment is estimated below 2.5 per cent.

Qualified workers are hardest to find in the metalworking, machinery, construction and defense-oriented industries. There is a scarcity of low-paid retail, medical and household service workers. Employers are lamenting a shortage of engineers, scientists and mathematicians.

On the other hand, Mr. Ross points out, the job markets are much looser in New England, and in such West Coast cities as Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco. Joblessness still stands at 10.9 per cent among teenagers, and 7 per cent among Negroes.

"Up to now, employment is still growing at a rate about 250,000 more than seasonal every month," Mr. Ross said. "This indicates to me that we still have the manpower potential for further expansion."

There still were 3.2-million unemployed in February, of whom 2.6-million were seeking full-time jobs. One-third of those seeking full-time work were adult men, and all but 200,000 of the 2.6-million had previous full-time experience. Moreover, the U.S. labor force will grow by 1.6-million this year, and jobs must be found for these people.

These gross figures do not tell the full story, however. Many of those still unemployed either live in a locality where jobs are not available, or lack the specific skills necessary to find work.

Meantime, the unemployment rate is falling faster than most economists had expected. The jobless rate is hurtling toward the level—between 2.5 per cent and 3 per cent—that is considered "full" employment. That much joblessness is considered irreducible because of seasonal factors and normal job-changing.

Effect on Wage Rates

There is evidence that manpower shortages already are having some inflationary impact. Non-union wage increases in some areas have begun to outstrip union gains, indicating employers are starting to raise pay voluntarily to keep from losing workers.

Government officials are alert to these trends, and they expect the situation to grow more severe. So they are accelerating efforts to gather more information to pinpoint the problem areas, to locate job vacancies and ways to fill them. They also are stepping up Federal manpower programs, which will train 250,000 workers this year in needed skills. Employers finally are beginning to step up their own training programs to ease shortages.

President Johnson emphasized the need to offer more training, and to redesign jobs so they can be done with less skill, in his manpower message this week. He urged employers to consider hiring more women, Negroes, handicapped people and skilled immigrants to fill worker gaps.

The most severe challenge lying ahead for government and business thus is not merely finding workers, but in providing them with the proper skills to match the available jobs.

Some economists think that it may be touch-and-go before 1966 is over.

Wirtz Urges Continued Efforts To Cut the Unemployment Rate

3/15/66 — EMPLOYMENT

By DAVID R. JONES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14—Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, saying it was "cockeyed" to worry that the unemployment rate was getting too low, today urged continued efforts to cut the rate still further.

Mr. Wirtz acknowledged that the decline in the jobless rate to 3.7 per cent of the labor force last month contributed to the "tightening manpower situation." But he said that proper job training could solve that problem and he said full employment would not be achieved until the rate reached "about 2.5 per cent."

The Johnson Administration has grown increasingly watchful of declining unemployment. While Government officials have not suggested that the rate is too low, the continued decline is causing manpower shortages and is threatening production bottlenecks that could feed inflationary pressures.

Mr. Wirtz's comments today indicated that he believed the rate could be reduced further without undue inflation if the Government and private employers did enough to train the available workers in skills where shortages existed.

"There's manpower available, we've got to train it," Mr. Wirtz asserted. "If we don't, we'll have trouble. If we do [train it], we won't have trouble."

Mr. Wirtz's estimate that full employment would be reached when the jobless rate hit 2.5 per cent was the Administration's lowest public estimate

Continued on Page 22, Column 6

15, 1966.

WIRTZ MINIMIZES MANPOWER FEAR

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

yet on that point. He and other Government officials lately have been estimating that full employment would be reached when the jobless rate was between 2.5 per cent and 3 per cent. Economists agree that unemployment cannot be totally eliminated because of seasonal work patterns and normal job changing.

The labor secretary brushed aside a recent suggestion from the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that the Administration should set an "interim" unemployment goal of 3 per cent. The Kennedy Administration in 1961 set an interim goal of 4 per cent unemployment, and that figure was reached in January.

"I've never believed much in interim goals of any kind," Mr. Wirtz said, because, he contended, they tend to become confused with ultimate goals. He said he would have "No objection" to a new interim target, but he added that the Government should strive to push the figure as low as possible regardless of the interim goal.

Contracts For Training

Mr. Wirtz made his remarks on the manpower situation after signing a contract with the National Tool, Die and Precision Machining Association to provide $521,287 in Federal funds to train 1,800 machinists and tool and die workers. He also signed a contract with the National Urban League providing $56,680 in Federal funds to fight urban unemployment.

Meanwhile, M. Clair Miller, chairman of the labor committee of the Associated General Contractors of America, complained about severe manpower shortages in contract construction. He said those shortages were encouraging unions to seek inflationary wage settlements.

Mr. Miller, interviewed at the Association's annual convention here, said the labor committee last Friday passed a resolution asserting that construction labor settlements were "making a mockery" of President Johnson's efforts to control inflation.

The committee also passed a resolution saying it was "deeply concerned about the growing shortage of skilled workmen within the construction industry."

Mr. Wirtz said today's contract with the Urban League would enable that organization to encourage local chapters to work with Government agencies in the human resources development program. The Urban League already has been working in five cities on that program, which searches out unemployed individuals and seeks to find jobs for them.

Held in Husband's Death

PASSAIC, N. J., March 14 (AP)—Mrs. Irene Streelman, mother of five girls, has been charged with murder for the fatal stabbing of her 50-year-old husband, Jerry. The police said she told them he was stabbed during a struggle that erupted from a domestic quarrel yesterday morning in their apartment at 201 Sixth Street. Mrs. Streelman is 50 and her daughters 10 to 18 years old.

EMPLOYMENT

M 3/15/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

UNIVERSITIES BAR RACE DATA TO U.S.

Education Office Seeks Way to Check on Minorities

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14—A number of colleges and universities, including large Eastern ones, have refused to tell the Office of Education how many Negroes and other nonwhite students they have.

The office is in a quandary over how to obtain the information, which it says is needed from time to time to determine how minority groups are doing in higher education.

Alexander M. Mood, assistant commissioner for educational statistics, said the office may have to hire a company to determine the racial makeup of the campuses by scientific sampling. All other information on enrollment is obtained routinely through questionnaires mailed to the schools.

Mr. Mood said about 100 institutions had balked at questions about racial makeup. He said some of the universities had warned that there would be even more refusals next year if the questions were repeated.

Role of 'God' Barred

At Syracuse University, Edwin D. Smith, the registrar, complained that the Office of Education wanted him to "play God" in determining who is black, yellow, red or white. He said it would be a violation of state and Federal law to obtain the race of each student, "not to mention a higher moral law."

Other universities that have declined to furnish racial information include Columbia, New York, Cornell, St. John's, Rochester, Boston and Rutgers, Mr. Smith said.

The situation points up a growing dilemma for the Federal Government. In enforcing laws and policies intended to make men and institutions color blind, it is having to require some color consciousness in order to identify and correct the more subtle forms of discrimination.

A study of de facto school desegregation ordered by President Johnson and soon to be undertaken by the Civil Rights Commission will require statistics on racial makeup that have not been kept for years, if ever.

The Civil Service Commission recently announced that it would soon require all Federal employes to fill out special forms designating their race so the commission can tell how well it is doing in employing minority groups.

Keeping employe records by race was stopped by the Federal Government years ago in the belief the practice fostered discrimination. The number of Negroes in the Federal service has since been estimated by a face count.

The Labor Department has been considering for some time having the state employment services list the race of job applicants to help enforce the fair employment practices section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mr. Mood said the universities had been asked to estimate the number of Negroes and nonwhites if they did not care to make a head count. But other officials objected to this, too. They said the office was collecting "statistically unsound" information, Mr. Mood explained.

Some Government sources suggested that some of the liberal establishments were sensitive about their record of recruiting Negro students and did not want to be put on the spot.

Mr. Mood said the information had never been intended to determine whether the school was complying with civil rights laws and executive orders. He said the institutions, therefore, could not be forced to supply the information.

INFO file

EMPLOYMENT

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington, D.C. 20425

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY UNDER FEDERAL LAW

CCR Special Publication—Number 5

March 1966

EMPLOYMENT

South Unsurpassed in Drive On Job Bias, Says FDR Jr.

AC 4/12/66

By MARGARET HURST

There is no section of the country more determined to practice equality in employment than the South, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. said here Monday.

He said that in his travels as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) he has found that no section of the U.S. is more guilty of discrimination than another.

Speaking to the Atlanta Rotary Club, Roosevelt said that if his only job were to see that members of minority groups get jobs he could "go out of business almost immediately."

But, he said, the big problem facing the EEOC is the inadequate training and education of minority groups.

The degree of their education makes it practically impossible to give them the training necessary to get a job in this highly technological and industrial environment, Roosevelt said.

"The challenge in education today," he said, "is to develop new techniques of remedial education."

He said that "industry after industry" plans for the raw material they will need in 30 years, but they do not plan for the human material. He told the Rotarians that business must find out what jobs will be needed in the next 30 years and then train unskilled persons to fill these jobs.

"For 30 years I've been observing government," Roosevelt said, "and one conclusion I've come to is that government always moves into a vacuum." He said that if businessmen don't find out what jobs will be needed and train persons for them, they will leave "just more vacuum where government can move in and send you just one more form every month to fill out."

He said 82 per cent of the unemployed are unskilled. He said if this group were trained and employed it would create a $21 billion market . . . one that no good businessman is likely to overlook.

Roosevelt praised Atlanta's progress and said, "I'm going to take my hat off to you . . . not just for building sky scrapers and industry, but for concerning yourselves about the arts." He said the quality of Atlanta's leadership is reflected in their concern with developing the arts.

Roosevelt left Monday afternoon for Warm Springs, where he is scheduled to participate in Tuesday's dedication ceremonies for Meriwether County's newly

Pakistan in Pact

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan (AP) — Bulgaria and Pakistan have agreed to exchange Bulgarian coke, pig iron and lead for Pakistani raw jute, cotton, cotton textiles and leather. The trade agreement was signed over the weekend, an official announcement says.

DUNWOODY BAPTIST CHURCH

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EACH EVENING 7:30

Concern—Message for You!

EMPLOYMENT 6/26/66

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTIO

Labor Market Here One of the Tightest

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Atlanta has one of the tightest labor markets in the country, the U.S. Department of Labor reported Wednesday.

The report said Atlanta and five other metropolitan areas of more than one million population had unemployment rates of less than 3 per cent in April.

However, the Labor department report said, "Although regular reports from the major employment centers show a continued downward trend in unemployment rates, there are as yet no major areas which warrant classification in the overall labor shortage category, defined by an unemployment rate of 1.5 per cent or less."

PRESIDENT ASKS TALLY

This was the second monthly report on manpower shortages and reserves in response to President Lyndon B. Johnson's request to keep tabs on the labor market.

Nationally, the Labor department reported, jobs in the nonagricultural category rose by 650,000 from March to April.

The job increase since April 1965 has been almost three million nationwide.

"Increases of this magnitude indicate that employers are still able to staff new positions and maintain a rapid rate of economic growth," said the report.

OTHER AREAS LISTED

Other large metropolitan areas with unemployment rates under 3 per cent but still more than 1.5 per cent were Washington, D.C., Minneapolis-St. Paul, Cleveland, Houston and Milwaukee.

The report said the most serious shortage of manpower was in machinery manufacturing.

The report said the industry most affected by placement of new defense contracts is aircraft. Lockheed-Georgia in Marietta received the largest of the aircraft contracts, $2 billion for development of the C-5A transport.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4,

NEGRO JOB GAINS FOUND IMPERILED

EMPLOYMENT

U. S. Says Nonwhites Must Fill More Skilled Posts

NYT 6/4/66

WASHINGTON, June 3 (AP) —The Labor Department said in a report issued today that Negroes gained substantial ground in employment in the last 10 years but could lose most of it by 1975 unless they won a bigger share of white-collar and skilled jobs.

The employment of Negroes and other nonwhites increased from 6.4 million to 7.7 million since 1955, a much faster rate of growth than for white workers, according to the report by Joe L. Russell of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the monthly labor review.

This brought the ratio of nonwhite workers to total employment from 10.2 per cent in 1955 to 10.7 per cent in 1965, the report said.

"Nevertheless, nonwhite workers continue to be disproportionately concentrated in less skilled blue-collar and service occupations," the report said.

If nonwhites continue to hold the same proportion of jobs, their ratio of total employment will slip back to 10.3 per cent by 1975, the report said, and their unemployment rate could be doubled because of the growing population.

Impact of Bias

Despite the 10-year growth in jobs, unemployment for nonwhites averaged at least twice the rate for white workers and will be reduced in the future only if Government and private job training programs and new laws against employment discrimination have a major impact, Mr. Russell said.

The low-skilled occupations in which Negroes and other nonwhite workers are largely concentrated are expected to grow more slowly than other jobs, he said.

More than half the 1.3 million gain in nonwhite employment the last 10 years was in white-collar jobs but still, less than one-fifth of all employed nonwhites held such jobs compared with nearly one-half of all employed white workers, the report said.

Nonwhites have made the most headway in teaching jobs, where they equal the number of white teachers in elementary and secondary schools, the report said.

Another area of significant gains for nonwhites was in clerical jobs, such as postal clerks, telephone operators, stock clerks, office machine operators and cashiers, the report said, as the nonwhite ratio rose from 3.8 per cent to 5.7 per cent.

The employment of nonwhite craftsmen, much of it in construction work, increased from 4 per cent to 5.6 per cent, the report said.

EMPLOYMENT NYT 6/4/66 K

CIVIL SERVICE DATA ON RACE QUESTIONED

WASHINGTON, June 3 (AP) —Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, said today he had asked the Civil Service Commission to reconsider its new policy of asking Federal employes and job applicants to list their race and ancestry.

He said letters and telegrams received by the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee that he heads indicated widespread concern "over the Government invasion of personal privacy represented by this questionnaire."

In reply to an earlier inquiry by Senator Ervin about the questionnaire, John W. Macy Jr., the commission chairman, said the purpose was to obtain data "to help determine those areas of Federal employment in which there may be denial to minority group members of an equal opportunity for employment."

Mr. Macy said:

"There is no intent to compromise the principle of open competition for Civil Service jobs in any way or to establish a quota system for any group.

In a reply urging reconsideration, Senator Ervin said:

"I fear that this ultimately may be the unavoidable result of such a process as you are inaugurating."

Indonesia Seeks Singapore Tie

Special to The New York Times

SINGAPORE, June 3—Indonesia sent a note of recognition today. Lieut. Col. Ali Noertopo, Jakarta's special envoy who delivered the note, said the final act of recognition and resumption of ties now rested on Singapore's response.

STUDY CITES GAINS IN HIRING NEGROES

U.S. Companies Employing More, but Survey Finds Strides Are Still Slow

By DOUGLAS W. CRAY

American companies are hiring more Negro employes, but strides in Negro employment are still slow, the National Industrial Conference Board reported yesterday.

In a two-volume study of the hiring attitudes and practices of 47 companies throughout the United States, the board found that far fewer problems had been encountered in hiring Negroes than had been anticipated.

The study also showed that many Negroes continue to receive only low-paying, low-status jobs and that well-qualified Negroes are still hard to find.

The impetus for a number of the special programs established by companies to revise their hiring practices came from the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It became effective on July 2, 1965, and makes it unlawful for an employer, an employment agency and a labor union to discriminate on the basis of race, color, sex, religion and national origin.

But the board's study indicated that the law itself is not the only factor at work in the field. As Francis G. Fabian,

Continued on Page 28, Column 4

STUDY CITES GAINS IN HIRING NEGROES

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

president of Hunt Foods and Industries, Inc., told the board's interviewing team:

"If the law were repealed tomorrow, we'd keep our policy and plan for action because it's not only right but we've gone through a lot to get it. But, I think governmental inspection of our plants and facilities is an asset. We all need prodding. I'll certainly keep prodding as long as I'm chief executive officer. Someone at the top has to believe in this and push it or it just won't go."

Other corporate presidents echoed the view that it takes a strong and continued push from the top to make certain that the legend, "An Equal Opportunity Employer," is not just so many words.

As the board notes: "Companies that have made most progress in employing Negroes report that a strong written policy statement on equal opportunity is needed to attract qualified applicants; also, a vigorous and sustained program of affirmative action, and adequate control to check on and insure achievement of the company's intent."

Ford Foundation Grant

The study, financed by a $195,000 Ford Foundation grant, was made between July, 1964, and January of this year. Published in two volumes, it presents background information on the nonwhite employment picture in general and thorough case studies of the participating companies.

Fourteen of the companies employed less than 5,000 persons and 16 employed more than 25,000. Thirty-three manufacturers are represented and others include banks, transportation, merchandising and other nonmanufacturing concerns.

"The scope of this study," said N. Bruce Palmer, president of the N. I. C. B., a nonprofit, fact-finding institution, "goes beyond strictly business considerations. It will not tell the executive what role he should play in Negro employment, but it will tell him what role others are playing and what role he can play if he chooses. And it will tell him what has worked so far and what has not."

As the study notes, about 6 million of the more than 20 million Negroes in the United States are gainfully employed and close to another million are looking for work.

Employment Rates Cited

The nonwhite unemployment rate has been more than double that of white workers for the last decade. In 1955, for example, the unemployment rate for whites was 3.6 per cent and the rate for nonwhites was 7.9 per cent. In 1964 the rate for whites was 4.6 per cent compared with 9.8 per cent for nonwhites.

A similar pattern shows up insofar as Negro earnings are concerned. A majority of Negro families ((six in 10) earns less than $4,000 a year, well below, the board points out, the $6,140 deemed "modest but adequate." for a family of four by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The average Negro earns slightly more than one-half as much as the average white worker.

On the basis of its study, the board has drawn a number of conclusions. Among them are:

"Few companies are doing as well with Negro employment as they want to do. And few are doing as well as their top executives think they are doing. Also, many top-level executives think the Negro is making more economic progress than he, in fact, is making."

"Negroes are rated 'average' workers in most respects by those executives surveyed, but somewhat low on promotability and taking responsibility. With more education and training, most companies surveyed believe the Negro will improve his position in both areas."

"Generally, Negroes are screened for positions in the companies surveyed in the same way as other applicants. But a number of these companies make adjustments in interpreting test scores, especially in cases involving candidates from impoverished backgrounds."

"Most companies strongly oppose the idea of hiring Negroes by quota, believing it violates the principle of merit employment."

"Virtually all companies in the study have at least one Negro in a supervisory capacity. Very few firms express hard-core resistance to Negro hiring.

"Civil Rights legislation has produced dramatic changes in the South, mostly in curbing 'separate but equal' practices. Still, employes in some plants continue to use facilities on a segregated basis. While most firms feel that legislation produces some progress toward equal opportunity, they stress that the rest depends upon education and voluntary effort."

Another point that came up repeatedly in the investigations was the realization that pressure on American business to hire increased numbers of Negroes came along practically "overnight." Many concerns were simpy not prepared to meet it. Most feel they will still need guidance in this area for some time to come.

There remains a feeling on the part of many Negroes that companies are not genuinely interested in having them apply for work. To overcome this, companies have begun running advertisements in Negro publications, sending executives to address schools with large Negro enrollments and stepping up recruiting efforts at Negro colleges.

Thirty-eight of the companies in the survey were able and willing to report the numbers of Negroes on their payrolls. These companies employed 63,946 Negroes, or 6.98 per cent of the companies' total employment of 915,308.

New Dam Serves Coast Homes

California's new dam in Feather River canyon will impound enough water to supply every household in the state for a year, the National Geographic says.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST

EMPLOYMENT ADS SAID TO SHOW BIAS

75 Advertisers Are Cited by Federal Commission

8/10/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9—The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission announced today it had charged 75 advertisers with unlawful discrimination in newspaper help-wanted columns.

The commission took the action under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids discrimination in employment because of race, religion, sex or national origin.

Dr. Luther Holcomb, acting chairman of the commission, said the charges grew out of a study of 18,000 help-wanted ads in 21 newspapers across the country.

Those charged were said to have sponsored ads that seemed to violate guidelines that the commission issued on help-wanted advertising several months ago.

The newspapers carrying the advertisements were not charged in the complaints. The commission said it could not lawfully disclose the names of the advertisers.

Individual Complaints

Under the law, the commission as well as individual citizens can file complaints of discrimination in employment. In either case the commission is to follow this procedure: first there is an investigation by commission staff members. If the commission finds "reasonable cause" after investigation, the commission must attempt to end discrimination by conciliation.

If conciliation fails, the complainant can seek relief through the courts or the Attorney General can bring suit to end a "pattern of practice."

In the current cases, the commission's next step is to investigate its complaints against the advertisers.

"The commission is launching a campaign against classified ad violations of Title VII," Dr. Holcomb said. "We will continue to pursue such violations and we urge both advertisers and newspapers to cooperate with us in eliminating discrimination in this area."

Sex Most Obvious Form

The commission said the most obvious form of discrimination found in the survey was on the basis of sex. In its guidelines, the commission said help-wanted ads could be placed in columns marked "male" or "female" but that an advertiser could not state his preference in the individual ads, unless he was prepared to show that one sex or the other was needed for the normal operation of his business.

Following are examples of ads the commission found objectionable: "Ambitious men to train for manager positions." "lady in charge." "man age 22 to 25" "sales position for men."

Examples the commission said violated the law on the basis of race, religion or national origin included: "white attendant." "Anglo carhop." Catholic sales." "Middle-aged Latin-American."

If the advertisers can show that sex, race, national origin or religion is necessary to their businesses, the charges will be droopped.

EMPLOYMENT

Negro Jobless Up—Why?

9/11/66 NYT

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10—With everything that has been done in the past few years to improve the lot of the Negro in America, is his job situation nevertheless actually getting worse?

So informed an expert as Arthur M. Ross, the head of the Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics, thinks that it is. Mr. Ross cites the unemployment figures compiled by the experts in his own agency to support his view that Negro workers in recent months have benefited neither from the specific efforts made in their behalf, nor from the general prosperity of the nation.

For all practical purposes, Negro unemployment has not budged this year. There are still nearly a quarter of a million Negroes out of work and actively seeking jobs—the Government's definition of "unemployment."

But in one key sense, the job situation of the Negro has actually deteriorated over the past 12 months, and particularly over the past four. The Negro unemployment rate — the percentage of all those unable to find work as compared to the total number of Negro workers — has been rising. At the same time, the white unemployment rate has been falling or remained at the least, stable.

As far back as the statistics go on unemployment by race, which is to 1948, Negroes have always had a disproportionate share of unemployment. Their rate of unemployment has been, generally, a bit more than twice as large as the white rate, in good times or bad. When 3½ per cent of the white persons who wanted work were jobless, somewhat more than 7 per cent of the Negroes were unemployed. When the rate for whites leapt up to 6 per cent, for example, in a recession, the Negro rate went above 12 per cent.

The ratio has been remarkably constant. Labor Department figures, taken on a quarterly rather than a monthly basis to smooth out some of the meaninglyless gyrations in monthly statistics, show this. Since 1957 (which is simply as far back as this particular set of figures go) the rtaio of Negro to white unemployment has almost always moved in the narrow range of 1.9 to 2.2 times as large, of the total of 39 calendar quarters covered by these figures, there are only three in which the rate was outside this range. Twice the Negro unemployment rate rose to 2.3 times the white rate and once to 2.4 times.

In July and August of this year the ratio again hit 2.4. The problem is that nobody knows why.

Experts have no one explanation for the rise, but studies of Negro unemployment patterns would make one thing certain. The current rise does not reflect a white backlash to the recent Negro protest movement.

There is a possibility that the figures are, for some reason, inaccurate and that in another couple of months the alarm that was raised by Mr. Rose will prove to have been a false one. This is what some of Mr. Ross's own experts in the Bureau of Labor Statistics believe. There have been similar alarms in the past, which have proved unfounded.

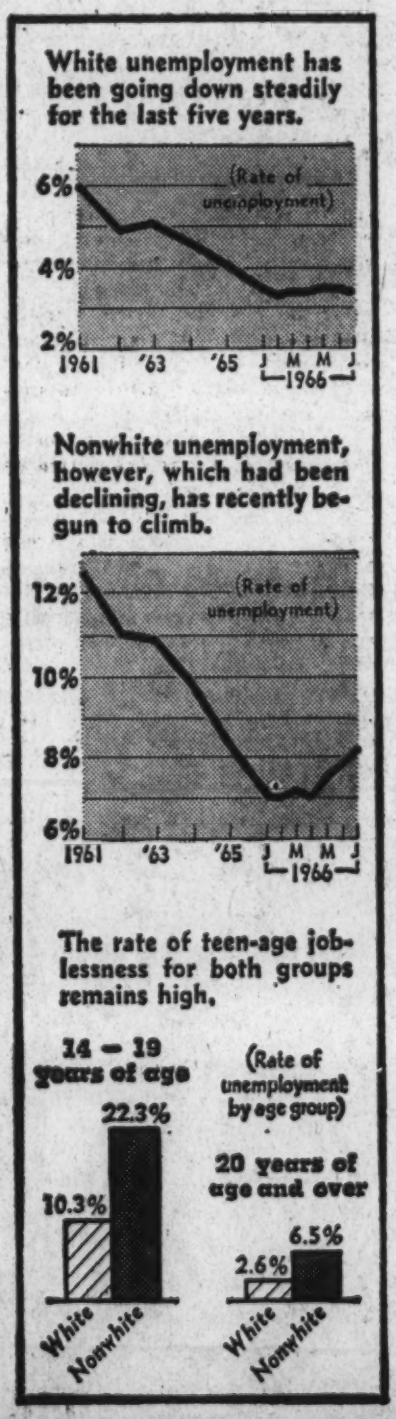
The statistics could be wrong, the experts agree, because of the manner in which they ar e gathered. The Labor Department's unemployment figures are based on a sample that is supposed to be representative of the entire population. Only 3,500 households are covered by the sample, however, and while this is a huge sample, as statistical sampling techniques go, it is still very small for purposes of identifying the unemployed by subcategory, such as race. Negroes now constitute about one-ninth of the U.S. population, and thus the sample is only one-ninth Negro, a small number.

The possibility of sampling errors aside, the long-term trends in Negro unemployment are somewhat mystifying to the experts. They do not move precisely with the trend in white unemployment, nor against it. While Negro unemployment, like white unemployment, does go up in booms and down in recessions, the relationship between the two does not seem to be particularly influenced by business cycles.

Common sense would hold that Negroes being "last hired, first fired" would be hurt relatively more than whites in recessions and helped relatively more by booms. But the statistics do not support this bit of common sense.

It is the failure of the present boom, of unprecedented length in peacetime, to sop up a greater proportion of Negro unemployment that has alarmed Mr. Ross and those who share his views. It looked for a while, in 1965, that the gap between Negro and white unemployment was narrowing and this was taken as a sign that a prolonged boom would, indeed, ultimately help Negroes more than whites. It now turns out that it hasn't—this much is completely clear. Whether the relative position of the Negro has actually been worsened remains to be seen when further statistics are available.

Even if the Negro's job position is essentially unchanged as a result of the long boom—an unemployment rate a bit more than twice the white rate—this presents some serious policy questions. If an unprecedented boom will not narrow the gap, what will?



EMPLOYMENT

FACTS ABOUT TITLE VII

OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

EEOC

EEOC EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

HISTORY AND PURPOSE

The first official Federal action against discrimination in private employment was taken in 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued the first order requiring that nondiscrimination clauses be inserted in government contracts.

Every subsequent President has adopted the same policy.

In 1945 New York adopted the first State fair employment practices law. By 1966, 56 cities, 35 states and the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands had such laws.

On July 2, 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of the Act, "Equal Employment Opportunity," prohibits discrimination in hiring, upgrading and all other conditions of employment. It became effective on July 2, 1965.

Title VII established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission composed of five members appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. The Commission's responsibility is to assure that all Americans will be considered for hiring and promotion on the basis of their ability and qualifications, without regard to race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

COVERAGE

Under Title VII the Commission is concerned with discrimination by four major groups—employers, public and private employment agencies, labor organizations and joint labor-management apprenticeship programs.

Title VII applies to employers of 75 or more persons, labor unions with 75 or more members or which operate hiring halls, and employment agencies dealing with employers of 75 or more persons. On July 2, 1967, it will apply to those with 50 or more, and on July 2, 1968, to those with 25 or more.

TITLE VII MAKES IT UNLAWFUL:

For any *employer* to discriminate in:

hiring or firing;

wages, terms, conditions or privileges of employment;

classifying, assigning or promoting employees or extending or assigning use of facilities;

training, retraining or apprenticeships

For any *employer* or *employment agency* to:

print, publish, circulate or cause the printing, publishing, circulation of advertisements or any other statement or announcement relating to employment expressing any specifications, limitations or preferences based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

discriminate in receiving applications or classifying or referring for employment

For any *labor organization* to:

exclude or expel from membership; discriminate against any individual; limit, segregate or classify membership, refer to or fail to refer for employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin;

cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate

For any *employer, employment agency* or *labor organization* to:

discriminate against any person because he has opposed any unlawful employment practices or because he has made charges, testified or participated in any action under Title VII.

Title VII Exemptions

Among those NOT covered, are local, state and federal agencies, government-owned corporations, Indian tribes and educational institutions where the employee performs work connected with the institution's educational activities.

HOW COMMISSION WORKS

The Commission has two basic responsibilities. First, it investigates complaints of discrimination, and if it finds they are justified, seeks a full remedy by the process of conciliation. Second, it promotes programs of voluntary compliance by employers, unions and community organizations to put the idea of equal employment opportunity into actual operation.

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT

If a person believes that he or she is a victim of discrimination by an employer, labor organization, employment agency or joint labor-management program for apprenticeship or training, that person may file a complaint with the Commission.

Instructions and complaint forms are available at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., 20506, at local or state Fair Employment Practice agencies, or at the regional Equal Employment Opportunity Commission offices.

The following directions are taken from the official charge form:

...IT IS IMPORTANT TO FILE YOUR CHARGE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE DISCRIMINATION TOOK PLACE. To be sure your rights are protected, you should file no later than 90 days after the incident complained of. If you file later than that, the Commission may not be able to assist you.

...When the Commission receives the charge, a representative will review the facts and contact you either by mail or in person.

...If your charge is one which can be handled by the Commission, an investigator will gather all the facts in the situation from you and from the parties you have charged with discrimination.

...A COPY OF YOUR CHARGE WILL BE GIVEN TO THE PARTIES YOU HAVE CHARGED WITH DISCRIMINATION. THIS IS REQUIRED BY LAW.

...If the Commission does not find that the facts support your charge, you will be notified that the charge has been dismissed. The parties you have charged with discrimination will also be notified.

...If the Commission finds reasonable cause to believe that you have been discriminated against, it will attempt to conciliate and reach an agreement satisfactory to you and the company (or union, employment agency or apprenticeship committee).

...If it fails to reach such an agreement within a specified period of time, you have the right to take your complaint to court.

...If you live in a state which has a fair employment practice law, the Commission may be required to turn your case over to the state or local agency. You will be notified if this is done and you will be informed of your right to file the charge with our Commission at a later date, if you wish to do so.

OTHER AVENUES

Individual Commissioners may initiate complaints if they receive information which indicates that the law has been violated. In certain cases, where the Commission feels that a pattern or practice of discrimination exists rather than a single instance, the Justice Department will be advised and the Attorney General may then undertake action in the U. S. District Court.

STATE AGENCIES

Title VII provides that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defer investigation of a case arising in a state with an enforceable fair employment practice law for a period of not less than 60 days and, in the case of a newly-established state Fair Employment Practice organization, for a period of not more than 120 days. The Commission has determined that it will defer to the following states:

Alaska	Kansas	New Mexico
California	Kentucky	New York
Colorado	Maryland	Ohio
Connecticut	Massachusetts	Oregon
Delaware	Michigan	Pennsylvania
District of Columbia	Minnesota	Puerto Rico
	Missouri	Rhode Island
Hawaii	Nebraska	Utah
Illinois	Nevada	Washington
Indiana	New Hampshire	Wisconsin
Iowa	New Jersey	Wyoming

On cases involving sex discrimination, the Commission defers to the following:

District of Columbia	Massachusetts	New York
	Missouri	Utah
Hawaii	Nebraska	Wisconsin
Maryland		Wyoming

The Commission does not defer to: Idaho, Maine, Montana and Vermont. These states provide criminal sanctions for discrimination but do not establish or authorize a state agency to administer the statute.

The Commission does not defer to: Arizona (first offense only), Oklahoma, Tennessee and West Virginia. These outlaw discrimination or declare it contrary to state policy, but provide for voluntary compliance only.

RELATED FEDERAL AGENCIES

Other federal agencies have authority to assure equal employment opportunity.

- National Labor Relations Board can prohibit certain discriminatory practices by labor unions.
- Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Department of Labor, administers the President's Executive Order which prohibits employment discrimination by all government contractors and subcontractors working on contracts and federally assisted construction which exceed $10,000 or contracts or purchase orders for standard commercial supplies which exceed $100,000.
- Federally Assisted Programs—Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbids discrimination in employment in federally assisted programs or activities.
- U. S. Civil Service Commission is required to supervise and provide leadership and guidance in the conduct of equal employment programs for federal employees and applicants for employment within the executive departments and agencies.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Title VII contemplates and encourages voluntary compliance by employers, unions and employment agencies through affirmative action programs.

Such programs are designed to help business, union and community leadership achieve the goals of equal employment opportunity through aggressive recruiting, job training and job upgrading.

The Commission offers guidance in the development of these programs through its technical assistance specialists.

Guidance is provided in open recruiting, in creating a climate for integrated work forces, in obtaining federal funds for training projects and in intergroup employee relations.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE LAW

REPORTS

Employers covered by Title VII must make an annual report concerning the racial, ethnic and sex composition of its work force and the types of jobs held. This report is Standard Form 100, Equal Employment Opportunity Employer Information Report EEO-1.

POSTER

Employers are required to post in a conspicuous place a notice setting forth summaries of the law and information about the filing of complaints.

THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

EEOC

HEADQUARTERS

1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

FIELD OFFICES

Atlanta, Georgia 30309
1776 Peachtree Street, N.W.

Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101
500 Gold Avenue, S.W.

Austin, Texas

Chicago, Illinois 60604
219 South Dearborn

Cleveland, Ohio 44114
1365 Ontario Street

Kansas City, Missouri 64131
911 Walnut Street

Los Angeles, California 90012
300 N. Los Angeles

New Orleans, Louisiana 70130
423 Canal Street

New York, New York 10013
346 Broadway

San Francisco, California 94111
630 Sansome

★GPO : 1995 O - 388-556

EMPLOYMENT

The Time Is Now

A guide to effective involvement in your community's Equal Employment Opportunity Activities

New file

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

ES

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
SUSQUEHANNA 7-2714

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Honorary Chairman, Sponsors, 1946-1962

MRS. ALICE K. POLLITZER
Honorary Chairman, Board of Directors

ABRAHAM P. KANNER
Chairman, Board of Directors

DOUGLAS KELLEY
Executive Director

January 31, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization
Planning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Many thanks for your January 20 note; we have mailed 1,000 of the tabloids and 50 of the Encampment (19 through 23 year-olds) applications and 50 (15 through 18 year-olds) of the Center applications.

As an encouragement to potential applicants to the Southern Appalachian Center for Education in Democracy, we would like to offer 12 half scholarships ($225. each) to be awarded to applicants the Southern Regional Council recommends. These and other applicants can be assured that they can request further assistance if it can be justified on the basis of economic need. We would hope that they would also investigate possible local sources of partial sponsorship, however. If we can enlarge this offer after the Field Foundation and other foundation Boards have met, I'll be in touch with you post haste. By all means, assure potential applicants that they may apply for full scholarships in any of the four projects.

Do let me know if we can provide further materials or information. I will let you know as soon as we have a director for the Kentucky project and will seek your advice about a time for a one day meeting to plan the additional program.

Best regards,

Cordially,

Douglas Kelley
Executive Director

dk/d

NON-PROFIT, NON-SECTARIAN, NON-PARTISAN; FOUNDED IN 1946 BY ALGERNON D. BLACK AND THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION.

"The Encampment for Citizenship has been an effective pioneering project in citizenship education. It has helped train people for all walks of American life. Our government, and now the Peace Corps, have reaped the harvest of its work. . . ." —*John F. Kennedy*

"This venture with which the name of Eleanor Roosevelt has been so closely associated has made a splendid contribution in citizenship education and in the training of young people." —*Lyndon B. Johnson*

SUMMER PROJECTS '66

Winter 1965-'66 Newsletter of The Encampment For Citizenship, Inc. 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023 103 PLEASE POST

Four Six-Week Sessions To Focus On Rights, Poverty

Photo by Eula Cassius

Montana Farmers Union member Jim Erickson explains the wonders under the microscope to Harlem youngsters. Jim and others from the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship helped out in a tutoring project in Harlem. Workshops in all four Encampment '66 projects will

Two For 19-23-Year-Olds, Two For 15-18 Age Group

Four exciting six-week projects dealing with the unfinished business of American democracy will be sponsored by the Encampment for Citizenship during the summer of 1966.

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SUMMER PROJECTS '66

Winter 1965-'66 Newsletter of The Encampment For Citizenship, Inc. 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023 103 PLEASE POST

Four Six-Week Sessions To Focus On Rights, Poverty

Photo by Eula Cassius

Montana Farmers Union member Jim Erickson explains the wonders under the microscope to Harlem youngsters. Jim and others from the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship helped out in a tutoring project in Harlem. Workshops in all four Encampment '66 projects will offer similar opportunities for part-time voluntary service in low income areas.

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Civil rights, the whole range of anti-poverty efforts, and world affairs will be given top priority in the educational programs of the Washington, New York and Kentucky projects. "Democracy and social-economic development in the Western Hemisphere" will be the focus of the Puerto Rico Encampment's educational program. The Puerto Rico Encampment is for campers from throughout the Hemisphere.

As in the past, campers will represent a cross section of the nation, of many racial, religious, ethnic and economic backgrounds. Also in the Encampment tradition will be the educational approach: no partisan or sectarian ax to grind, emphasis on discussions and see-for-yourself fieldtrips, and insistence that even the most distinguished speakers take time, after their lectures, for questions and thorough discussion.

DIVERSITY THE KEY

Speakers will represent many points of view, and will include members of Congress and other political leaders, officials in the federal Administration, the Government of Puerto Rico and local governments. Outstanding and controversial social scientists, social workers, journalists, and spokesmen for business, labor and farm groups will

(see SESSIONS, page 4)

Congressman John V. Lindsay, Mayor-Elect of New York City:

"The Encampment for Citizenship . . . has established in the hearts and minds of thousands of young people enduring adherence to fundamental democratic principles.

"The Encampments have done much to build citizens, not only of this country, but of other countries of the world, and this achievement cannot be underestimated. They have been a distillation of democracy, and their work in carrying the cause of freedom to the young will gain increasing numbers of friends as time passes."

Encampment Impact Hits Record Number In '65

A record number of 261 campers took part in the Encampment for Citizenship's three Summer '65 projects, in New York City, Puerto Rico and Berkeley, California. Their enthusiastic letters to the projects' directors, this fall, testify once again to the educational and emotional impact of the Encampment experience.

Allard Lowenstein, lawyer-teacher-author (**Brutal Mandate** — the story of South West Africa) and alumnus of the 1947 Encampment, was director of the New York Encampment, held for the 20th year at the Fieldston School, Riverdale. The 110 campers, highly diverse in racial, religious, ethnic and economic backgrounds, represented a broad spectrum of political beliefs. Stimulating sessions with guest lecturers, intense, often marathon-length staff and camper discussions, and frequent fieldtrips to points throughout the New York area added up to a dynamic confrontation with the country's major public affairs issues.

Guest lecturers, who dealt with civil rights, foreign policy, and economic and social problems (examples: law in American slums; problems of the press; narcotics; innovation in higher education) were a distinguished lot. Congressmen and other spokesmen for the Democratic and Republican parties were included, along with Yale, Princeton and Harvard faculty members, the President of Antioch College, representatives of the Civil Rights Commission and the State Department, and spokesmen for civil rights organizations, the labor movement, and left and right-wing dissent groups.

The gubernatorial candidate of the Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi was a speaker, as were two candidates for Mayor of New York City, the editors of the Lexington (Mississippi) **Advertiser** and the **New York Post**, Norman Thomas, UN Mediator Dr. Frank Graham and American Civil Liberties Union founder Roger Baldwin.

Workshops at the New York Encampment dealt with foreign policy, law and the poor, political and community organization, urban social problems, education, cultural affairs, and the New York City power structure. Another workshop enabled campers to take part in a tutorial project for disadvantaged youngsters, run by student volunteers on Harlem's West Side.

Workshop groups made frequent fieldtrips to the UN and various foreign missions to the UN, to the offices of a wide range of social agencies and community organizations, to the police and courts, treatment centers for drug addicts, Broadway and off-Broadway stage personalities and productions, bank, newspaper and trade union offices and television news studios.

PUERTO RICO ENCAMPMENT

Forty young men and thirty-four young women were campers at the Encampment

(see IMPACT, page 4)

FOUR EXCITING SUMMER PR
THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS

President Lyndon B. Johnson:

"This venture with which the name of Eleanor Roosevelt has been so closely associated has made a splendid contribution in citizenship education and in the training of young people."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was for seventeen years chairman of the Sponsors Committee of the Encampment for Citizenship. Each year campers at the New York Encampment

TWO ENCAMPMENTS FOR CITIZENSHIP, FOR THOSE 19 THROUGH 23 YEARS OF AGE:

WASHINGTON, D.C.: **"American Politics in a Revolutionary World."** The educational program will be concerned with U.S. national politics and foreign policy; problems of developing nations, of arms control and of disarmament; the anti-poverty program; civil rights; history of democracy; and community organization. Visits to offices and homes of leaders of both major parties, to embassies, to improvement programs in slum areas, and to Peace Corps, VISTA, anti-poverty and civil rights agency headquarters. Opportunity for part-time community service in the national capital's lowest income areas. June 19—July 30. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

PUERTO RICO: **"Democracy and Social-Economic Development in the Western Hemisphere."** Educational program concerned with achievements and problems of social-economic development in Puerto Rico and in Latin America generally; the Alliance for Progress, Latin American-U.S. relations and self-determination of peoples; U.S. domestic efforts against poverty and discrimination; history of democracy; means of involving people in the democratic process. Visits to social-economic projects and to cultural events. Opportunity for part-time community service in a Puerto Rican village. Preference given to applicants with knowledge of both Spanish and English. Many campers will be Latin Americans. June 26—August 6. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

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"The 1965 Encampment for Citizenship was the most unique, the most provocative, and in many ways the most rewarding experiment in living I can remember. It ended all too soon."—Howard Moffett, Chairman, Yale Daily; alumnus of the New York Encampment

Regional Action Groups Will Be Co-Sponsors

The Encampment's 1966 projects in Eastern Kentucky and in Puerto Rico will be co-sponsored by locally-based community action organizations.

The Encampment's high-school-age Center for Education in Democracy, in Eastern Kentucky, will be co-sponsored by the Council of the Southern Mountains and by the Southern Regional Council. The Council of the Southern Mountains, with headquarters at Berea, Kentucky, assists the work of hundreds of local agencies and individuals leading the anti-poverty struggle in Southern Appalachia. The Southern Regional Council, at Atlanta, aids and coordinates the work of local organizations throughout the South working toward equal rights and opportunities for all.

In Puerto Rico the Encampment for Citizenship will be co-sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. Cuerpo de Paz de Puerto Rico, a non-sectarian domestic Peace Corps supported by the federal anti-poverty program.

All three co-sponsoring organizations will assist the Encampment's staff in planning fieldtrips and community service work, and in locating outstanding guest lecturers, staff and campers.

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Joe Prewitt, University of Puerto Rico graduate and alumnus of the 1964 Puerto Rico Encampment for Citizenship, discusses a village youth program with a Puerto Rican family. After a year's service as a volunteer in the YMCA Peace Corps of Puerto Rico, Joe is now on the staff of that non-sectarian anti-poverty agency. He and his co-workers will help campers at the 1966 Encampment for Citizenship get first-hand community development experience in communities throughout the island.

PLEASE POST

OGRAMS DEALING WITH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

TWO CENTERS FOR EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY, FOR THOSE 15 THROUGH 18 YEARS OF AGE:

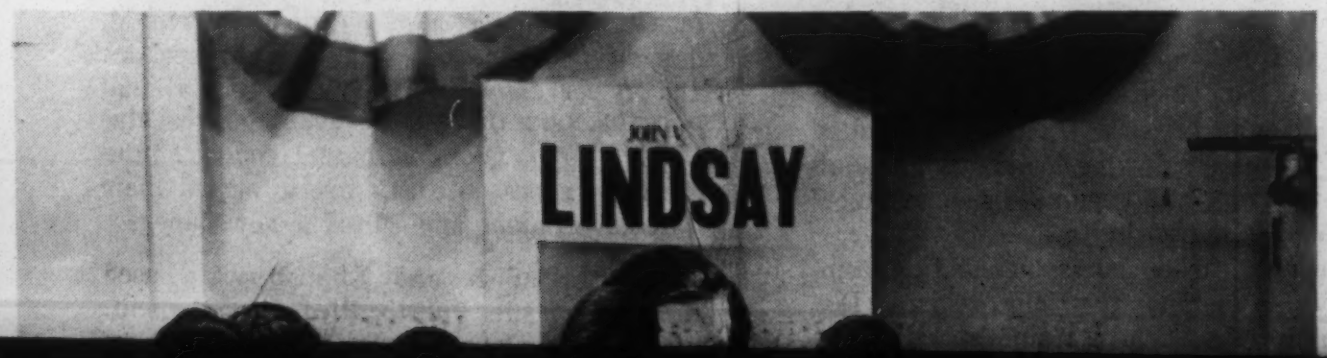
NEW YORK CITY: "Urbanism and American Democracy." The educational program will be concerned with efforts to achieve better housing, health and education, honest government and public safety in a great urban area; urban aspects of anti-poverty and civil rights programs; history of democracy; community organization; the United Nations and other aspects of world affairs. Visits to ethnic areas, improvement programs and economic and cultural institutions throughout New York City, to City Hall and to the U.N. Opportunity for part-time community service in Harlem. Site: the 15-acre campus of the Fieldston School, Riverdale, Bronx; July 3—August 13. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

EASTERN KENTUCKY: "The Rural South and American Democracy." Educational program concerned with efforts to bring the nation's major underdeveloped area closer to national standards in employment, education, housing and health; rural aspects of the anti-poverty program; civil rights in Southern and border states; history of democracy; community organization; world affairs, particularly problems of developing nations. Visits to improvement programs in rural areas of Kentucky and Tennessee, and to Tennessee Valley Authority installations. Opportunity for part-time community service in a Kentucky community, and opportunities to learn folk dances and songs of the area. July 3—August 13. Cost: $450 (scholarship aid available on basis of need).

Campers at the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship discuss alternative strategies in the struggle for equality and civil rights. Young leaders of civil rights groups in all parts of the United States were among the campers.

"I was born in East Harlem. I had never been out of Harlem—I thought Harlem was the world. I thought only Harlem had problems.

"Taking part in the Center for Education in Democracy for six weeks opened my eyes. During those six weeks I got well acquainted with people from every kind of background, from all over the country. It really hurt, at the end, to have to say goodbye to people I hadn't wanted to shake hands with, when I got there.



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"Now I'm on the steering committee of MEND (the anti-poverty coordinating group in Spanish Harlem), trying to put into practice some of what I learned at the Center."

—a 16-year old camper at the 1965 Center for Education in Democracy

Photo by Sam Cassius

Politics Workshop members at the 1965 New York Encampment for Citizenship study campaign plans and materials at a John V. Lindsay neighborhood headquarters. After an afternoon there, they visited with the new Mayor-Elect at his home. Two other candidates for Mayor of New York City were among speakers at the Encampment, and other candidates' headquarters were also visited.

Folk music always ranks high among recreational activities at Encampment projects. Dancing, swimming, volleyball, softball and other sports, as well as attendance at local cultural events, will be free-time activities at all Summer '66 projects.

Encampment Projects Are Not Only For Students

"Active interest in public affairs, not merely educational status, is the factor we're most concerned with," says Mrs. Clara Kobrak, chairman of the Encampment's Admissions Committee.

"No one should be discouraged from applying for admission to one of the Encampment's 19 to 23-year-old projects because he's not in college. We're just as interested in the applicant who's active in his local union, or farm youth group, or in anti-poverty or civil rights work, for example, as we are in students."

Mrs. Kobrak also pointed out that the 15 to 18-year-old projects are not limited to high school students.

APPLICATIONS FOR THE ENCAMPMENT'S SUMMER '66 PROJECTS ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC., 2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY 10023. Use the form on page four.

"I learned something at the Center for Education in Democracy that will stay with me for the rest of my life. I learned to live with others, with people whose experiences and ideas are different.

"In the Social Problems workshop I became interested in mental retardation . . . . A visit to a migrant farm labor center was unforgettable . . . . I realize, now, what an apathetic community I live in—how important it is for **me** to care, and not just to leave it to the other fellow."

—from a letter by a 1965 Center camper

LIVING NEAR NEW YORK?
SAVE THESE DATES!

Plan to attend these theatre parties to benefit the Encampment Scholarship Fund:

SWEET CHARITY, a new musical with Gwen Verdon, at the Palace Theatre, Tuesday, March 15

WAIT UNTIL DARK, a suspense play with Lee Remick, at the Barrymore Theatre, Monday, March 28

Annual Encampment Banquet: Hotel Plaza, New York, May 24

Tickets for all three events available from the Encampment office, 2 West 64th Street, New York City 10023

SESSIONS continued from p. 1

speak, along with leaders of organizations active in civil rights, anti-poverty efforts, and world affairs.

Recreational and cultural programs at each site will include showing of significant films, visits to museums, concerts and theaters, and opportunities for swimming, softball, volleyball, folk-singing, dancing of every kind, tennis, hiking and cycling.

In some of the "workshops" from which campers may choose at each project, practical training will be offered in organizing and leading community service efforts in low income neighborhoods. One workshop at each site will be concerned with running a tutoring program for youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds. A second workshop will give campers know-how in setting up "week-end workcamps" in which volunteers help build or repair needed community facilities. In each case campers will learn by

Encampment's Board Elects New Officers

New officers of the Encampment for Citizenship board of directors are Abraham P. Kanner, Chairman; Mrs. Jean Somerville Kotkin, Vice-Chairman; S. Arthur Dembner, Secretary; and Gerhart L. Kobrak, Treasurer. Mrs. Frances Mannheimer, a full-time volunteer worker in the Encampment office, is Assistant Treasurer. Mr. Kanner is Vice-President—Finance, of Maidenform, Inc., Mrs. Kotkin is with College and Career Consultants, Inc., Mr. Dembner is Vice-President and Circulation Director of Newsweek, and Mr. Kobrak is retired from the import-export business.

Peace Corpsman Is New EFC Executive Director

Douglas Kelley, 36, an alumnus of the first Encampment (1946) is the new Executive Director of the Encampment for Citizenship. He replaces Saal Lesser, who is now Acting Director for the Metropolitan New York District, Office of Economic Opportunity.

During 1962-'63 Doug served as Community Relations Director for the Peace Corps. He declined promotion to a staff desk job overseas and volunteered to serve in a Peace Corps community development program in West Cameroon, where he coordinated an adult literacy program, recruited young volunteers for road and bridge-building workcamps, and organized and managed a handicraft marketing cooperatve.

Kelley's earlier posts included: Administrative Assistant to Congressman Don Hayworth (D., Mich.); Administrative As-

IMPACT continued from p. 1

for Citizenship in Puerto Rico. They came from Puerto Rico, the continental United States, Jamaica, Spain and eight Central and South American nations. Murray Phillips, New York City vocational high school guidance counselor and staff member for twelve years at the New York Encampment, was director of the 1965 Puerto Rico Encampment.

Among outstanding speakers from government, universities and political movements were Puerto Rican Secretary of Education Angel Quintero Alfaro; former Dominican Republic President Juan Bosch; Sr. Manolo Ray, exiled former Public Works Minister in the Castro Government of Cuba; Professor Federico Cordero of the University of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Labor Relations Board; Dr. Gordon Lewis and Dr. Thomas Matthews of the Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, and many others.

Through fieldtrips throughout the island, as well as by lectures, discussions and workshops, campers learned about Puerto Rican culture, community development and economic progress, and the views of its varied political movements. Caribbean affairs and Latin American relationships with the United States were also studied, along with internal poverty and human rights problems in various Hemisphere nations. Swimming, dancing, folk music, volleyball, horseshoes and indoor games were popular recreational pursuits, and there were evening presentations of the music, dances and poetry of the countries represented. Campers formed their own government and edited a newspaper.

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In some of the "workshops" from which campers may choose at each project, practical training will be offered in organizing and leading community service efforts in low income neighborhoods. One workshop at each site will be concerned with running a tutoring program for youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds. A second workshop will give campers know-how in setting up "week-end workcamps" in which volunteers help build or repair needed community facilities. In each case campers will learn by doing—in New York or Washington slums, or in rural communities in Puerto Rico or Kentucky.

There will also be workshops offering more detailed study of lecture topics which prove of greatest interest to campers.

Cost of board, room, and tuition for the six-week projects: $450. Scholarship aid is available, to those most in need of it.

Dates of the older-age Encampments: Washington, D. C., June 19—July 30; Puerto Rico, June 26—August 6. High school-age Centers for Education in Democracy: New York City and Kentucky, July 3—August 13.

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Kelley's earlier posts included: Administrative Assistant to Congressman Don Hayworth (D., Mich.); Administrative Assistant to Michigan's U.S. Senator (then Lt. Governor) Philip A. Hart; and Assistant Professor at Michigan State University, in charge of world affairs adult education. He served two years in the Army Signal Corps.

Kelley is a graduate of Berea College, Kentucky, and holds master's degrees from Michigan State and Harvard. He and his wife were co-leaders of an Operation Crossroads Africa workcamp in Nigeria in 1960.

Roy Hoopes, author of **The Complete Peace Corps Guide,** credited Kelley with being one of the several initiators of the Peace Corps idea.

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Both Spanish and English were used throughout the Puerto Rico Encampment, with simultaneous translations offered whenever the speaker did not speak in both languages.

BERKELEY CENTER

Seventy-seven teen-agers from twenty states and Jamaica brought to life the Encampment's second annual "Center for Education in Democracy," at Berkeley, California. Their director, a staff veteran of the 1964 Center, was William T. Rogers, former New York City high school teacher, now Leader of the Ethical Society of Essex County, New Jersey.

Camper questions continued at a rapid rate throughout fieldtrips to a huge automated Standard Oil refinery, the Synanon treatment center for drug victims, migrant farm labor camps, a longshoremen's union hall and a Swedish merchant ship, ethnic areas and other points of interest in San Francisco, and several of the beaches, forests and other natural beauty spots of California.

Democratic and Republican speakers, a debate of Vietnam issues by University of California faculty members, lectures by spokesmen for the labor and cooperative movements, social agencies, civil rights groups and the Civil Liberties Union, a "rumor clinic," a selection of outstanding films—all these contributed to a stimulating program, a summer which many campers have written was the high point of their lives.

Two campers who had personally helped integrate the school at Americus, Georgia, made a unique contribution to the campers' understanding of race relations in the South. A closing week finale was a moving camper dramatic production of Martin Duberman's **In White America.**

MAIL THIS REQUEST FORM, FOR FURTHER LITERATURE AND APPLICATIONS.

To: Encampment for Citizenship, Inc., 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023

Please send me:

..... additional announcements and ..... 1966 applications.
(number) (number)

I'm interested in these projects:

Encampments for Citizenship, (for those 19 through 23): ☐ Puerto Rico ☐ Washington, D.C.

Centers for Education in Democracy, (for those 15 through 18): ☐ Kentucky ☐ New York City

Name: ..... Occupation: .....
(if student, specify year)

Address .....

☐ I myself am interested. ☐ I want to inform others.

CAN YOU HELP THE ENCAMPMENT OFFER MORE SCHOLARSHIPS?

To: Encampment for Citizenship, Inc., 2 West 64th St., New York City 10023

To help the Encampment for Citizenship offer scholarships to outstanding young men and women who would not otherwise be able to take part, I am enclosing a check for $..... I understand that the Encampment for Citizenship is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational corporation, and that scholarships are awarded without regard to race, nationality, religious belief or political affiliation.

Name: ..... Address: .....

☐ Please send me a form for use in making a bequest to The Encampment for Citizenship.

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
SUSQUEHANNA 7-2714

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Honorary Chairman, Sponsors, 1946-1962

MRS. ALICE K. POLLITZER
Honorary Chairman, Board of Directors

ABRAHAM P. KANNER
Chairman, Board of Directors

DOUGLAS KELLEY
Executive Director

ABOUT THE 1966 PROGRAM OF THE ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

This year, for the first time, the Encampment for Citizenship is planning four projects:

1) The first Washington, D.C. Encampment will be held at the University of Maryland (8 miles from downtown Washington), June 19-July 30, for 100 19 through 23-year-olds. The theme: American Politics in a Revolutionary World. The director: Dr. Albert McQueen, 38, an alumnus of the 1949 Encampment who teaches sociology at Brooklyn College. Dr. McQueen taught at the University of Michigan and at Howard University before joining the staff at Brooklyn. He held a Ford Foundation African Studies Fellowship in Nigeria, 1961-'63.

2) The first Encampment project to be held in a southern or border state will be the Southern Appalachian Center for Education in Democracy, for 75 15 through 18-year-olds, to be held at Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky, July 3-August 13. The Center will be co-sponsored by Southern Regional Council (Atlanta) and the Council of the Southern Mountains (Berea, Ky.); it will also have the full cooperation of the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council, which, with 8 rural community centers and a staff of 125, is carrying on the anti-poverty battle in the area surrounding Barbourville. The theme: Appalachia, the Rural South, and American Democracy. The director will soon be announced.

3) An inter-American Encampment for Citizenship will be held in Puerto Rico for the sixth year, with the aid of the Puerto Rican government, June 26-August 6. This year a new and much improved site will be used, at Cayey, some 35 miles south of San Juan, in the mountains. The 100 19 through 23-year-old campers will include Latin Americans, Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico and in New York City, and North Americans of varied backgrounds. The "YMCA Peace Corps of Puerto Rico," an anti-poverty program of young volunteers, will co-sponsor this Encampment. The theme: Democracy and Social-Economic Development in the Western Hemisphere. The director: Mr. John Dombrowski, 29, a Latin American affairs specialist at American University. Mr. Dombrowski specialized in Latin American politics and government at the Pennsylvania State University and American University, did volunteer community development work in Ecuador, directed peasant leader training courses in Peru for the International Development Foundation, and now does research and writing on Latin American affairs for American University. He speaks Spanish and Portuguese.

4) For the 21st year, an Encampment project will be held on the 15-acre campus of the Fieldston School, on the edge of New York City. This year it will be a Center for Education in Democracy, for 75 15 through 18-year-olds. The theme: Urbanism and American Democracy. The director: Mr. William T. Rogers, Jr., 45,

NON-PROFIT, NON-SECTARIAN, NON-PARTISAN; FOUNDED IN 1946 BY ALGERNON D. BLACK AND THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION.

"The Encampment for Citizenship has been an effective pioneering project in citizenship education. It has helped train people for all walks of American life. Our government, and now the Peace Corps, have reaped the harvest of its work. . . ." —*John F. Kennedy*

"This venture with which the name of Eleanor Roosevelt has been so closely associated has made a splendid contribution in citizenship education and in the training of young people." —*Lyndon B. Johnson*

who directed the Encampment's teen-age Center at Berkeley, California, in 1965. A graduate of Wilberforce University and the University of Connecticut, Mr. Rogers is Leader of the Essex County (N.J.) Ethical Society, and was formerly a New York City high school teacher.

All four Encampment projects will make it possible for their participants to take part in part-time community service work, related to the anti-poverty program, one day each week and one full week of the six. The volunteer work will be an integral part of the educational program, under the direction of staff leaders of workshops on specialized topics.

The Encampment's projects fill a need which none of the other summer study and service programs serve in quite the same way. Its projects are primarily study and discussion programs rather than workcamps. They are non-partisan and non-sectarian, and not designed to lead participants to any pre-established set of conclusions -- beyond recognition of the urgent importance of active, informed participation in the democratic process. Because of the diversity of racial, religious, ethnic and economic backgrounds represented in a living-together situation usually involving a highly developed sense of community, Encampment projects result in far greater educational impact upon participants than do ordinary "summer school" programs. At the conclusion of a Foundation-supported intensive evaluation of the Encampment's effectiveness, Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research called the Encampment "a rare and successful experiment in democratic education." *

The Encampment's high school-age Centers for Education in Democracy, in particular, are unique. There are very few other opportunities for even the best-qualified high school students to spend a summer gaining a better understanding of democracy and of unfamiliar peoples and problems, taking part in related community service work, and sharpening their leadership skills. Thus the Encampment's Board and staff hope gradually to increase the number of high school-age Centers for Education in Democracy, as financial support can be secured. The Southern Appalachian and New York City Centers for Education in Democracy, this summer, are the first step in this direction -- previously, in 1964 and '65, only one Center program was held, at Berkeley, California.

The Encampment for Citizenship welcomes support from individuals, business firms and foundations able to help it to continue and expand its work. Further details concerning the 1965 and 1966 projects of the Encampment for Citizenship are given in the tabloid newspaper, SUMMER PROJECTS '66. The Encampment's Executive Director will gladly provide more detailed information in response to particular questions.

(*) A summary of the Bureau's report is available from the Encampment office upon request, and the 400 page study by Herbert Hyman, et al.,is available from the University of California Press.

Please send me:

..... **additional announcements and** ..... **1966 applications.**
(number) (number)

I'm interested in these projects:

Encampment for Citizenship,
(for those 19 through 23): ☐ **Puerto Rico** ☐ **Washington, D. C.**

Centers for Education in Democracy,
(for those 15 through 18): ☐ **Kentucky** ☐ **New York City**

Name: ..... **Occupation** .....
(if student, specify year)

Address .....

☐ **I myself am interested.** ☐ **I want to inform others.**

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2 West 64th Street

New York, N. Y. 10023

PROPOSED WORKSHOPS AT FOUR 1966 ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP PROJECTS*

Workshop Topic	Washington D.C. Encampment	Puerto Rico Encampment	NY City Center	Kentucky Center
1. Community development & organization	X	X	X	X
2. Publicity & newsletter editing & production		X	X	X
3. Poverty & education: volunteer tutoring & adult literacy work	X	X	X	X
4. Youth problems	X	X	X	
5. Inter-group relations		X		
6. Trade union & peasant organization		X		
7. Cooperative organization		X		X
8. Political action & citizenship participation	X		X	X
9. Recreation leadership			X	X
10. Housing & school integration	X		X	
11. Civil rights in Southern & border states				X
12. Economics of development				X
13. The UN and developing nations			X	
14. Law and the poor	X			
15. The U.S. public and world affairs	X			

*All workshops are subject to cancellation or change if an insufficient number of campers express interest in participation. Other workshops may be added in response to camper interest.

APPLICATION FOR SUMMER STAFF POSITION, 1966 DATE: _____
Encampment for Citizenship, Inc.

Name: _____ Age _____ Birth Place _____

Address: _____

Phone (daytime) _____ Phone (evening) _____

1. Marital status: ☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed

If married, ages of children: _____

2. Education (Include high school, higher education or any other relevant training):

Institution	Dates	Major Field	Degree if any

3. Employment experience (Please give your occupation for all years since leaving school, starting with present or most recent employment and working back. If we may contact a supervisor for a reference, please check the right hand column.)

Employer & Address	Dates Employed	Occupation	Supervisor	Reference?

(continue on a separate sheet, if necessary)

4. Additional References (Indicate whether co-worker, teacher, friend, etc.)

Name	Address	Phone	Relationship

5. Of what organizations are you a member? (Indicate any leadership posts held):

_____

_____

6. State experience in working with youth (if not already shown above, under employment):

_____

_____

7. Particular academic or avocational interests? _____

_____

8. Religious affiliation, if any: _____

Political party preference: _____

(Omit these answers if you wish. The questions are asked solely to aid the Encampment's Board in assuring that various religious and political points of view will be represented on the staff of each Encampment project.)

9. Professional or academic honors, distinctions, fellowships, publications, etc.:

_____

_____

10. Any physical or emotional illnesses, within the past three years, which required extensive professional care or counselling? If so, please describe. _____

_____

11. Any present physical handicaps which might affect your work as an Encampment staff? If so, please describe.

_____

_____

12. How did you hear of the Encampment for Citizenship? _____

_____

_____

13. Why do you want to serve on an Encampment staff? _____

_____

14. Preferred project:

For 15-18 year-olds	☐ New York	☐ Kentucky
For 19-23 year-olds	☐ Puerto Rico *	☐ Washington, D.C.

15. On a separate sheet, please briefly summarize your own views on three public affairs issues you believe to be of great importance at the present time. A paragraph or two on each issue will be sufficient.

* If interested in serving on the Puerto Rico staff, please indicate whether you speak both English and Spanish.

Reprint

Direction, Salience, and Intensity of the Effects of an Intergroup Education Experience:

Attitude and Behavior Changes Attributable to the Encampment for Citizenship

by

SAAL D. LESSER *and* CHARLES WINICK

WHAT IS THE direction, salience, and stability of the effects of an intergroup education experience? This question has been of continuing concern to students of intercultural relations for decades. Some parameters of an answer emerge in a five year appraisal of the attitudinal effects on young people of participation in the Encampment for Citizenship.* The appraisal was conducted by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. This is an analysis of some highlights of the Bureau's report, the details of which are soon to be published in full.[1]

The study's central conclusion is that the Encampment for Citizenship program creates a positive change in intergroup attitudes and values which persists in effect over a period of years. In its approach to the problem of evaluation, the study represents a thorough compendium of modern methods for measuring attitude change in one of the most systematic overviews of attitude measurement since the publication of the work of the Information and Education Division of the U.S. Army in World War II.[2]

* The Encampment for Citizenship is a nonsectarian, non-political educational organization founded in 1946 by Algernon D. Black and inaugurated under the auspices of the American Ethical Union. A book on the history and educational program of the Encampment for Citizenship entitled *The Young Citizens*, written by Algernon D. Black, will be published sometime in 1961.

1. Herbert H. Hyman, Charles R. Wright and Terence K. Hopkins, *Studies in Evaluation;* A Case History of Research on the Encampment for Citizenship. Berkeley and Los Angeles; University of California Press, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, 1961 in press.

2. Samuel A. Stouffer, et al, *The American Soldier*. Princeton.. Princeton University Press, 1948. 4 volumes.

Saal D. Lesser is Executive Director, Encampment for Citizenship. Charles Winick is a teacher, lecturer and writer (author of, among others, *Trends in Human Relations Research, 1955*).

In 1955 the Encampment for Citizenship, with assistance from the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation, requested the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University to conduct an exhaustive evaluation of the Encampment program. Additional assistance later came from the Ford Foundation and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.

Since its inception in 1946, the Encampment has been educating young Americans and some foreign students in the 18 to 23 age range to a deeper appreciation and knowledge of the democratic process. Participants are encouraged to find ways of translating their six weeks summer experience into a meaningful program of action upon returning to their home communities. Thus, students from farm, labor, Indian reservations, community organizations, and a wide range of socio-economic class backgrounds, find a training laboratory for citizen participation in the Encampment. Its participants come from widely varied racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds, thus providing a unique context for the learning experience of the participants.

STUDY DESIGN

The purpose of this study was to measure and evaluate the ways in which the generalized goals of the Encampment were actually being achieved. The participants who came to the Encampment in 1955, 1957 and 1958 were studied.

The campers were evaluated before and after exposure to the Encampment program on the basis of their execution of a number of specially designed questionnaires. Account was taken of factors like the effect of non-Encampment activities, the natural development of the campers during the six weeks period of the Encampment, possible instability in the measuring instruments and the effect of the measurement process itself. Quaker work-campers studied by Henry Riecken provided a control group which permitted comparison of change due to the Encampment with the change due to the related experience of a work-camp.[3]

The employment of appropriate correction factors established that the sheer passage of six weeks, the sheer process of growth, the sheer responsiveness to the larger world could not have produced the changes apart from the Encampment experience itself.

The initial measurement of the campers took place six weeks prior to their arrival at the Encampment. The second set of measures for control purposes was taken on the first day of the Encampment. This provided a measure of the changes in the campers themselves as the result of the passage of a period of time comparable to that of the Encampment. They were then measured at the conclusion of the Encampment and six weeks later, at their homes. The changes in a control group

3. Henry W. Riecken, *The Volunteer Work Camp:* A Psychological Evaluation. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952.

which was untreated and the changes observed for three other cycles of the program provided additional comparative control data.

In addition to questionnaire data, time sampling was used to make field observations at the Encampment itself. The regular appearance of the observers relieved the participants of any sense that their activities were under scrutiny. One third of the total Encampment period was observed, and this observation provided behavioral and other non-quantifiable data.

THE CAMPERS

The young people participating in the Encampment represent a cross section of the nation. Though heterogeneous in background, they are relatively homogeneous in their motivation and interest in social problems. Their age range is between 18 and 23, although the majority of campers tested were between 18 and 20. Women were a majority but never constituted more than 65 per cent of the group. The 1955 group included 75 white campers, 30 Negroes, and 13 American Indians. The three major religions were among those represented.

No special ideological or attitudinal criteria for selection are employed by the Encampment. A questionnaire administered by the research team on the first day of camp established that altruism and humanitarianism were important values to the campers. More private values were also important; some campers planned for "service" oriented careers while others hoped for more private occupations.

A number of questions from Stouffer's 1954 national survey of attitudes toward deviant beliefs and behavior, along with other questions, were incorporated in the questionnaire given campers upon arrival.[4] Comparison of responses to this questionnaire established that the recruits were unusually democratic and non-authoritarian in their attitudes. Campers saw themselves as being more liberal than the average American on such issues as civil liberties, economic planning and race relations.

ENCAMPMENT EXPERIENCE

The 1955 Encampment, which was the one most intensively studied, was held on the campus of the Fieldston School in Riverdale, New York.

Because of its proximity to urban centers, the Encampment had easy access to a great variety of resource persons and institutions. Academic material could become more alive and meaningful. Staff lectures were supplemented by guest speakers who brought concrete information and viewpoints directly from the very areas of life in which the problems under discussion occurred.

The core experience in each unit of study was the discussion group. Campers met in small groups under a faculty leader to discuss and interpret the material. Learning was related to the campers' individual backgrounds.

Field trips for research were planned to assure first-hand observa-

4. Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*. New York: Doubleday, 1955.

tion of problems. Direct contact in the community was made both with people and leadership elements in the population. Campers saw conditions in different social and economic areas of the community, visited housing developments, talked with families and met with school, church and civic leaders. Trips included visits to neighborhood settlements, human relations agencies, labor union headquarters, large corporations, governmental and private agencies, migrant farm labor camps and steel plants.

The campers were encouraged to select a problem of immediate interest and concern. Then, either individually or in small groups, they spent time on research, reading and reporting. Typical workshops explored such problems as: segregation and integration, farm surplus, labor and management relations, juvenile delinquency, international relations, mediation of strikes, political action, civil liberties, community relations, migrant labor, housing, sit-ins, church-state relations, and American Indian tribal problems.

Special case studies and findings of projects conducted by workshop groups were reported to the entire Encampment. In many instances, they were reported in panel and sociodrama form. Campers learned techniques, solved problems and discovered new methods of presenting their findings effectively.

Talents of campers were utilized in programming recreational and social activities. The cultural riches of the urban centers — theaters, concerts, museums — were drawn upon to a considerable extent.

MEASURED CHANGES CREATED BY THE ENCAMPMENT

Detailed objective measurements were made of six areas: 1) social attitudes, 2) basic values, 3) action orientation, 4) cognition of social problems, 5) self perceptions *vis-a-vis* society, and 6) conduct. The measurements were made at the beginning and end of the Encampment, and the differences between the two periods compared.

Even though the campers were relatively tolerant before the experience, their attitudes became significantly more tolerant. There was a small decrease in authoritarianism. Their fairly well established proclivities for social action were somewhat strengthened although there was a shift of their previous orientation away from international affairs and toward the solution of national problems.

The greatest change in cognition of social problems came in the area of race prejudice. The campers had become quite optimistic about the amelioration of prejudice by the end of the summer. The campers' self perception *vis-a-vis* society did not change, either in terms of alienation between campers and the rest of society or in terms of their taking a harsher view of the average American. The campers manifested a high degree of democracy in their selection of friends without regard to ethnicity. The campers

- became more appreciative of our traditional civil liberties.
- became more tolerant of freedom for non-conformists.
- became stronger in defense of civil rights for minorities.
- became more optimistic about solving pressing social problems.
- felt less sense of social isolation.
- showed a small increase in tendency toward political action through accepted social channels.
- implemented the philosophy of the dignity of man in the friendships they formed during the summer, irrespective of race.

The campers did *NOT*

- become unrealistic in views as to the ease of solving problems.
- become more provincial in their conceptions of a democratic society.
- become prejudiced in reverse. Friendships were formed proportionately toward whites and Negroes.
- become more "radical" in their political ideology.
- become alienated from the common man, nor harshened in their view of the "average American," nor show any increased tendency to see Americans as unbound by moral imperatives.

Their own evaluation of the experience was that they had generally become more aware of and sensitized to social problems.

Although the six weeks' experience at the Encampment led to considerable and measurable change, measurement of the change in a control group of a third of the campers six weeks before the Encampment as compared with their responses when they began the Encampment yielded a negligible change. This control measure was undertaken in order to measure the modification occurring as a result of the passage of time. Thus, it can be said that *the change resulting from the Encampment was not the result of the mere passage of time.* That this change was not a reflection of any special qualities of the sample of 1955 campers was established by similar studies conducted of 1957 and 1958 campers, who also manifested significant changes in a replication of the 1955 procedure.

DYNAMICS OF CHANGE

One focus of study was the manner in which the changes which did occur took place. An attempt was made to determine the relative weight of the didactic and the communal parts of the program. Several special analyses demonstrated that the formal educational elements do not, in and of themselves, completely account for the program's success. Some data suggests that *the informal communal life is at least as important in effecting change as is the didactic program.* Minority racial status was no barrier to change during the Encampment.

THE RETURN HOME

The campers returned to a variety of settings. Many had become sensitized to a variety of social problems, especially race prejudice, in their home communities. For some campers, their Encampment participation had led them to feel they had "outgrown" their home towns. Some campers took socially constructive action in their communities.

The campers generally maintained a high rate of interaction with each other, by mail or personal contact and other means. The majority of the campers reported no change in their family relationships when they returned home. Almost half the campers reported that their relationships with pre-Encampment friends had changed.

Some 37 per cent of the campers who wanted to apply some clear Encampment-based principle in their communities were able to do so. Even when campers met a situation which was hostile to the ideals of the Encampment, they were seldom shaken in their views. Some 88 per cent of the campers had engaged in discussions about public issues in their home communities.

STABILITY OF EFFECTS

One of the effects of the Encampment experience was that after six weeks at home, the campers manifested some feelings of alienation. Most of the gains, however, which had been made in the course of the Encampment did persist. There appeared to be some differentiation of stability of effects:

- To a considerable extent, there was a tendency for the Indian campers to lose the gains they had made upon return to the home setting.
- The gains of the Negro campers remained fairly stable.
- Southern campers showed little difference from those in other parts of the country in stability of Encampment effects, except in the two areas of optimism about race prejudice and implementation of Encampment lessons.

EFFECTS IN THE COLLEGE SETTING

Comparison of a control group of college students with Encampment participants who were college students suggests that the two groups had roughly comparable attitudes. Comparisons which were made between the campus activities of the campers and of the control group in tolerance and in actual participation in college life showed that the Encampment had a definite but not very large effect. The Encampment did not appear to have an impact on the students' academic life or on their impression of the value of a college education.

LONG-RANGE EFFECTS

In 1959, questionnaires designed to measure long-range effects were sent to the 100 ex-campers who formed the core group for whom data had been collected both at the beginning and

end of the Encampment in 1955. Of this group, 73 returned the questionnaires.

For about a third of the group, the Encampment still remains a salient experience. Friendships with other campers were still maintained, in many cases. Over the four year period since the Encampment, there was only a slight loss from the earlier gains the camper had made in liberalism and tolerance.

Campers often applied Encampment principles to their daily lives, over the four year period since 1955. They were fairly active politically. The campers for whom the Encampment reference group was a meaningful one were more likely to engage in social action than the group which made less use of the reference group, although the stability of opinions and attitude change of both groups were fairly similar.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research, in order to determine further long-range effects of the Encampment experience also studied a sampling of the alumni of 1946. It was found that the alumni of past Encampments, though removed from its influence for some years, generally show a parallel profile of attitudes. Therefore, despite a passage of some time, even the alumni furthest removed show no marked lessening of sentiments on behalf of tolerance and civil liberties.

It can be concluded that the Encampment for Citizenship is extremely effective in both creating and increasing positive attitudinal and value changes in most of its participants. The carryover into later life through the persistence of these effects gives assurance that the Encampment program is highly meaningful and provides a depth and scope that is unique in citizenship education. The Encampment experience, writ large, has increasing relevance to the shape of an America of the future in which accessibility to both the quality and quantity of experience will be improved for all.

The Encampment for Citizenship welcomes applications from young people 18 to 23 years of age who are interested in becoming better informed citizens and who are concerned with working to implement democratic principles and practices. Scholarships are available for those who are in economic need. For application forms and further information write:

Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York
SUsquehanna 7-2714

APPLICATION FORM

Please type or print clearly

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.

Name _____
Last First

Permanent Address _____
Street City Zone State

Date and Place of Birth _____
Month Day Year Place

Present Occupation _____ Address _____

Father's Name _____ Occupation _____

Mother's Name _____ Occupation _____

Name of person and/or organization from whom you heard of the Encampment _____

Address _____

I. EDUCATION

High School attending ☐ attended ☐ _____ Address _____

College attending ☐ attended ☐ _____ Address _____

Technical or Graduate School _____

Circle number of years completed at the close of this school year:

High School 1 2 3 4 College 1 2 3 4 Degree granted _____

II. WORK EXPERIENCE

List most recent work experiences (exclusive of Armed Services).

A. Employer _____ Address _____

Kind of work _____ Dates Employed _____

B. Employer _____ Address _____

Kind of work _____ Dates Employed _____

If you served in the Armed Forces, indicate your branch of service and dates of service. _____

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE

APPLICATION	ACTION TAKEN	SCHOLARSHIP REQUEST	FEES
MEDICAL 1 _____ 2 _____	ACCEPTED _____	FORM RECEIVED _____	APPL. FEE $ _____
		AMOUNT REQUESTED _____	REGIS. FEE $ _____
AUTOBIOGRAPHY _____	WITHDRAWN _____	ACTION TAKEN	TUITION DUE
REFERENCES 1 _____ 2 _____	REJECTED _____	SCHOL. GRANTED _____	PAID $ _____
		DATE _____	
PARENT'S CONSENT _____	NOTIFIED _____	DONOR _____	$ _____

III.

Describe briefly the major study or work in which you are engaged at present, and your future educational and vocational plans. Why have you chosen this (these) fields?

IV.

List some of the issues on the local, national or international scene about which you feel strongly. Discuss briefly your viewpoint on one of them and describe any activity in which you may have participated revolving around this issue.

V.

To what campus or community organizations do you belong? What offices and responsibilities do you hold?

VI.

Write a short autobiographical statement including information about your family, your hobbies and special interests, etc.

VII.

List four current references, such as a teacher, employer, social worker, or supervisor, who know you well. (Please do not list relatives or personal friends.)

1. Name_____ Organization_____

   Title_____ Address_____ City & State_____

2. Name_____ Organization_____

   Title_____ Address_____ City & State_____

3. Name_____ Organization_____

   Title_____ Address_____ City & State_____

4. Name_____ Organization_____

   Title_____ Address_____ City & State_____

VIII.

Please indicate your preference of the Encampment you wish to attend.

1. _____ (first choice) 2. _____ (second choice)

Full consideration will be given to your first preference, but final selection must rest with the Admissions Committee.

FEES AND COSTS

1. The total costs are $450, covering room, board, tuition and fees. Included is the $10 Application Fee and the $20 Registration Fee, both of which are required of all applicants, including those requesting scholarship assistance.
2. **Each application must be accompanied by the $10 Application Fee,** either check or money order, made payable to the Encampment for Citizenship. This fee will be refunded only if the application is not accepted by the Admissions Committee.
3. The $20 Registration Fee is payable after you have been notified of your acceptance.
4. If you wish to apply for scholarship assistance, please check here ____ and a Scholarship Request Form will be mailed to you. If you have already filled out such a form, please mail it along with this application form to the Encampment office.
5. If part or all of your room, board and tuition costs are being paid by a sponsoring organization, please give name:

   _____; amount $_____.

ATTACH TO THIS APPLICATION:

1. **$10 Application Fee (see item #2 above).**
2. **If there is any history of serious illness, allergies, or emotional disorders that might affect your living at the Encampment, please enclose a medical certificate pertinent thereto. All other accepted applicants will be sent a medical form to be filled in by your family physician before you come to the Encampment.**

Date_____ Signature_____

Return completed application to:

Admissions Committee
ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.
2 West 64th Street, New York, N. Y. 10023

AN ADDRESS TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY JACKSON, MISS., SEPT. 10, 1965

BY

CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN, SOUTHEAST AREA DIRECTOR
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The Civil Rights Movement and the Ecumenical Movement are not new. Our generation cannot claim to have conceived them. We have been building on the foundations constructed by thoughtful and inspired men of other times. It is only when we see the magnitude of the job which remains to be done, that we are inclined to wonder whether any effort has been put forth before.

How is it that the ancient ideas embodied in the Civil Rights and Ecumenical Movements have suddenly become so important to so many? Why, in the Sixties, should these matters be so much more urgent than they seemed earlier? And why is it that these two movements have accelerated simultaneously?

A part of the answer to these questions lies in our fortunate choice of enemies during the Second World War. We found ourselves at war not only with Germany but also with Hitler's concept of the Master Race. So we set out to defeat Germany, and at the same time to destroy the Aryan claim to superiority.

It was not until the world learned the truth about the gas chambers and the cremetoria, however, that the full horror of racism penetrated the public conscience. In "the final solution", the Nazis showed us the logical conclusion of racism. Once we understood that, the absolute necessity for reconciliation became obvious.

It requires only brief reflection, therefore, to appreciate that it is not by chance that these two movements have matured together, because inter-racial and inter-religious relations are inextricably intertwined.

Recognizing that is important, but it is becoming increasingly essential that we be able to identify the ways in which they relate to each other; and where the requirements of the movements diverge and converge.

It is fairly easy to see points of convergance. When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids discrimination on grounds of race or religion, it tackles both problems in the same way; a way, I might add, that I consider entirely appropriate and long overdue.

It is also significant to note the Civil Rights issue has been a tremendously unifying force for the religiously oriented people of America. Diverse denominations have joined forces and worked together on this issue in an unprecedented fashion. Illustrative of this was the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race that formalized the coalition of Catholics, Protestants and Jews which subsequently helped pass the Civil Rights Act. That coalition was very much in evidence during the Selma to Montgomery March, and it recently assisted in the enactment of the new Voting Rights Bill. So the race issue has been valuable to the Church, not only for the opportunities it provided for internal renewal, but also because it has tended to promote a highly desirable rapprochement with other religious organizations. By now almost everyone concerned with improving interfaith relations recognizes that a Brotherhood Dinner is considerably less effective than a joint effort on behalf of a common cause.

Minority groups, whether racial or religious, share, or should share, a commitment toward cultural pluralism. When I speak of cultural pluralism, I refer to a social order which accepts it as appropriate that ethnic, religious, nationality, racial and other groups maintain their individual identities and separate institutions while making their unique contribution to a unified nation. Only in a society founded on this principle can minorities in this country hope to maintain their integrity and secure their vital interests. It is theoretically possible to have a homogeneous democracy, and perhaps that ideal has been achieved in Scandanavia, but if we are to have democracy in America, it must be rooted in cultural pluralism. This in turn is based on the simple notion that the other guy has a right to be different, and that difference does not imply inferiority or superiority.

In terms of official public policy, we have come close to accepting that notion on the National level. We will not have adopted it completely, however, until we have so reformed our immigration law that the national origin quota system is completely eliminated from it. (This reform was adopted in October of 1965.) This is the last important vestige of Aryan superiority on the books of the United States Government. It is a downright insult to all Americans who cannot trace their ancestry back to one of those Northern European nations most favored by big quotas.

Of course, on the unofficial level, we have much further to go. Our society is cluttered with exclusive institutions maintained to provide association only with people "like us". When you inquire about the bonds which hold members together in such institutions, about the criteria of congeniality, too often one finds nothing but requirements relating to ethnic origin, religion, race or money.

Don't dismiss this kind of snobbery as inconsequential. It lends status and respectability to bigotry, and provides a standard around which the social climbers and conformists, who are exceedingly numerous, will rally. It is a poison which seeps outward and downward through society polluting wherever it reaches.

This is one of the reasons I think your effort to eliminate segregation in the Church is so important to the moral well-being of the community as a whole. You don't do it for that purpose but it has that effect. You do what you must for internal reasons -- to insure the integrity of Christian doctrine -- but when you are successful in purifying the Church, you are also denying its blessing to criteria which are detrimental to civic life. I want to make it clear, however, that I don't consider racial segregation in a church, or religious discrimination in a country club the kind of issue in which government may properly intervene. From a legal standpoint, they have a right to be snobs and fools. One may have a right without being right.

Everyone knows what a struggle we are having in the South to achieve compliance with the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Brown versus Board of Education. By now it is clear that there are a large number of people, public officials included, who are psychologically in a state of secession. They have adopted a stance of defiance, and dared Washington to try to make school desegregation work. They don't think of "our" Supreme Court but of "their" Supreme Court, not of the "Federal" government but of the "Central" government.

What is little appreciated outside the South, however, is the widespread existence here of exactly the same kind of defiance regarding the Supreme Court decisions on Bible reading and recitations of the Lord's Prayer in the Murray and Schempp cases.

When most Northerners or Westerners think about the problem of Church-State separation, it is in terms of anxiety lest the Roman Catholics get their hands into the public till. That is not our problem in the South. Historically, the public schools in this region have been Protestant institutions to which Catholics and Jews were graciously admitted. In this White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, the educators have not been deliberately offensive to Catholics, Jews or humanists --- they never thought of taking them into account. Almost invariably, however, Southern Protestants are shocked by the observation that out public schools are permeated with a rather heavy Protestant orientation.

It is remarkable, too, how often you will find that the same people who defend religious practices in public education are most vociferous in proclaiming their devotion to strict separation of Church and State. They are the ones most outraged by Headstart classes in a Catholic church.

But inconsistency seems to be the rule rather than the exception in matters of this kind. It must be said that frequently the most blatant religious practices occur in the all-Negro public schools in the South, which are unblushingly Protestant. Consider the irony of that for a moment: defiance of the Supreme Court's edict on the First Amendment by the group with the largest stake in promoting compliance with the Supreme Court's edict on the Fourteenth Amendment.

I firmly believe that the South will have racial integration in its schools long before it accords equality to Jewish, Catholic and non-believing children. One Atlanta school had a unique solution to the problem of religion in public education: instead of holding services in the school auditorium at Christmas time, they marched the entire student body to a nearby Christian church. This won't happen again, however, because the school is now racially integrated while the nearby Christian church remains lily white.

As you may huve gathered, it is my conviction that affirmative legislation is essential to the achievement of racial equality. But it does not necessarily follow that the same strategy is appropriate to achieve religious parity in America. Indeed, this is the most important and least understood point of divergence between the drive for racial and religious equality.

There has been a widespread and generally accepted tendency in American life for religious groups to employ the machinery of the State -- when they have the power to do it -- in order to further sectarian purposes. Protestants and Catholics both engage in this practice.

We are familiar with Catholic efforts to write their own particular view of divorce, birth control and censorship into law. In doing so, they seek to extend the coverage of Catholic theology to non-Catholics with legal sanction. At the same time, what was voluntary adherence to Catholic dogma by Catholics themselves becomes compulsory.

Prohibition, of course, is an extension of Protestant theology backed up by the police power of government. And as I have pointed out, the Sunday School atmosphere of Southern public schools represents an effort to use state machinery for church purposes.

Whose ox is gored depends entirely upon who wields the greatest power in a particular community. In all of this, the Jews of America come out looking very good for the simple reason that we are always in the minority and never in the majority.

Very frankly, I resent what I consider to be an unwarranted intrusion into my private life by my neighbors' efforts to deprive me of a bourbon and soda after a tough day at the office. Many of you may share my irritation on this score, or perhaps you have an urge to buy a lottery ticket and strike it rich. There is no question about it: this sort of thing does create inter-group tension which is sometimes so bitter that it tears communities apart fully as much as racial conflict.

At the heart of the matter is coercion. Often the coercion is applied in areas which are intensely personal rather than public.

What doth cultural pluralism require of us? I suggest that it requires us to cease and desist from using the State to impose our sectarian viewpoint on others.

Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston provided me with the text when he said,

> "It does not seem reasonable to me to forbid in civil law a practice that can be considered a matter of private morality. Catholics do not need the support of civil law to be faithful to their own religious convictions, and they do not seek to impose by law their moral views on other members of society."

This statement reflects the tremendous change which is taking place in American Roman Catholocism. It is a clear reflection of the Ecumenical spirit, and I commend it to all denominations.

In order to implement our goal of reconciliation among the churches and synagogues, what we must do is embark upon a program of repealing old laws, even while supporting new laws embodying our aspirations for racial justice.

Which are the old laws that are inconsistent with religious rapprochement? They include those already referred to, such as, the highly restrictive measures dealing with birth control, divorce, and prohibition. I would go further than this, however, and include a wide variety of statutes that fall under the general heading of Sunday Blue Laws. The only adults worth having in Church on Sunday are those who come of their own free will and accord. It would be a sad commentary on religion if attendance depended largely on State prohibitions against doing anything else on Sunday morning.

What about the Orthodox Jewish retailer and Seventh Day Adventist who closes on Saturday in obedience to Mosaic law? I sincerely hope it does not offend the Christian conscience to permit him to open on Sunday.

These laws should be repealed even though, in some instances, the Supreme Court has upheld their constitutionality. Certainly the State should regulate hours and working conditions, and perhaps it should insist that business stay closed one day a week. But it can safely leave the determination of the day to individual choice in order to insure the widest latitude for religious liberty.

The most troublesome part of my thesis is its implication for religious involvement in civil rights activity. Does my view of the requirements of cultural pluralism imply that the churches are wrong to seek legislation which embodies their moral position on human dignity? I think not.

When we enact a statute which prohibits murder we are legislating morality and requiring the entire society to abide by the commandment handed down at Mount Sinai. But no one thinks that this law should be repealed. It is distinguishable from the Sunday Blue Law, for example, by the universality of its acceptance, and by the very practical consideration that it is a sine qua non of civilization.

While there are many individuals who argue against racial integration from what they consider to be a religious viewpoint, there are no religions as such that I know of which deny the essential unity of mankind, nor any major faiths which hold, as a matter of theology, that one race should enjoy a favored position in society. Not only do Catholics, Protestants and Jews tend to agree on these matters, but most secular humanists are also with us on this. So we need not worry about imposing a narrow sectarian position because no sect or even any major religious group can claim exclusive possession of racial justice.

Racial justice, however, is only simple justice. It was, after all, a Southerner named Thomas Jefferson who once wrote, by way of declaring our independence from Great Britain, that governments are instituted among men "to secure these rights." And the Preamble to the United States Constitution affirms that we have formed this Union "to establish justice."

I anticipate that Ecumenism will maintain its forward thrust. I am convinced that its internal logic will require that we all voluntarily refrain from coercion in matters of conscience. By supporting repeal of public policies contrary to this principle, we shall be undertaking activity with enormous potential for enhancing group life in America. By supporting compliance with decisions affecting prayer and Bible reading we shall be improving the climate for compliance with decisions on race.

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1966

Racial Tinderbox

A Federal Study Finds Unrest Among Negroes Rising in Many Cities

New Watts-Type Rioting Is Feared; Vietnam's Inroads On Great Society a Factor

A Look at Oakland's Troubles

By MONROE W. KARMIN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — "The more optimistic feel that we have a year in which to improve the climate; others believe the situation to be such that any incident can spark an explosion."

This ominous assessment is contained in a highly confidential report, compiled by Government agents, now being studied by Federal policy-makers. The climate referred to is an atmosphere of Negro unrest; the explosion feared is a riot similar to that which rocked the Watts area of Los Angeles last August; and the city in which this incendiary situation has been detected is, surprisingly, Oakland, Calif.

There, as in some better-known trouble spots, an influx of impoverished Negroes has put a strain on local housing, schools and job opportunities. Among Oakland's Negroes, the unemployment rate runs about five times the national average. A slum clearance project actually has reduced the supply of cheap housing. Negro relations with the police are unhappy. Not enough is being done, Negro spokesmen complain, to relieve the causes of tension.

The significance of the unpublicized Oakland survey extends beyond the element of surprise, beyond the fact that the city is not associated in the public mind with racial turmoil. It reaches to the heart of the "guns or butter" problem that finds President Johnson striving to scale down his costly Great Society plans, many of them designed to aid poor Negroes, so he can finance the Vietnam war.

"High Tension" Cities

Even as the President prunes, dissatisfied Negroes are complicating his chore by demanding more. What is true in Oakland is true in almost every major metropolis in the nation. Federal officials who have felt the pulse now possess a closely guarded list of "high tension" cities where it's said the threat of violence is raised by Negro resentment over lack of jobs, inadequate schools and housing, and the attitudes of police and local officeholders.

The list has lately grown to 21 cities, including Oakland. The others are Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Memphis, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, St. Louis, San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

In the ghettos of each, passions of the more rebellious Negro youths are still inflamed by the memory of Watts, where there was a toll of 34 killed, 947 injured and $45 million in property damage. To them, Watts is the road to national attention. The Oakland report transmits the feeling:

"While there are moderates in the Negro community who do not want violence, there are those, especially among the younger element, who do. To these latter, Watts is a symbol and slogan for action. One hears repeatedly from the younger people: 'We need a Watts here: It's the only way to get action; it's the only way to make 'em listen.' "

"Serious Unemployment Problem"

Oakland's Republican mayor, John C. Houlihan, confirms the seriousness of his city's racial tension. "We're very much aware of it," he declares. "We acknowledge and have known for many years that we've had a serious unemployment problem among our minority residents, and as a matter of fact my administration came into office 4½ years ago on a program to attract industry back to Oakland to provide more jobs."

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The Oakland problem has been aggravated both by a large influx of job-seeking Negroes from the South—similar to the Watts pattern—and by what Mr. Houlihan describes as "lower-level white agitators from out-of-state" who are trying to stir up minority groups. Still, the mayor does not see rioting as an imminent threat. He pins his hope for peace on a "very large stable element" of Negro homeowners and businessmen who would stand to suffer greatly from violence.

He also notes that Oakland's poverty and racial problems have received constant attention since he took office in 1961. Some $45 million of Federal funds has been poured into the city for antipoverty, job training and related programs, besides $4.5 million in Ford Foundation money that was spent on Oakland as a pilot antipoverty project. Nevertheless, Mayor Houlihan admits the situation is "not greatly improved," and he displays more than a trace of irritation at the Washington way of doing things.

While representatives of Great Society agencies descend on the nation's Negro ghettos with a sincerity of purpose and a regularity that can be encouraging to local residents, the lack of clear-cut results can seem frustrating to them. In Oakland, there is a Community Relations Service man, an Office of Economic Opportunity man, a Labor Department man, a Commerce Department man, and so on; yet the Government's own analysis criticizes its efforts for ineffectiveness.

Pessimistic About Programs

There are three Neighborhood Youth Corps projects in Oakland, but the report relates that "only one seems to have (the Negroes') respect." There are a half-dozen training programs, sponsored by the old Area Redevelopment Administration, but the report says these "will cover less than 400 people in almost two years' time and apparently do not reach the people who need training the most." There is a larger Labor Department training program, but the report declares that it "has less than 500 unemployed enrolled for training in a three-year period." The report concludes that a lack of public knowledge of the programs is partly to blame for the limited participation.

Despite this uninspiring record, those who have examined Oakland are recommending more Federal action. "There is still some time in which to work, if we begin at once with some tangible programs which will reach the residents of the affected communities. This will have a cooling effect, strengthen the hand of the more moderate Negro leadership, and give concerned agencies valuable time to organize a longer constructive program, urgently needed in Oakland."

But the Negroes of Oakland seem doomed to further disappointment if they're counting on big new Federal help soon. Since Oakland is one of the smaller "high tension" cities, its wants may get rather low priority in Washington. Furthermore, the President is doing his best to hold the fiscal 1967 version of the Great Society, including antipoverty and economic development programs, as close to this year's level as possible. All of which suggests that the Oakland tension could continue to build. At any rate, the report warns:

"There is sufficient mistrust, disaffection, and frustration building up in the Negro community to make the situation potentially explosive. This opinion is shared by most of the people talked to, their views differing only in degree. Many thoughtful people, both Negro and white, believe that the influx of minority population during the past five years, the worsening of the economic situation, particularly among the minority groups, the lack of any concrete remedial action, have resulted in a dangerous build-up of resentment, and that this is on the increase."

Detailed Look at Oakland

Because Oakland reflects racial unrest elsewhere, its problems are worth examining in detail. The secret report on the city was prepared within weeks after the Watts riot and has since been confirmed by unpublicized on-the-spot inspections by Washington officials.

At the core of Oakland's plight is unemployment. Federal visitors to West Oakland, a ghetto area in which nearly 63% of the 77,100 population is Negro, say they're bombarded by the plea, "We want jobs, jobs, jobs." The official report declares: "Unemployment is very high among Negroes; it is approximately 10% for whites, about 20% or more for Negroes and even higher for Negro youth."

This frustration, the report continues, "leads to charges of discrimination in employment"—charges that extend to placement efforts by the Government's own U.S. Employment Service. "Feeling against the employment office is high," the report says. "Many (Negroes) state that it is a waste of time to even register at these offices; they complain of the treatment (they receive) when they do register."

But there is another side to the job problem. "Some employers state they want to hire Negroes but cannot get qualified applicants," the report says. "Most of the Negroes lack skills; large numbers also need basic education."

It's for this reason that the Oakland inspectors are recommending a fresh effort to meet the special needs of the ghetto. As the keystone, the report urges establishment of a "skill development and training center," similar to one created in Detroit. It would concentrate on training the hard-core unemployed by coordinating existing training projects and tying them more closely to job openings.

Possibility of Transit Jobs

The report sees the Bay Area Rapid Transit project, a high-speed train system that will connect San Francisco with suburban areas, as a "wonderful opportunity" to place the unemployed. Some 8,000 construction jobs are expected to be available for a number of years, to be followed by up to 2,000 maintenance and operation jobs. The report warns that "if crews are brought in from outside the Bay area, and these are bound to be largely whites, when so many thousands of local minority residents are unemployed, a dangerous situation will quickly result."

Besides unemployment, Oakland is beset by many other problems. "The Negro school population has increased approximately 15% in the last five years," the report declares. "More classroom space and more teachers are urgently needed. Parents complain of 'push-outs,' that children are suspended or expelled for non-serious infractions of the rules. School board officials deny this, claiming the existence of serious behavior problems. Negro mothers concerned with the problem, who have volunteered their services, have met with rebuffs and are still trying to get the school authorities to accept their help."

Housing is another sore spot, being aggravated by Government-sponsored urban renewal. The report tells this story: "The urban renewal project in East Oakland with its slum clearance removed housing of the poor. The many acres of cleared land are being readied for the Acorn Project where the rents for a one-bedroom apartment will start at $100 a month and go up. Even the employed worker earning from $4,000 to $5,000 a year with many dependents—families of six and nine children are not uncommon—would be totally unable to come back to this area. The result is an overcrowding and further downgrading of the housing in West and North Oakland."

Then there's the charge of police brutality. "One hears this complaint everywhere," the report asserts. "It is denied by the police and repeated by minority group members and some whites. . . . Communication between the people of the area and the police (has) broken down completely."

As the report suggests, the validity of the Negro complaints is open to challenge. But the Negroes believe their grievances to be real, and the Oakland report warns against "indifference" on the part of California and Washington officialdom. It sums up the mood of the ghetto in these words:

"Repeatedly one hears: 'Nobody listens, nobody cares.' Now a potent new ingredient has been added. There has been a 'Watts' and Watts is getting attention and action. This has made an impact."

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The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

February 17, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I accept with pleasure your kind invitation to attend a luncheon in Atlanta on February 28th with the Attorney General.

I look forward to learning proposed programs going out of the Justice Department and welcome the opportunity to discuss these programs with you.

Yours faithfully,

John B. Morris (sat)

The Reverend John B. Morris
Executive Director

JBM/sat

Rec'd 2/16/66 E.S.C.R.U. ES

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Ash Wednesday NEWSLETTER February 23, 1966

ESCRU REPRESENTATIVE TO AFRICA?

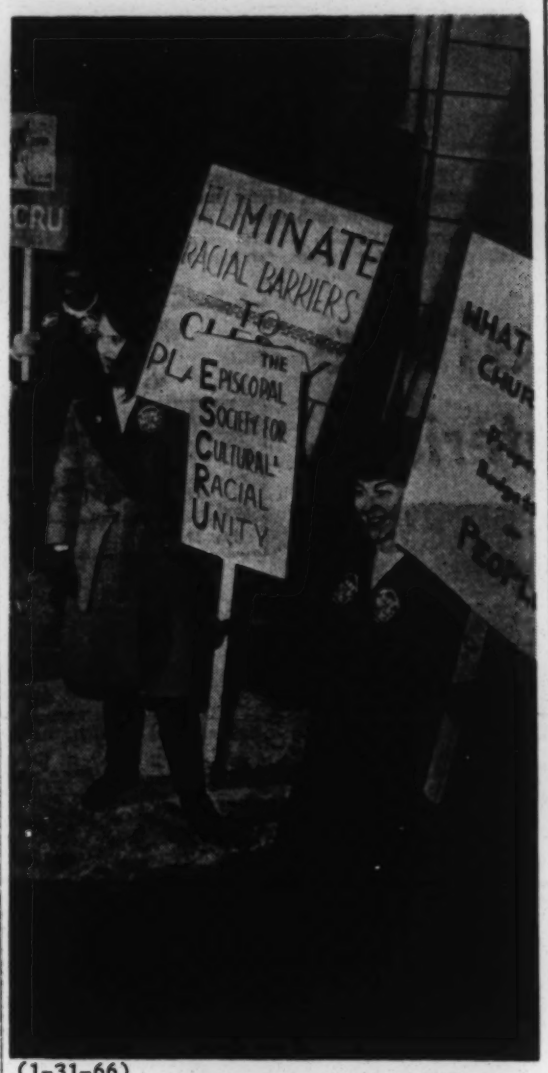
At its meeting in Brooklyn, January 14 - 16, the Board of Directors voted to send a spokesman to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa as a demonstration of support for Churchmen there who are standing against the spread of racism if special funds for such a journey are found. Other Board actions included a petition to Executive Council calling for National Church resources and staff to assist dioceses facing potential Watts-type situations. For actions not reflected in this Newsletter, write for a copy of the minutes.

6TH ANNUAL MEETING: New York, November 11 - 13

ESCRU will focus on the Church & Northern Urban Areas at this year's Annual Meeting scheduled for New York City in mid-November. Originally set for May, but shifted by the ESCRU Board, the conference will follow fall meetings of Executive Council and the House of Bishops at a time when the Church's response to the Summer of '66 may demand a hard look toward the future. The Rev. Layton Zimmer of Philadelphia is Chairman of the Planning Committee. Let him know of your concerns and make plans now to attend. More on plans later.

THE CHAPTERS REPORT.....

Atlanta: Getting underway with Samuel Burns as Chairman. Panel program with spokesmen from all local civil rights groups.
Boston: Steady involvement via diocesan structures. Joint activities with Catholic Interracial Council, Deep in Boston School Committee problem.
CENTRAL NEW YORK: No Chapter news. Bishop Higley joined in supporting "bussing" to relieve racial imbalance in schools.
Chicago: Sponsoring series of workshops on "Theology of Freedom Movement." Will present its Bishop Lichtenberger Award to Jonathan Daniels posthumously at Annual Dinner on Feb. 20th.
CLEVELAND: Successfully sought new diocesan canons on non-discriminatory sale & rental of church properties. Heard ESCRU Executive Director on Jan.28th.
CONNECTICUT: Organizing into sub-divisions in Hartford, New Haven & Fairfield County under new Chairman, Rev.Reul Kaighn.
DELAWARE: Newly chartered chapter under leadership of Winnie Lang. Successfully sponsored diocesan statements on investment of Church funds & housing.
HOUSTON: Sponsored public meeting with ESCRU staffer Malcolm Boyd speaking. Sent $500. to national ESCRU. The Rev. John Sanders, Rector of city's integrated parish, new Chairman.
INDIANAPOLIS: No Chapter news.
IOWA: Planning for ESCRU role at May diocesan convention.Lots of new members.



(1-31-66) Minneapolis Tribune Photo by Kent Kobersteen

Equality Sought Some 25 persons demonstrated in behalf of equal placement opportunities for Negro Episcopalian priests Sunday night prior to the annual convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota at St. John the Evangelist Church, St. Paul. The demonstrators claimed that there is a gap between the official position of the church, which favors equal opportunities for Negro priests, and the practices of individual congregations. The demonstration was sponsored by the Minnesota chapter of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and the University of Minnesota Episcopal Student Association.

.....WHAT THEY ARE DOING

KANSAS CITY: Appeared before committee of state legislature to support fair housing act. Support of diocesan involvement in local Alinsky project.
LONG ISLAND: Clothing sent to Mississippi, following Annual Meeting last fall. Earl Duncan got his union to help long-term.
LOS ANGELES: To have booth and luncheon meeting at time of diocesan convention.
MAHONING-SHENANGO(Ohio-Penna. area) Fall program on Justice & the Jury System. Chairman: John H. Morris.
MARYLAND: Seeking greater integration of the Church Home & Hospital.
MICHIGAN: Heard Dr. Robert Spike on February 1st & considered proposals for more effective work at the local parish level. Chapter has agreed to direct ESCRU's plans in preparation for Seattle General Convention, at request of Board.
MILWAUKEE: Case of the Rev. Wm. J. Miles, arrested in demostration against de-facto school desegregation December 6th, still pending. Integration of suburban housing a coming concern of chapter.
MINNESOTA: See photo & account to the left. Chapter developing work with young Churchmen under leadership of Mrs. Johnson & Mrs. Hillsley.
MISSOURI: Follow-up support of Delta Ministry projects by members of St. Stephen's & others in ESCRU.
NEWARK: Under new Chairman, the Rev. Ivan Backer, organizing into sub-divisions in Jersey City, Patterson and Newark.
NEW JERSEY: Preparing resolutions for diocesan convention. (cont.)

THE LATEST FROM FERNANDINA

President Peabody reported to the January ESCRU Board meeting that it appears steps are being taken in the Diocese of Florida to alter the situation where a new structure has been built for the Negro congregation on the same city block where the white congregation worships in its more-than-ample edifice. The Board took no action but vowed to wait and watch developments. A copy of the report prepared by the ESCRU delegation which visited Florida to investigate the matter will be supplied on request. We hope to be able to report in the next newsletter how the situation has been resolved.

THE CHURCH AND THE RIOTS: A SPECIAL REPORT

Only the second of ESCRU "Special Reports" (the first was on the situation at St. Paul's College, Virginia), the document offering "Guidelines for Diocesan Strategy in Northern Urban Areas" is being widely used in the Church and elsewhere. Published on January 16th, the report was prepared by five priests intimately familiar with the situation in the Watts district of Los Angeles and similiar situations in the country. Single copies may be had at no charge. They are 25¢ in quantity. A reprint from the WALL STREET JOURNAL is enclosed wherein there is ample evidence of the Church's need to look ahead to the possible eruption of crisis in other communities across the land.

YES, WE'RE LATE with this Newsletter! The last was sent October 28th. Sorry, but the staff has been busy in the office and on the road. Stines & Dreisbach to South Carolina, and the latter to numerous chapter areas. Stines on several expeditions for the "Team Ministry to Southern Cities" effort in which we cooperate. Morris on an extensive tour of the West Coast and North Central region, etc. But, here we are, and we'll hope to have more word to you sometime in April. All the while the administrative and coordinative tasks multiply at the national office. While other organizations interested in racial matters report attrition, ESCRU is expanding its program - trying to serve the Church better.

CHAPTER NEWS, cont.

NEW YORK: January 13th meeting to determine if Chapter should or can be revived. Canon Dennis to head up continuing committee.
NORTHERN VIRGINIA: New Chairman, Paul W. McGann, reports that Alexandria's Episcopal High will open its doors this year. Applicants are needed.
PENNSYLVANIA: Fernandina situation prompted look at comparable scandal close to home; action pending.
PITTSBURGH: No Chapter news.
RHODE ISLAND: Heard former SCLC staffer C. T. Vivian (now with Urban Training Center).
RICHMOND: Endeavoring to have House of Bishops' stand on clergy placement made known in diocese.
SAN DIEGO: National ESCRU Board acknowledged approvingly efforts by Directors Fenton & Oliver to counter right-wing speakings of the Rev. Robert Watts. Fr. Fenton is also Chapter chairman. Plans to witness to Church's teaching while he spoke at Naval Base in San Diego brought unexpected cancellation of speaking engagement.
WASHINGTON: Met on January 19th to consider backing best candidates as Deputies from diocese to the General Convention. Chairman Karl Nordling (also national Director of ESCRU) will coordinate preparation of "Special Report" on persistent scandal in the Diocese of Alabama, with particular reference to role of the diocesan bishops. (Alabama laymen recently led effort to restore financial support of NCC, over episcopal demurrers.)

HAS YOUR PARISH PUT ESCRU IN THE BUDGET?

Vestries of parishes in both Texas and Alabama have included $100. in their budgets for ESCRU. They are but two congregations which have made a commitment for the sake of the parish, as well as for the good of ESCRU. There are others. As the enclosed budget sheet indicates, ESCRU received a total of $2,019.00 from parishes and Church organizations last year. These parishes realize that there is an educational and symbolic value to them in making an allocation in behalf of racial and cultural unity. Will you see if your parish does this and, if not, talk with the Rector and Vestry about it? Also, BCW and other groups in the Church have found this is a helpful instrument for both firming up their own commitment. Certainly it is an invaluable source of support for ESCRU and the primary one to be developed for the sake of all.

FATHER STINES GOES TO WASHINGTON

ESCRU's Director of the Southern Field Service program, the Rev. Henri A. Stines, is leaving after two years in Atlanta to become the Rector of the Church of the Atonement, Washington, D. C. There he succeeds the Rev. Quinland Gordon, long-time veteran of ESCRU efforts, who has gone to the Division of Christian Citizenship at Executive Council. Fr. Stines has been a great support to countless persons in the South, both in the time of crisis and through quiet, unpublicized work behind the scenes. In expressing "great personal loss" at his departure, ESCRU's Board of Directors certainly spoke for the rest of the staff. We wish him Godspeed, and his family as well, taking some comfort in the fact that he will undoubtedly add great strength to our Washington Chapter. Also, he will become ESCRU's representative to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a position previously shared most ably by Bishop Paul Moore and Mrs. Morag Simchak who will continue to work with him in this responsibility.

ESCRU AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

On December 2nd I prepared a memorandum for Directors & Chapter Chairmen indicating that ESCRU had taken no position on the Vietnam War issue and expressing my personal conviction that we should not do so. I believe that ESCRU members, and other civil rights adherents, have valid and honest differences on this matter and feel that as ESCRU it is our responsibility to focus on the concerns outlined in our Statement of Purpose. In that memorandum I revealed my own tentative judgements on the situation. I'll send a copy on request. I should like to add here that Churchmen certainly do have a responsibility as Church to be deeply concerned with this subject. The Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship is an organization with a modus operandi in this area. They can be addressed at: 9 E. 94th St., New York, N.Y. 10028. - J.B.M.

THE JONATHAN DANIELS MEMORIAL FUND

ESCRU has sent over $1000.00 to the Selma Interreligious Project for welfare and relief work in the Selma area as a results of contributions to our special fund in memory of Jon Daniels. The work of the Selma project, under the direction of the Rev. Francis Walter, is going most successfully. Sponsored by the major national Church & Synagogue organizations which were so deeply involved in Selma in the spring, S.I.P. has yet to receive support from the Episcopal Church officially, as from other denominations, but it is hoped this will be provided before too long. If you want to be on their mailing list, write Fr. Walter at 810 29th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. - - Another memorial fund for Jonathan Daniels has been begun by the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., where he was a student. This will support the involvement of seminarians in areas of continuing social concern. For a brochure write Mrs. Owen Thomas, 99 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.

"CHARTERS SHALL BE SUBJECT TO RENEWAL ANNUALLY"

So says the ESCRU By-laws, but until this year we haven't done much about it. At its January meeting the Board renewed the charters of all chapters save New York, but gladly recognized that efforts are in process to determine future ESCRU possibilities in the Diocese of New York. Charters for the following chapters were renewed, but "with concern for their present status": Atlanta, Indianapolis, Long Island, Los Angeles, Missouri (St. Louis), New Jersey, Northern Virginia, Pennsylvania and Richmond. Concern, in this instance, means that the national office has reason to believe that the Chapter may not be as active as it could be. In some instances it may be simply that we have not received copies of local minutes, newsletters or meeting notices & are unaware of what is happening. In other situations a committed local Chairman may not be getting enough support from other local members. It was the Board's intention to be of help to the Chapters by starting to exercise its review responsibilities.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity, a nationwide organization of bishops, priests, and laity of the Episcopal Church, headquartered at 5 Forsyth Street NW., Atlanta, Ga., recently held its fifth annual meeting in Jackson, Miss. In view of the gunning down of the Selma, Ala., based ESCRU field representative, Jonathan M. Daniels, on August 20, and the serious injury sustained by a Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, I was deeply concerned at the time that adequate steps be taken to insure the safety of the participants in the meeting. I urged the Department of Justice to take all appropriate measures to this end, and I am happy to report that the conference proceeded without incident.

Among their activities were firsthand inspection in the delta of church work and voter registration projects. ESCRU has made a fine record in encouraging progress in the field of civil rights and all human rights for all Americans. The executive director of ESCRU, the Reverend John B. Morris, is one of the most respected priests of the Episcopal Church. The assistant director, the Reverend Albert Dreisbach, Jr.; one of the field representatives, the Reverend Malcolm Boyd; and the director of the southern field service, the Reverend Henri A. Stines, are all experienced priests of the Episcopal Church with full-time responsibility in the field of civil rights and in bringing about cultural and racial unity.

Mr. Frederick H. Sontag of Montclair, N.J., who has since been named consultant to the national board of ESCRU in recognition of his long-time work in the field of civil rights, has called to my attention the fact that originally the conference program included a talk entitled, "Selma, a Continuing Ministry of Presence," by Jonathan Daniels. Before the conference was held, the tragedy at Selma occurred. In a sense the conference became a living memorial to Jonathan Daniels. I am glad that New Jersey Episcopal priests, laymen, and laywomen had a share in these sessions.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
President - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr. Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris
Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.
Director, Southern Field Service - The Rev. Henri A. Stines / 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Reprint

FEBRUARY • 1966

THE NEWARK CHURCHMAN

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

ESCRU

ESCRU A CALL for UNITY

HOW WOULD YOU FEEL if you were greeted on a Sunday morning in an Episcopal Church with the words "You god-damned scum"? This is exactly what was said to Jonathan Daniels last year at St. Paul's Church in Selma, Alabama.

Voices like this drove Jonathan Daniels to go to Alabama; and they finally propelled the shot which killed him last August in Hayneville, Ala.

The life of Jonathan Daniels exemplifies at its best what The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity stands for. It was no accident that he worked under the auspices of ESCRU, the initials by which the Society is better known.

ESCRU began in response to the voices of fear and isolation within the Episcopal Church. Its one objective is to break down the walls of separation between men, be they barriers of race, class or culture; be they within the Church or without.

Today, ESCRU is still in its infancy, having begun in the early part of 1959 largely through the vision and labors of its present Executive Director, the Rev. John B. Morris. Both laymen and clergy constitute the membership of approximately 5,000. Of the 1,200 clerical members, 50 are bishops. Both bishops in the Diocese of Newark are members.

Since its inception ESCRU has witnessed militantly to the frequent discrepancy between official Church statements and specific instances of discrimination within the life of the Church itself. In 1961, for instance, a group of ESCRU members undertook a prayer pilgrimage in which they visited many of the Church's institutions, especially schools, that were still segregated. The most publicized of these is Lovett School in Atlanta, which has frequently been picketed by ESCRU members. In spite of this action the school still has not integrated, and more tragically, the Church has not severed all its ties with the school. ESCRU has also been one of the cooperating groups in the civil rights struggle in Selma, and in many other communities.

Corporate and individual actions of this kind are only one way of realizing ESCRU's objectives. Teaching and worship also play an important role. A great deal of useful information is widely distributed by ESCRU. In addition, each specific action program is supported by a carefully prepared statement explaining its necessity. The reasons for the particular project are derived from the Church's teachings. Central to all the society undertakes is prayer and worship, and the strength that comes from shared concern.

The ultimate objective of ESCRU is not merely the absence of racial and cultural barriers, although under today's conditions this must of necessity be its main thrust. The society's goal is the kind of harmony which comes from a shared recognition of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, "so that brothers may dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him."

"I do not pray for these only, but also for those who are to believe in me through their word . . . that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me, that they may become perfectly one, so that the world may know that thou hast sent me and hast loved them even as thou hast loved me." John 17: 20-23

(Continued on other side)

ESCRU: A CALL FOR UNITY *(Continued)*

ESCRU's objectives are, therefore, a direct outgrowth of the Church's teaching. The only difference is that whereas the Church at large has sometimes ignored them, ESCRU is trying to work toward the realization of these goals. The Society is better able to do this because it is completely outside the structure of the institutional Church. It receives no money from Episcopal headquarters and is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

Maximum flexibility in designing and executing its programs is a result of this independence. ESCRU's headquarters are located in Atlanta, but much of its work is done locally through 28 affiliated chapters.

And that brings us to Newark, and our own Diocese. Our diocesan conventions have passed good resolutions urging a greater degree of social justice for all men. We favor a broad representation along multi-racial and multi-cultural lines on all diocesan-wide committees. Resolutions in favor of open housing, school desegregation, impartial law enforcement have all passed.

These diocesan policies could not have been adopted without a broad-based support for civil rights among Episcopalians in our Diocese. But it is one thing to pass resolutions, and another to carry out their intention. We believe, however, that there are many concerned churchmen who want to participate in more meaningful ways of working actively for racial justice and the unity of all men. If you are concerned, ESCRU offers you an opportunity to work with fellow Episcopalians in breaking down racial and cultural barriers in the Diocese of Newark.

Many of us are already working toward this objective in the communities where we live. But this is not enough. We are members of communities, other than where we sleep. We belong to the Diocese of Newark, and therefore, to the greater community of northern New Jersey. We are members of the Christian Church through the national Episcopal Church and therefore we are concerned for the whole nation. ESCRU provides the opportunity to witness to our concern for these large communities to which we all belong.

Many voices are being raised today: some on the side of bigotry and hatred; others on the side of love and harmony. But voices need hands to implement intentions. ESCRU is a means through which to make your voice heard for the unity of all mankind, and to lend your hands in making this a reality in which all men will be equal children of the One God.

If you would like to join ESCRU, or if you would like to receive more information about it, please tear off the coupon on this page and mail it.

This is a call to unity. Or, as Jonathan Daniels put it:

> We are beginning to see as we never saw before that we are truly in the world and yet ultimately not of it. For through the bramble bush of doubt and fear and supposed success we are groping our way to the realization that above all else, we are called to be saints. That is the mission of the Church everywhere. And in this, Selma, Alabama is like all the world: it needs the life and witness of militant *saints*.

—IVAN A. BACKER
Chairman, Newark Diocesan Chapter, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

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TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CHECK ONE AND SIGN:

☐ As a member of the Episcopal Church and in agreement with the principles of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as set forth in its Statement of Purpose, I apply for membership in the Society and enclose my dues for one year.

☐ I would like to support its work and be counted as a "Friend of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity". I enclose a contribution of $4.00 or more and understand that I may share in all activities and literature of the Society but may not hold office or vote.

SIGNATURE

DATE

MR.
MISS
MRS.
REV.
RT. REV.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ADDRESS

PARISH DIOCESE

Checks may be made payable to ESCRU or Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Additional contributions are needed to support the work of the Society and will be gratefully received.	DUES: Annually $4.00 per person $6.00 per couple $____	ANY ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION $____	TOTAL ENCLOSED $____

Contributions to ESCRU are tax exempt.

file

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

ES — want to sail-in? (wer)

MEMORANDUM

April 28, 1966

TO: Various Friends & Colleagues

FROM: The Rev. John B. Morris

RE: Direct Action & Apartheid in southern Africa

Purpose & Standing of this Memo - This is exploratory and suggestive in nature, with a hope that some recipients may want to respond in kind; or, indeed, that it may reach persons far more competent in this area who are prepared (or are preparing) to follow through somehow and who will favor us with information on their plans.

The Board of Directors of ESCRU turned its attention to the issue of Apartheid in southern Africa at its January, 1966, meeting; and I take my cue from that insofar as the legitimacy of the topic for ESCRU's Executive Director. However, it should be noted that the analysis and suggestions set forth herein are my own only. Our Board did authorize the sending of some representative to southern Africa, as a token of our interest in the situation, if special funds could be found. We are still desirous of following through in such terms, but this memorandum is not about that.

The Thesis - Simply, that there is an emerging rightness and ripeness for the consideration of forms of direct action protest and witness aimed at racism in the southern part of Africa by American organizations concerned for these issues in this country.

In Substantiation - Following are random observations and thoughts which prompt my own growing concern:

1. The present crisis in Southern Rhodesia extends one of the first "handles" whereby the whole apartheid complex can be taken ahold. Having been joined there, it seems unlikely that the issue of world concern over apartheid will return to the impasse which generally obtained vis-a-vis South Africa up until now.

2. Racist forces in this country are mobilizing at a faster rate, it would appear, in their defense of UDI in Southern Rhodesia, than are liberal forces accelerating such interest and activity as they have maintained all along. Full-page ads have been appearing of late in newspapers defending the Ian Smith regime against criticism.

3. There is an integral connection between what is happening, and what may happen, with reference to apartheid, and the mood and future of race relations in this country. Imagine, for instance, that Britain is not able to significantly alter the racist trends in Southern Rhodesia (whether or not any compromise plan is effected) and greater Chinese Communist activity develops in that country. In the event of some eventual revolutionary move under such circumstances, the United States would create serious problems at home (adding to the polarization already engendered by Watts and subsequent comparable situations) if she remained neutral, and even more serious repercussions would ensue if we threw our support to what would be touted as a beleagured white minority.

4. It seems right and inevitable to me that forces of good concerned for racial justice in this country should follow-through with an investment of time, money and effort in the southern Africa situation. That the Republic of South Africa is a separate and independent nation (not obligated to respect our Supreme Court!) offers only a tactical difference for our consideration when compared to emerging interest in this country with the sometime sovereign State of Mississippi that culminated in the Freedom Rides of 1961. Higher laws and commitments bind us to a momemtum that ultimately carries the same message to South Africa irrespective of the fact that there may be little security or relief available from a Federal Judiciary.

5. The ripeness for greater American involvement in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa is to be traced both to the situation as emerging there, as well as to our own domestic situation. Concerning the latter, we know full well that the state of race relations in this country is precarious, in spite of legislation and government initiative in various programs. Some will say there is too much to do here; but we have never operated in the Civil Rights Movement on the assumption that one problem must be settled before another is raised. All issues, ultimately, are dealt with concurrently. I think an argument could be made for an internal necessity, in terms of our domestic well-being, for American initiative against apartheid.

6. Within the council of nations we had best, both officially and unofficially, begin to show commensurate concern for the spread of "international racism" as we have well-demonstrated for the spread of "international communism". Any integrity in our commitments against Communism in Southeast Asia will be, in part, validated by equal concern for the more destructive tyranny of racism.

7. We cannot start too soon to educate and sensitize the American public to the evils of apartheid, nor should the task be underestimated. I believe that English-speaking ties and the like, causing many Americans to feel a "kith and kin" regard for the industrious white South African, give us an enormous task in terms of simply eliciting sympathy and support for the oppressed in South Africa. We take it too much in stride that several thousands in South Africa are in prison or under house arrest for their criticism of governmental policies. Our feeling of detachment has too many similiarities to our neutrality in the early days of Hitler's purge of Jews. All of this suggests that a first goal in any action is to develop more American concern.

<u>A Proposal</u> - So much for various things that undergird my thesis, and I am the first to acknowledge that I am a novice and learner with regard to the southern Africa situation. Groups such as the American Committee on Africa are the informed agencies which have long-since committed themselves to greater American initiative, and especially with reference to U. S. policies and American business interests. For what it is worth, though, I add here the proposal that a coalition of secular and religious agencies consider the sponsoring of the equivalent of a "Freedom Ride" to South Africa. A carefully planned, and responsibly executed, "Sail-In", bearing documents of our official American commitments to an open and integrated society, would seem a viable and highly symbolic way of conveying our message of concern to South Africa and, more importantly, of alerting citizens back home to this remaining frontier of racism. Would we sail from here, or begin further up the African coast or, indeed, have a delegation go by some other means? I don't know. These are the questions that a representative group could determine. The issue at hand, as I see it, is to devise a sufficient way of showing that we care: for the sake of support for internal resistance in South Africa, and to mobilize American sentiment more and more against the system of apartheid. A crack-pot idea? Yes, at first glance at least. But of such ideas have new movements and combinations of power started. Whatever the form, it is time for action by those of us who have the freedom to act.

ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Whitsunday NEWSLETTER May 29, 1966

6TH ANNUAL MEETING SET FOR NEW YORK CITY IN FALL. JAMES FARMER TO SPEAK. WILL FOCUS ON NORTHERN CITY

Dr. Pettigrew

Mr. Farmer

Fr. Harmon

ESCRU's Role & Future To Be Evaluated

The former head of CORE, James Farmer, will address the 6th Annual Meeting of ESCRU which convenes in New York, November 10-13, with sessions to be held at the Cathedral, St. Philip's, and St. Martin's. Also speaking will be Father John Harmon of Packard Manse in Boston, and Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard's Department of Social Relations. The Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati of South Africa will tell about apartheid, and the Rev. Frs. Arthur Walmsley and Quinland Gordon will participate in the session evaluating the Church's witness in the racial revolution. Other speakers and resource personnel will be reported later when hotel information is sent. There will be a free evening for seeing the city, but with summer just passed there will be much to consider together. Make your plans now to attend. More information in September.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE APPOINTED

Eight positions on ESCRU's national Board of Directors are to be filled by a process of mail balloting by members in the 8 stateside Provinces of the Church. President Peabody has appointed Mr. Everett Bell of Houston to chair the committee which will prepare the ballot. Send suggestions to him for the Director from your province. (Cont. page 8)

ACLU/ESCRU ALABAMA SUIT WON

Several days after Jon Daniels was shot last August, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a case in Federal Court against the Jury Commissioners of Lowndes County where, subsequently, an all white jury acquitted Jon's murderer. ESCRU and its staff joined the suit shortly thereafter. In February the Court ruled that the jury rolls must be made to reflect the county's population, which is preponderantly Negro, and, further, that Alabama's exclusion of women from juries is unconstitutional.

CHAPTERS MOBILIZE FOR SEATTLE

To support the proposals for reforms in the General Convention structure & procedure, detailed in a letter to all members March 18th, ESCRU Chapters have begun to work on the election of effective Deputies to represent their diocese at the Church's triennial convention in Seattle scheduled for the fall of 1967. Washington ESCRU worked quietly behind the scenes before and after their diocesan convention to successfully elect deputies sympathetic to the proposals. Newark ESCRU asked potential deputies their views and (Cont. page 8)

NORTH CAROLINA PRIEST TO JOIN ESCRU STAFF

The Rev. David B. Nickerson, Vicar of St. Titus' in Durham will move to Atlanta in July to become Director of ESCRU's Southern Field Service program, the position previously held by the Rev. Henri Stines. Fr. Nickerson is originally from Florida and did his seminary work at Crozer and the General Seminary. Before going to Durham he served on the staff of St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, Del., and prior to that he was in the ministry of the Methodist Church. His position with ESCRU, which is funded by a grant from the Field Foundation, will involve him in the Civil Rights Movement in the South and in various ecumenical efforts at reconciliation.

Fr. Nickerson

ESCRU GOES TO STOCKHOLDERS MEETING

In the first action of its kind, the Society's former President, the Rev. Joseph Pelham, will represent 5 shares of General Motors stock recently given ESCRU when their shareholders meet on May 20th, at which time he will inquire into the firm's intentions concerning Equal Employment policies in South Africa where it has extensive interests.

BRETHREN-dwell together in unity

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE MOBILIZES

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of religious and secular groups which was the primary source of support for the Civil Rights Bills of 1964 and 1965, met on May 5th to map out strategy for support of the President's recently introduced legislation on housing, jury reforms, and protection for civil rights workers. Fr. Henri Stines was there in behalf of ESCRU, which has been a part of the Conference for several years. Executive Council recently became an official participant, having been informally represented heretofore. Write your Congressman now in support of the new bill, and be ready for other efforts which may need your help - as in 1964 when Executive Council staff worked so effectively in mobilizing Churchmen to support new legislation.

STEWARDSHIP OF CHURCH FUNDS NEEDS SCRUTINY

ESCRU Board members and local chapter chairmen are to receive a packet of materials from Associate Director Dreisbach concerning "Church Investments and the Need for a More Responsible Stewardship." Ranging from a sheet on American investments in South Africa to descriptive data on the Interfaith Housing Corporation in Boston, which is headed up by ESCRU President Peabody, the packet is intended to help ESCRU Chapters and others raise questions with diocesan trustees, the Church Pension Fund, etc., regarding the investment of Church funds. A two-fold theory is operative: we should not continue to patronize and invest in firms which contribute to the maintenance of segregation (or, in South Africa, apartheid); while, on the other hand, there are increasing opportunities in investments for the Church to support and be the advocate of worthy undertakings, as in the field of housing.

SUPREME COURT WILL HEAR APPEAL OF ESCRU CASE

The U. S. Supreme Court has announced it will hear arguments in the appeal by four priests arrested in Jackson, Miss., in 1961, while on the Prayer Pilgrimage. After being acquitted, Frs. Pierson, Jones, Breeden and Morris, brought suit against the arresting officers and the judge. While finding in their favor on certain counts, the 5th Circuit struck the judge from the case and weighed the intentions of the clergy insofar as the legitimacy of their suit went. The American Civil Liberties Union became interested in the case and is working cooperatively with our attorney, Carl Rachlin (Chief Counsel for CORE), who, in turn, is ably assisted by Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr. It is anticipated that the case will come before the Court in the fall.

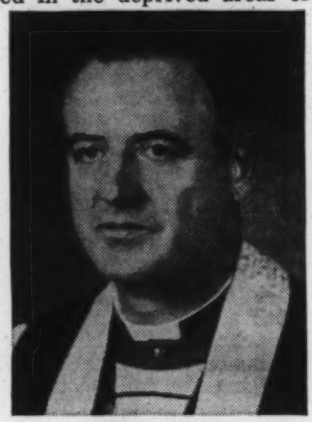
CURRICULUM STUDY HELP WANTED

Is there an educator in the membership who would do a study of Church School curriculum materials and how they affect racial attitudes for good or bad which we would publish? The Seabury Series and Morehouse publications would be included, as well as other series. Write the national office if you have experience in this field and believe that Church School is or can be important.

Bishop Myers and Fr. Gracie Discuss Northern Walkout

By THE RT. REV. C. KILMER MYERS
Suffragan Bishop

IT IS COMMONPLACE to say these days that the Church must seek new ways to minister relevantly in the inner city. This is especially true of the inner city parish. No longer may the parish situated in the deprived areas of our great cities ignore the crying needs of the communities and human beings in which they stand.



BISHOP MYERS

It is in recognition of this search for new ways that St. Joseph's Church, headed by the Reverend David M. Gracie, opened its doors to students of Northern High School. In this situation the only way the Church could show relevant interest was to identify itself with the issues which concerned the boycotting students. Very often a parish like St. Joseph's needs a "handle" which will enable it to "get into" the community. Usually such a handle is an issue which is of deep concern to the people, young and old, who live there. Father Gracie was sensitive to his neighborhood's needs and he therefore made himself available to a community in deep travail. I might add that he did this with my full approval as district head.

Obviously the school situation in Detroit, as in other great cities, is complicated. But one facet of the problem is clear: schools predominantly Negro in constituency generally are inferior as academic institutions when compared to schools in white urban areas and in the suburbs Everyone recognizes this.

Related to this is another disturbing fact: Negro parents generally play no role in up-grading their schools It is not that they avoid such a role. They are quite literally shut out of policy-making levels. This is not true in most other communities in which the opinions of organized parental groups are heeded and often acted upon by school authorities. Negroes in general have few ways to get through to policy-making groups either in education or other levels of metropolitan life. The only method open to them is that of direct, militant and organized action.

This was the situation at Northern High School as it attempted through its student leadership to meet the crisis in Negro education. Demonstrations, boycotts, parades are among the ways open to human beings with darker skins in our cities from North to South. The Church, located in the inner city, realizes this with increasing frequency. Very often such identification is not understood in human communities where access to civic and education authorities is more readily available.

Education is related to the process by which human beings reach their fullest capacity as humans. The Church which upholds the Incarnation — God coming among us as man — is concerned with the matter of **humanness**. This is central to its Gospel. It raises the questions: How may life become more human and how may the Church by its active posture help bring about the re-unification of the human race?

This was the primary reason for St. Joseph's involvement in the Northern High School controversy. We all should be grateful for the sensitive young minister who is the rector of that parish and for its vestry and parishioners who gave him support. I, as bishop in charge of the District, look upon the events of the past two weeks as still another indication of our Church's realistic identification with the issues of the inner city.

REPRINTED FROM THE DETROIT FREE PRESS - SHOWING ONE WAY A BISHOP CAN SUPPORT HIS CLERGY WHEN THEY GO OUT ON A LIMB.

SEE PAGE 4

THE CHURCH AND RACE FUND

We continue to support giving by Episcopalians to Executive Council's "Church & Race Fund" as allocations from this source have always been to worthy causes. However, we should not be content to see the fund left as it is. Out of a total of $100,950. in grants in 1965, $64,000. went toward the Episcopal Church's contribution to the Delta Ministry and the Commission on Religion & Race of the National Council of Churches. Both agencies rightly deserve to be in the Episcopal Church's own national budget. As it is, our support of these ecumenical projects is on a voluntary basis. Even the money required for the promotion of the Fund derives from voluntary contributions, so that the Bishop of Alabama is quite correct if he chooses to tell his people that not one cent of their money goes toward NCC racial projects. The Department of Extension of the Diocese of Iowa, on the other hand, is on record to encourage the General Convention in 1967 to add the Church and Race Fund to the budget of the national Church. While there may always be need of a voluntary fund to supplement official commitments, it is clear that the Episcopal Church does not yet see the racial crisis as important budgetarily as numerous other programs which merit steady and annual support. Furthermore, Churchmen should demand of the Fund a degree of fearlessness it has not always shown, and all the moreso since it is voluntarily solicited. There is no indication that the Diocese of Alabama is throwing its weight behind the Fund because the Fund has thus far declined to make a grant to the Selma Interreligious Project, an ecumenical venture staffed by an Episcopal priest and officially supported by a number of other Church bodies.

ATTEND THE 6TH ANNUAL MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY

RACISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

ESCRU stands committed by Board action to send a representative to visit southern Africa as a witness to our concern for the growth of racist policies if funds are secured for this purpose. Such an expedition would, also, chiefly serve to inform us back home on conditions in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia and to establish contacts there. A flyer is enclosed which seeks "Aid (for) Victims of South Africa's Racism". It is from the American Committee on Africa, an organization well-deserving of support by Churchmen. Exploring still other ways in which Americans might demonstrate concern for apartheid, ESCRU's Executive Director recently sent a memorandum to key civil rights leaders in this country proposing new forms of direct action against segregation in the southern part of Africa, including the possibility of something akin to the Freedom Rides. A copy of this memo will be sent on request. Ideas and reactions are invited.

LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF ESCRU SPONSORS TUTORIAL PROGRAM IN WATTS AREA

Under the leadership of Murray McDougal, ESCRU has been reactivated in Los Angeles and is working cooperatively with diocesan officials on a number of programs. The photo to the left, taken by R. Dale Magee, shows Donna Bryan, a laboratory technician at UCLA, assisting Pamela Page of Lincoln Elementary School in Compton in her studies.

HERE AND THERE

With Bishop Stokes heading the effort, a Protestant Commission on Church and Race has been launched in Massachusetts to coordinate efforts of various churches concerned for justice and racial harmony. Staff for the combined effort will, presumably, obviate the re-staffing of the diocese's position previously held by ESCRU Vice-President, Fr. James P. Breeden, a factor which some ESCRU people are not enthusiastic about, but a wait-and-see attitude seems to prevail.....The Episcopal Church on the coast in the Old South continues to concentrate on garden and home tours, with St. Michael's, Charleston, going in for visits to old plantations. A newspaper account featured a photo of "the slave cabin row, which has been remodeled into guest houses...." .....In Jack Mendelsohn's The Martyrs (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) there is an account of how the news of Jonathan Daniels' death was received at Saint Paul's, Selma, where the Rector then denied permission for a memorial eucharist to be celebrated..... And further on books, ESCRU Field Representative Malcolm Boyd's Are You Running With Me, Jesus? drew the weekday review in THE NEW YORK TIMES, a rare tribute to a "religious" book, by the reviewer's own admission.....In Washington, Bishop Paul Moore came under heavy fire from conservative laymen for his outspoken stand in favor of Home Rule for the District of Columbia. The ESCRU Chapter issued a statement in his defense.....And across the river, twelve years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, Episcopal High School "has quietly decided to desegregate", according to the Washington Post and earlier reports from the Northern Virginia Chapter of ESCRU. The Headmaster of EHS, which is presided over by Bishop Gibson & which lies adjacent to the Virginia Seminary, pointed out that there may be no Negro pupils since none have applied. Presumably this is partly because the decision to desegregate "was not made public at the time", according to the Post.....A right-wing periodical, THE CROSS AND THE FLAG, has advised Episcopalians unhappy with the "liberalism, Communism, mongrelization and skepticism" of their Church to contact James P. Dees, a former priest who is now "Bishop" of the so-called Anglican Orthodox Church. A lay leader of this sect in St. Louis recently quit when Dees reprimanded him for saying there were no racial bars to membership in the new group.

FREEDOM SCHOOL AT CHURCH

Charging inferior standards at Negro schools and in protest over the suppression of an editorial that was to have appeared in the student paper on the subject, over one thousand students of a high school in Detroit stayed away from classes. They went, instead, to "freedom school" classes set up at four local churches, including two Episcopal parishes - St. Joseph's and Grace. The former was the headquarters of much of the protest activity, causing the DETROIT NEWS to say that the school system could not be run "from the sidewalks, or from a nearby church rectory."

SURVEY OF INSTITUTIONS

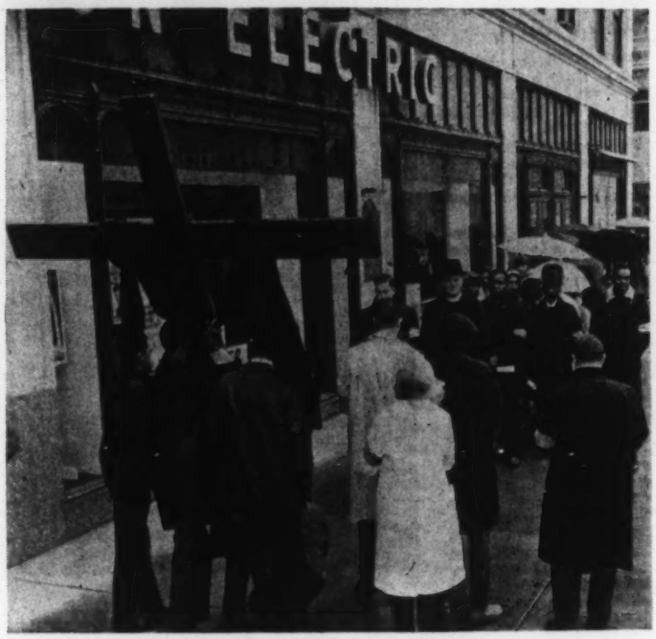
ESCRU's survey of Church and Church-related institutions may never result in a comprehensive report, but it has caused innumerable schools, homes and hospitals, etc., to examine their present racial policies and, in some instances, take steps to implement their stated position. Because the situation has been so fluid since the survey was started two years ago, and because the data is incomplete in some areas, it will probably be best not to attempt publication. The greatest service has already been rendered in the asking of questions of these institutions, causing the issue of racial makeup to be raised before trustees, vestries and boards. Interesting tendencies were noted in the response to our inquiries, such as the fact that Northern Church-related institutions generally responded readily, as contrasted with a general reluctance or refusal on the part of facilities in the South to discuss their racial policies or makeup. Some of the latter, however, acknowledged they were segregated, although in instances where this is suspected we usually did not get a reply to repeated letters. Atlanta's Church-related Lovett School wrote finally indicating they were still segregated, although the Headmaster would prefer it not be so. Lovett's Baccalaureate Service this year will again be held at the Diocese of Atlanta's cathedral, the scene of picketing by local members of ESCRU last year. In the Diocese of Southwest Virginia, Boys Home, Inc., at Covington, presumably remains segregated since it remains probably the only institution having the designation "white" to appear in the 1966 Episcopal Church Annual. The results of our survey suggest that there are many more Church facilities which remain segregated by design and more than a few which desperately hope not to become the object of attention by Negro Churchmen.

OTHER REPORTS PENDING

ESCRU Director Karl Nordling will visit Alabama soon for fact-finding in preparation for writing ESCRU's "Special Report" on conditions in the Church there, as called for by January's Board meeting.....ESCRU's Vice-President, Fr. James P. Breeden, has been meeting with New York area clergy for consultation on a "Special Report" on clergy placement. Consideration is being given to further "haunting" of the House of Bishops on this subject when they meet in West Virginia in the fall, as when the six priests from ESCRU went to their meeting in Montana last year.

PARISH SPONSORS MARCHES DURING LENT

Witnessing to cultural and racial unity, and to protest job discrimination by utility companies in St. Louis, about 100 persons walked silently each Sunday afternoon during Lent past the company headquarters, with periodic pauses for prayer. Led by a huge wooden cross, the marchers were under the direction of St. Stephen's Church, which gave them the name of "Jericho Marches", recalling the account in Joshua 6:1-21.



Commenting on the marches, William Matheus, parish worker at St. Stephen's, said: "...people who had opposed the marches gradually became fascinated with the idea and were stirred by the commitment and dedication of those who plodded along Sunday after Sunday....things have not settled down yet, nor will they ever be the same again."

AROUND THE CHURCH

Kentucky has just adopted a Civil Rights Bill considered stronger than Federal legislation. Adoption was pushed by the Dean of the Cathedral in Louisville, the Rev. Robert W. Estill, who serves as Chairman of the state Commission on Human Rights. We'll send a brochure on the new laws on request. .....Savannah's "St. John's Church", which pulled out of Episcopal ranks last year rather than admit Negroes to services, has called a Methodist minister from Beaufort, S.C., to be associate rector... ....The Diocese of Washington called on its vestries and bishops to call and appoint clergy "on the basis of merit"; and in Los Angeles, Bishop Bloy did appoint the Rev. Atwell Stewart vicar of St. Mary's, Imperial Beach, succeeding the Rev. Frederick Fenton, Chairman of San Diego ESCRU, who has moved to the parish at Chula Vista. St. Mary's is predominantly white, while Fr. Stewart is of Negro ancestry.....The Diocese of South Carolina will desegregate its summer camps, but at the request of the Bishop will open them on an "all-boy, all-girl" basis.....Bishop West of Florida has refused to license ESCRU Director Fr. Robert Hampshire who is now teaching at a Negro college at St. Augustine where he had earlier participated in demonstrations sponsored by SCLC.

THE DELTA MINISTRY: AN OASIS

Seldom in the annals of Church History have various Church groups cooperated on so significant and pioneering an effort as the Delta Ministry. A flyer is enclosed on Freedom City, an exciting, bold idea to which DM is closely related. Stemming from the Hattiesburg Ministers' Project, which we helped to launch, and the ensuing Summer Project of 1964, the Delta Ministry's Chairman is former ESCRU Director Bishop Paul Moore, who has had to absorb a certain amount of abuse for his defense of DM in times of great criticism. Other Churchmen are working directly on the scene with DM, including Patricia Mutch, a former member of NYC ESCRU's Steering Committee. If you haven't already, we suggest you send DM an annual contribution and ask them to add you to mailing list.

JONATHAN DANIELS HONORED POSTHUMOUSLY

Former Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger and Mrs. Philip Daniels look at the "Bishop Lichtenberger Human Rights Award" cross just presented Mrs. Daniels by ESCRU's Executive Director on behalf of the Chicago Chapter of the Society at a dinner on February 20th. Mrs. Daniels' response, on receiving the award for her son, Jonathan, was cited in full in a letter from Fr. Morris to all ESCRU members on March 30th. Two days later Mrs. Daniels attended another dinner in Chicago honoring Fr. Richard Morrisroe who was wounded at the same time Jon was killed in Hayneville, Alabama, last August 20th. The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago gave its annual award to Father Morrisroe. Also during February the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles adopted a memorial express-thanksgiving for the life and witness of Jonathan Daniels. A similiar resolution before the Convention of the Diocese of Arizona also proposed that the Liturgical Commission consider the appointment of Propers for a day to honor Jonathan, but this motion was tabled. Elsewhere preparations are being made for publication of a book on Jonathan, which will also contain some of his writings.
(Photo above - Courtesy of Chicago Sun-Times)

ROSTER OF CHAPTER CHAIRMEN

At the local level ESCRU is at work through 28 chapters spread across the country. Since we have not issued a Directory of such personnel for some time, the names & addresses of the heads of these local units are provided here. Members who have moved should advise the Chairman of their arrival so that they will be informed about local meetings and activities. Also, it is helpful to the well-being of the organization if local units will share their newsletters, etc., with chapters elsewhere.....

ATLANTA: _____, c/o St. Bartholomew's Church, 1790 LaVista Road, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30329
BOSTON: Mr. Peter Albrecht, 10 Spruce Hill Road, Weston, Mass. 02193
CENTRAL NEW YORK: The Rev. H. A. Vermilye, 1040 Westmoreland Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 13210
CHICAGO: The Rev. Earl Neil, 6457 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60637
CLEVELAND: The Rev. David Earnest, 2747 Fairmount Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106
CONNECTICUT: The Rev. Ruel S. Kaighn, 147 W. Main Street, New Britain, Conn. 06052
DELAWARE: Mr. Don Crawford, 10 South Trail, Indianfield, Wilmington, Del. 19803
HOUSTON: The Rev. John Sanders, 3129 Southmore, Houston, Texas 77004
INDIANAPOLIS: Mr. Gordon E. Mallett, 7321 Glenview Drive E., Indianapolis, Ind. 46250
IOWA: Mr. Paul M. Neuhauser, 914 Highwood Street, Iowa City, Iowa 52241
KANSAS CITY: Mr. Robert S. Staples, 435 W. 61st St., Kansas City, Mo. 64113
LONG ISLAND: Mr. Norman A. Berhannan, 3 Hamlin Ave., West Babylon, N. Y. 11704
LOS ANGELES: Mr. Murray McDougal, 603 Arbor Street, Pasadena, Calif.
MAHONING-SHENANGO: Mr. John M. Morris, 3033 Logan Road, Youngstown, Ohio 44505
MARYLAND: Mrs. Robert V. Walsh, 1709 Ruxton Road, Ruxton, Maryland 21204
MICHIGAN: The Rev. E. Howard McClintock, 7620 LaSalle Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48206
MILWAUKEE: Mrs. Lawrence Howard, 2605 E. Hartford Ave., Milwaukee, Wis. 53211
MINNESOTA: Mrs. Van S. Lawrence, 1961 Kenwood Parkway, Minneapolis, Minn. 55405
MISSOURI: The Rev. Robert Mayo, 5855 DeGiverville, St. Louis, Mo. 63112
NEWARK: The Rev. Ivan A. Backer, 144 Boiling Springs Avenue, East Rutherford, N. J. 07073
NEW JERSEY: The Rev. Robert R. Spears, Jr., 22 Stockton St., Princeton, N. J. 08540
NORTHERN VIRGINIA: Mr. Paul McGann, 3200 Glenwood Place, Falls Church, Va. 22041
PENNSYLVANIA: Mrs. Barbara Rollins, 6342 Magnolia Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19144
PITTSBURGH: Mr. David T. Williams, 301 Grove Road, Verona, Pa. 15147
RHODE ISLAND: Mrs. Alan N. Mason, 134 Oxford St., Providence, R. I. 02905
RICHMOND: The Rev. Edward M. Gregory, 520 North Boulevard, Richmond, Va. 23220
SAN DIEGO: The Rev. Frederick A. Fenton, 397 Vista Way, Chula Vista, Calif. 92010
WASHINGTON: Mr. Karl Nordling, 1400 20th Street, N.W., Apt. 714, Washington, D. C. 20018

Annual Renewal Notices Are Sent During the Month You Joined/Remit Early & Save Us Sending Reminders!!

The Presiding Bishop's 1963 Whitsuntide Message

Recent events in a number of American communities—Birmingham, Chicago, Nashville, New York, and Raleigh, to mention only the most prominent—underscore the fact that countless citizens have lost patience with the slow pace of response to their legitimate cry for human rights. Pleas of moderation or caution about timing on the part of white leaders are seen increasingly as an unwillingness to face the truth about the appalling injustice which more than a tenth of our citizens suffer daily. While we are thankful for the progress that has been made, this is not enough.

Our Church's position on racial inclusiveness within its own body and its responsibility for racial justice in society has been made clear on many occasions by the General Convention. But there is urgent need to demonstrate by specific actions what God has laid upon us. Such actions must move beyond expressions of corporate penitence for our failures to an unmistakable identification of the Church, at all levels of its life, with those who are victims of oppression.

I think of the words we sing as we hail the ascended Christ, "Lord and the ruler of all men," and of our prayers at Whitsuntide as we ask God to work His will in us through His Holy Spirit. And then in contrast to our praises and our prayers our failure to put ourselves at the disposal of the Holy Spirit becomes painfully clear. Only as we take every step possible to join with each other across lines of racial separation in a common struggle for justice will our unity in the Spirit become a present reality.

It is not enough for the Church to exhort men to be good. Men, women and children are today risking their livelihood and their lives in protesting for their rights. We must support and strengthen their protest in every way possible, rather than give support to the forces of resistance by our silence. It should be a cause of rejoicing to the Christian community that Negro Americans and oppressed peoples everywhere are displaying a heightened sense of human dignity in their refusal to accept second-class citizenship any longer.

The right to vote, to eat a hamburger where you want, to have a decent job, to live in a house fit for habitation: these are not rights to be litigated or negotiated. It is our shame that demonstrations must be carried out to win them. These constitutional rights *belong* to the Negro as to the white, because we are all men and we are all citizens. The white man needs to recognize this if he is to preserve his own humanity. It is a mark of the inversion of values in our society that those who today struggle to make the American experiment a reality through their protest are accused of disturbing the peace—and that more often than not the Church remains silent on this, our greatest domestic moral crisis.

I commend these specific measures to your attention:

1) I would ask you to involve yourselves. The crisis in communities North and South in such matters as housing, employment, public accommodations, and schools is steadily mounting. It is the duty of every Christian citizen to know fully what is happening in his own community, and actively to support efforts to meet the problems he encounters.

2) I would also ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help.

3) I would ask you to take action. Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully. Diocesan and church-related agencies, schools, and other institutions also have a considerable distance to go in bringing their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race. I call attention to the firm action of the recent Convention of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. It further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral or financial support if these practices are not eliminated in the specified time. I believe we must make known where we stand unmistakably.

So I write with a deep sense of the urgency of the racial crisis in our country and the necessity for the Church to act. Present events reveal the possible imminence of catastrophe. The entire Christian community must pray and act.

ARTHUR LICHTENBERGER
Presiding Bishop

A Call To Witness

Whitsunday, 1964

On May 17, 1964, we observe the tenth anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. At the same time the Church marks the Day of Pentecost or Whitsunday, commemorating the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Christ's followers who were gathered "all with one accord in one place." As a nation we look back on ten years that were too long in coming, conscious of how much further we have to go in implementation of the spirit of the Court's decision. As Churchmen we look back through the ages to our original wholeness and oneness in Christ, penitently aware of the departures we have taken from the unfragmented Body of Christ which was filled with power on Pentecost and overcame all barriers of tongue and race. From the past we turn to the present and future and know that God is calling us both as citizens and Churchmen to take bold steps that will witness to our unity in Him while there is yet time.

In Whitsuntide of last year the Presiding Bishop said: "Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully." He called upon Churchmen to take action for this. Now, on Whitsunday of 1964, there is no more appropriate time for action that will witness to and call forth the unity of all men in Christ. Let the Church be renewed and stand as a beacon to guide a perplexed nation. Let the Faithful in Christ Jesus come together each Sunday with one accord in one place, so that it can no longer be said to be the most segregated hour of the week. Let us put aside our old patterns of "separate-but-equal" congregations and so live together that it will be said: "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" Let this begin with the witness of each Churchman who hears and responds to this call.

The Board of Directors of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, having duly met in Atlanta, Georgia, on February 2-4, 1964, calls upon all Churchmen, and especially those who are members of the Society, to examine their situation to determine whether they may witness to the wholeness of the Church on Whitsunday of 1964, and thereafter, by transferring from their present parish to one where the members are predominantly of another color. We rejoice in those few congregations which already reveal the richness of God's handiwork and light the way for the rest of us.

We believe that the inclusiveness of the Church must be demonstrated by both Negro Churchmen transferring to predominantly white parishes, as well as by white Churchmen transferring to predominantly Negro parishes, but we would lay special emphasis on the latter. For too long have we expected the Negro alone to take the initiative. Because the Church is the People of God, and not the house in which they dwell, each congregation is equally important and intended to be inclusive of all persons. It has been necessary for the Negro American to lead the nation into freedom through his entry into places from which he was previously excluded. Now, let white Christians demonstrate their commitment by joining in minority status with Negro Churchmen. Neither may say he has no need of the other.

Let each witness as he is able and persuaded, all for the Glory of God. Let the Church in the cities rejoice in the witness and corporately march in solemn procession to accompany those who will transfer parishes. Let Whitsunday of 1964 more nearly find the people "all with one accord in one place." Let brothers dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LEST WE FORGET

WHITSUNDAY

1963 - The Presiding Bishop Spoke

1964 - ESCRU Statement

1965 - Selma Happened. We went.

1966 - ? ? ? ? ? ?

HAVE WE FORGOTTEN?

IT IS SO EASY

A RESOLUTION OF THE ESCRU BOARD, JANUARY, 1966

WHEREAS, civil rights in the United States and human rights around the world are inseparable; therefor be it

RESOLVED, that ESCRU expand its program within the meaning of its current objectives, looking forward to Human Rights Year of 1967, to include active support of the Church's program against apartheid and for the ratification of the U.N. Human Rights Convention, and be it further

RESOLVED, that every avenue of cooperation be explored between local ESCRU chapters and diocesan World Affairs Committees, toward collaborative and aggressive education and action programs for civil and human rights at home and abroad in the spirit of Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence.

ESCRU Chapters, and other concerned persons, wanting to move in this area should contact their diocesan World Affairs Committees and/or write to

The Rev. Herschel Halbert
815 Second Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

SING UNTO THE LORD A NEW SONG!

Praise the Lord, Negroes & whites! Praise the Lord!

Praise God in His sanctuary;
Receive Him, kneeling together.

Praise Him side by side, in the labors of your calling;
Share His joy in the fellowship of food and drink.

Praise God with open witness;
Praise Him with prayer and picket lines.

Praise Him with patient demonstration;
Praise Him with suffering and forgiveness.

Praise Him with responsible words;
Praise Him with the haunting truth of folk-song.

Let everything that hopes and strives and dares to
Praise the Lord. / love

Praise God with your lives.

- The Rev. Layton P. Zimmer
Diocesan Missioner,
Diocese of Pennsylvania

The EHS Chronicle

VOLUME LXXVII, NO. 4 — FEBRUARY 12, 1966

EPISCOPAL HIGH SCHOOL, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

HEADMASTER OUTLINES ADMISSIONS POLICY

For the Sunday Program of January 30, the Headmaster gave a talk on the admission policy of the High School regarding integration. He reviewed Episcopal's past experiences with the racial question and presented the present school position as expressed in the unanimous statement by the Board of Trustees issued at their December meeting.

Mr. Thomsen spoke on what he termed "a question that is of utmost importance to the High School and its supporters." He noted that for years many Old Boys had expressed concern over recent trends regarding integration. After reading a letter expressing such concern, he remarked that all should realize that a positive stance would be most beneficial to Episcopal. He observed that he would personally have reservations concerning the admission of a Negro for it would manifest, under present conditions, difficult problems of social adjustment to both the School and the Negro, but that E.H.S. should be prepared to accept all qualified candidates who seek admission.

Mr. Thomsen cited a number of instances in which the school profited by adopting a moderate racial stance, principally in the area of interscholastic athletics, and pointed out how attitudes have changed over the past years. Following this background, he read from the statement of the Board of Trustees:

"Any and all applicants for admission shall be considered on an equal basis after giving due regard to their scholastic preparedness and their ability and desire to meet the standards of the school. Special consideration shall be given to qualified applicants who are sons and close relatives of former students. The applicant's prospects for successful participation in the life of the school and the date of his application shall also be considered."

Mr. Thomsen stated that "the best interests of the school would be better served by accepting a clearly qualified Negro than by turning him down." He explained his belief as being a pragmatic one, not based just on right and wrong, but on the possible results of accepting or rejecting such a candidate.

The Headmaster then spoke of the consequences of such an acceptance. There would, of course, be a stream of protest from Old Boys, parents, and friends, but this would be counterbalanced as the school would be in accordance with conscience, the Episcopal Church, and the prevailing "law of the land." The Negro, if accepted, may not accept or attend only long enough to set the precedent. It would establish the willingness of the High School to integrate and would spare it the active opposition of the particularly active D.C. area civil rights groups.

On the positive side, the Headmaster spoke of how the cultural exchange between a Negro and E.H.S. boys would be an enlightening and socialy broadening experience since few Episcopal boys ever see the Negro in anything other than a subserviant capacity. Mr. Thomsen found this particularly valuable as the future Old Boys would occupy important positions in their respective communities in which the establishment and perpetuation of community relations would be an important task.

After reading a January 29th letter from an Old Boy concerning the Board statement, the Headmaster concluded by saying that the fears of the writer were unjustified in that there would be no active search for Negro candidates as is carried on by some Northern schools. The very lack of qualified Negro applicants and the corresponding adjustment problem they would have to face would militate against a colored student at Episcopal in the near future, but nevertheless, the school should be prepared to accept one.

Jim Beckwith

MORE ON E.H.S.

Page 3, with its reference to Episcopal High School's change in admissions policy, was completed before we received the full account of Headmaster Thomsen's remarks, now reprinted to the left. They appeared in the school paper & epitomize the nature of "progress" oftentimes in the Church. How many other Church schools across the nation take the same position, but conceal it behind a facade of liberal protestation? That the number of Church-related schools in the South, started since 1954, greatly exceeds their growth elsewhere clearly reveals their correlation with the efforts of white Churchmen to escape integration in the public schools. Executive Council and the Episcopal School Association are not taking enough initiative to combat segregation in Church institutions. Each year makes the shame greater.

MOBILIZATION FOR SEATTLE (Cont. from page 1)
and then wrote all delegates to diocesan convention and ESCRU members about the issues at stake. Write the Chapter Chairmen (See page 5) if you are trying to organize effectively in your diocese and ask for a detailed picture of how they did it. If you want further information or clarification on the proposals, write to Mrs. George Edwards, 19925 Briarcliff, Detroit, Mich., or the Rev. Gordon Jones, 306 North Division, Ann Arbor, Mich. Also, keep them advised of progress in your area for support of the reform measures. During the summer Bishop Sterling will begin efforts to enlist other groups and concerned persons throughout the Church under the banner of "Episcopalians for Effective Conventions". FLASH: Rhode Island ESCRU sponsored a move at convention in support of the reforms.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE (Cont. from page 1)
Clerical Directors are to be elected this year from Provinces 1,2,3 and 7; with lay directors to be chosen from Provinces 4,5,6 and 8. The Nominating Committee must have your suggestions for vacancies by September 10th. Write: Mr. Everett Bell, Box 325, Texas Southern Univ., Houston, Texas 77004.

The following Directors' terms expire: Oliver, Stevens, Castle, Stringfellow, Willie, Hampshire, Frey, Lawrence, Dennis, Edwards, Breeden, and Myers. The last five may not be reelected to the Board for a period of one year, since they have servedtwo consecutive terms.

The following Directors' terms do not expire: Hood, Peabody, Nordling, Montgomery, Ward, Upham, Johnson, Saussy, Gray, Fenton, Hughes and Anderson.

CHAPTER NEWS

Brief notes on local ESCRU activity not otherwise reported: BOSTON: March meeting on South Africa. May meeting to hear the Rev. Warren McKenna of the Delta Ministry. Planning ESCRU-in-the-Budget campaign... CHICAGO: Sponsored conference on "A Theology for the Freedom Movement" featuring Frs. Langmead Casserly and Robert Hood....CLEVELAND: Successfully sought adoption of new diocesan canon insuring sale and rental of all Church properties on non-discriminatory basis....CONNECTICUT: Worked for election of effective persons to diocesan posts and as Deputies to General Convention.....DELAWARE: Encouraged passage of resolution at diocesan convention seeking inclusion of teaching about equality in Confirmation instruction....HOUSTON: Participating in efforts to combat de-facto school segregation. Seeking financial support from parishes for ESCRU.....IOWA: Chapter Chairman playing key role on diocesan committee seeking strong commitments by diocesan convention on racial matters, including concern for investment of Church funds.....LOS ANGELES: Helping churches in ghetto area improve their plant & program so as to permit their involvement in Project Headstart. Working cooperatively with diocese on continuing concerns in the Watts area.....MARYLAND: To hear The Rev. Layton Zimmer at June Annual Dinner....MICHIGAN: Spring meeting to focus on "ESCRU And Its Relationship to the Community". Annual 4th July service & picnic set for Trinity, Farmington.....MILWAUKEE: Heard Executive Director Morris speak at a dinner meeting at St. Mark's Church.....MINNESOTA: Had full schedule of engagements for Mr. Morris during late February visit. Plugging ESCRU-in-the-Budget.....MISSOURI: Supported St. Stephen's "Jericho Marches". Called on diocesan convention to appoint committee to report back on implementation of House of Bishops' position on clergy placement.....PENNSYLVANIA: Wrote 728 clergy, wardens and ECW heads calling for advances in clergy placement customs. Encouraged support of Delta Ministry fund & clothing drive. Raised questions about perpetuation of "Fernandina-like" Negro & white churches in close proximity. Took some pride in Bishop DeWitt's receipt of annual award from Fellowship Commission for his work for human rights. ESCRU Director Fr. Jesse Anderson recently named a Vice-President of the Commission.....NEWARK: Exposed racist and anti-Semitic aspects of local Young Republicans organization's songbook.....NEW JERSEY: Encouraged use of ESCRU "Special Report" on THE CHURCH AND THE RIOTS as basis for study & action by diocesan personnel. Sponsored meeting on "The Growing Racial Tension in the Cities of New Jersey".....RHODE ISLAND: In addition to successful effort at diocesan convention in support of reforms at General Convention, also sought election of forward-looking Churchmen to diocesan posts. Planning summer picnic for membership.....SAN DIEGO: Immersed in de-facto school segregation issue involved in pending school bond referendum. Shared booth at diocesan convention with L. A. Chapter. Expressed support for Bishop Bloy for his appointment of Negro priest to a white parish. .....

SOUTH AFRICAN BISHOP TO VISIT - The Rt. Rev. Edward Crowther, Bishop of Kimberly, will be in this country in September & October, along with his wife and Chaplain, all of whom will be available for speaking engagements. Formerly in California, Bishop Crowther, has fast become one of the Church's more eloquent spokesmen in behalf of justice in his newly adopted country. To invite him to speak or to contribute to his work, contact ECSA. (Item to right)

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA is an organization which every member of ESCRU should support, both to become more informed about the situation there and as a channel for providing assistance. Write them: c/o All Saints Church, 229 East 59th St., New York, N.Y. 10022. Send a contribution & ask for their Easter 1966 Newsletter. It has a wealth of information on what is going on and how the Church is involved.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

President - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr.
Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris
Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd
Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.

ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • JACKSON 5-7975

STATEMENT

June 2,1966

Emory University's President Atwood rightly affirms that God has not left his campus, for God is surely no more dead at this citadel of Methodism than He is in any of Atlanta's ecclesiastical structures. The problem at Emory is that they have a controlled deity Who is conveniently shunted aside when such decisions as allowing the Lovett School on campus are made. It is apparent that Emory officials are more responsive to the old guard of Atlanta's power structure, represented on the Lovett Board of Trustees, than they are to God's spokesmen on campus who have been protesting the use of Emory's Glenn Memorial Auditorium for two years.

When Lovett holds its Commencement Exercises at Emory this coming Monday evening, it will be in spite of the fact that a committee of faculty visited President Atwood two years ago to protest allowing this segregated private school on campus; and in spite of the fact that Emory faculty and students picketed the Commencement ceremonies at Glenn Memorial last year. At that time the clergy at Glenn Memorial said that University officials had made the decision to allow Lovett in, while this year the University claims the clergy are responsible. It is plain that neither group wants to offend Atlanta's old guard, which appears to have successfully bought off the institution, as they have bought off most of Atlanta's ecclesiastical institutions, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese.

To look at the list of Lovett trustees is to view the old guard of Atlanta's power structure in its most distilled form. Atlanta's progress in race relations has been made in spite of this coterie of bankers, lawyers, sometime gubernatorial aspirants and businessmen. They have retreated in their racial views only enough to insure their continued economic well-being, but they still hold tenaciously to the old order wherever they can, as at the Lovett School. They keep their money, derived from Atlanta's otherwise progressive spirit, in an old-line trust company.

OVER

They spend it at an exclusive driving club which is so segregated that not even the Metropolitan Opera can break through. They send their children to Lovett. And they tip their hats to God at the Cathedral of St. Philip and other socially prominent churches.

It is clear that God is no more dead at Emory than He is in Atlanta's other Churches and Church-related institutions to which this old guard seems to hold title. It is not so certain what the future holds for our city so long as the core of our community's leadership is represented in such symbols as Lovett and its first cousins.

- The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director

- -

The Lovett Board of Trustees

H. W. BEERS, JR.
Beers Construction Co.

WILLIAM R. BOWDOIN
Trust Company of Georgia

SIMS BRAY
Lipscomp Ellis Co.

NORRIS BROYLES, JR.
E. F. Hutton & Co.

J. S. BUDD, JR.

JACKSON P. DICK, JR.
E.F. Hutton & Co.

ALEX P. GAINES
Alston, Miller and Gaines

WARREN GRIFFIN
National Life of Vermont

DR. EDWIN D. HARRISON
Georgia Institute of Technology

VIRGIL JONES
First National Bank

THORNTON KENNEDY
Davidson-Kennedy Co.

M. E. KILPATRICK
Smith, Kilpatrick, Cody, Rogers and McClatchey

GILMER A MacDOUGALD
MacDougald-Warren Construction Co.

WILLIAM A. McCLAIN
Candler, Cox, McClain & Andrews

VIRGIL W. MILTON
Sears Roebuck and Co.

JAMES M. SIBLEY
King and Spalding

RANKIN M. SMITH
Life Insurance of Georgia
Atlanta Falcons

JOHN C. STATON
The Coca-Cola Company

AUGUSTUS H. STERNE
Trust Company of Georgia
Vice-President, Chamber of Commerce

JAMES E. THOMAS
Alston, Miller & Gaines

NOTE: A check of directories will show that many of these men hold other important positions in the community, and several serve on various diocesan and cathedral boards.

DR. KING'S COMMENTS AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. PHILIP, ATLANTA ESCRU

June 4, 1966

On Saturday afternoon, June 4th, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., paid a visit to the Cathedral of St. Philip in Atlanta to greet the Rev. Frs. Robert Hunter and Albert Dreisbach, then in their third day of fasting at the Cathedral to protest the use of the diocesan church for the Baccalaureate Services of the Lovett School. Following is a partial transcript of Dr. King's comments to the press at the door of St. Philip's after his conversation with the two priests.

DR. KING: "....This is a most significant witness for the Christian Church and for Christian men. Certainly when evil continues to exist it is the job of the minister, in line with the teachings of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to take a stand... ...this period of fasting and this witness will appeal to the hearts of those who have not yet been moved enough to end the segregation and the complete exclusion of Negroes in a church-related institution. It is quite interesting, I think, to mention that the public schools have had some form of integration for the last four years in Atlanta, and yet we find a church-related school still holding out and refusing to integrate. This is another example of the fact that the Church can be, if it is not careful, the tail-light instead of the headlight in our society; and it would be tragic, indeed, if the Church turns out to be the last bulwark of segregated power."

FR. HUNTER: "I would just like to say that I appreciate Dr. King coming out today, because this points out that this is not just a private thing or family affair.... ...what happens at this Cathedral has effect through the total community. We've also had many Roman Catholic priests and Protestant ministers who have been out to give their support. Dr. King's presence is a symbol that this has community impact and, indeed, national impact."

REPORTER: "Dr. King, you have a personal interest in this, don't you?"

DR. KING: "Yes, I do have a personal interest. In general my interest grows out of my deep ethical concern and my concern to see a relevant church. But, on the other hand my son applied to Lovett School a few years ago and was rejected. And naturally this rejection brought about a personal concern that's still there. This is one of the reasons we are so happy to see committed clergymen taking a stand on this very, very important issue."

REPORTER: "Dr. King, heretofore, you've always had the government, which has the control over the public schools...now how about the parochial schools...what sort of action can you see being taken there? Do you expect to go to the courts or anything?"

DR. KING: "Well, I don't think there is an expected move at this point in the courts. I don't know of any. I think it's going to take action like this...from persons within the Church, and the support that can be gained from persons of good will all over the country, to arouse the conscience of the Trustees of the Lovett School as well as the leaders of the Church in general. I have gone over the list of the names of the Trustees of this institution. It reads almost like a "Who's Who" list of Atlanta....."

THE LOVETT TRUSTEES

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Transcription and listing of Trustees prepared by:
THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

ESCRU

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Ga.30303

June 24, 1966

TO: All Key Personnel

FROM: John Morris

RE: The Meredith March & Recent Developments

1. As of today there are at least two Episcopal priests on the march. The Rev. Brian Kelley of Boston arrived in Mississippi today and was expecting to participate in the return visit to Philadelphia, Mississippi. He joins the Rev. Robert Castle of Jersey City who has been down there all week.

2. I talked with Fr. Castle last night following the gassing of marchers in Canton. It was every bit as brutal as news reports suggest. Claims from the Federal government that local law enforcement officials have the situation in hand begin to sound ludicrous in the wake of last night's police-instigated violence. I suspect that we will begin to see something akin to the national indignation that followed the gassing at the Pettus Bridge in Selma last year. It may mean that demonstrations will continue beyond the Sunday finale in Jackson.

3. The Rev. Quinland Gordon of Executive Council and I will go to Jackson tomorrow to augment our all-too-small contingent of clergy. Fr. Castle said on the phone last night that he felt others would be needed, not only for the final rally on Sunday, but for continuing support of voter registration efforts. ESCRU Chapters would do well to stay abreast of developments through their civil rights coordinating group. Do not depend on communications from here to know whether you should activate to send others. We can't reach you in time. It will be well, too, to stay in touch with Fr. Gordon's office at Executive Council which, in turn, is in touch with the NCC Commission on Religion and Race office which has had staff in Mississippi (including ESCRU Vice-President Fr. James Breeden.)

4. I dispatched the following telegram last night to the President, Attorney General Katzenbach, and John Doar, the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights: I HOPE THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR ORGANIZATION WHO WILL BE IN PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, TOMORROW AND SUBSEQUENTLY WITH THE MEREDITH MARCH MAY BE AFFORDED WHATEVER PROTECTION IS NECESSARY. ALSO WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING OUTCOME OF FEDERAL INVESTIGATION INTO MURDER OF OUR STAFF PERSON JONATHAN DANIELS LAST AUGUST. .... Obviously I was not asking only for the security of our men there, but of all involved, and by referring to Jon Daniels I meant to suggest that we had had some experience with the results of a lack of proper Federal involvement. I suggest that others in ESCRU write Mr. Doar and Mr. Katzenbach and inquire into the results of their investigation into the Daniels killing. Mr. Doar told me in February that the Justice Department was "conducting a thorough investigation, not yet completed" and that "no final conclusions have been reached." There is ample reason to believe that a Federal indictment should be sought in Jon's death, because of his involvement with voter registration efforts. Such is covered under the 1965 Voter bill. I am afraid, though, that it will take constant pressure to obtain a satisfactory follow-through. Efforts pursuant to this can indirectly have a salutary effect on Federal initiative in Mississippi now. I hope that a few of our Bishops and others who can write on impressive letterhead will communicate their concern, but a quantity of communications to persons at various levels will help.

5. The lack of Federal initiative relative to the Meredeth March is especially disturbing in view of the proximity of the bitterness and violence to Dr. King himself. I doubt that he has often been as close to danger before. We can little conceive of the repercussions that would attend harm done to him, having serious implications for countless tinderbox cities around the country and international relations as well. But, the demand for Federal intervention is as great when only one of the least of those who walk is set upon by a racist trooper or a Federal agent stands by while KKK types assault non-violent demonstrators as in Philadelphia earlier this week.

6. It was good to learn that $1000.00 is being sent by Executive Council via the NCC Commission to help with the expenses of the march. This is in line, I believe, with what other denominations are doing.

7. Finally, I trust that ESCRU Chapters and others are increasing their efforts to support passage of the new Civil Rights legislation as one avenue of responsible reaction to the crisis in Mississippi. The personal security sections are very vividly related to what is going on over there, but we must press for the title on Housing as well. Birmingham produced the 1964 Bill, and Selma the 1965 legislation. It is up to each one of us now whether we will see the completion of legislation needed to just open the way ahead for the possibility of what some believe can be a Great Society. There is little greatness in evidence now in Mississippi or in those Northern congressmen whose liberal image is suddenly falling apart in the face of the proposals for laws on Housing.

Agway ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

St. Michael and All Angels NEWSLETTER September 29, 1966

NEW DIRECTORS TO BE ELECTED

A ballot is enclosed with this newsletter for each member to use in voting for a member of ESCRU's national Board of Directors. Vote only in the contest for your Province. Ballots must be returned to the Chairman of the Nominating Committee in Houston, as indicated, by October 31st.

MILWAUKEE CHURCHMEN PICKET SEGREGATED CLUB

Shown below are members of Milwaukee ESCRU who joined with others in protesting the white-only policy of the Eagles Club in Milwaukee. Note also

the excellent editorial in the September 25th copy of THE LIVING CHURCH on the responsibility of all Christians to examine the racial policies of clubs and fraternal orders to which they belong. // NEWS FROM OTHER CHAPTERS: Massachusetts has raised funds to help two former civil rights workers now studying at Tuskegee Institute. // Los Angeles heard Bishop C. Edward Crowther of Kimberly, South Africa, (a member of ESCRU), talk about the Church's task in his country. // Houston bringing pressure on St. John's School which is segregated. "Emergency Action Committee", trying to implement ESCRU Special Report "The Church & The Riots", met throughout the summer. // Richmond and Northern Virginia Chapters will merge. Latter helped two girls from Meade Parish in Alexandria attend diocesan camp. //Newark had planned a protest of anti-Jewish statements at dinner for King Faisal, but Churchman John Lindsay, the Mayor of New York, cancelled the affair. // San Diego members instrumental in cancellation of white Citizen's Council meeting. // Chicago members much involved in local scene through CCCO & SCLC. Planning late September theater benefit. // New Jersey assisting in protest of slum housing conditions & segregation in Camden public housing. // Cleveland encouraging action in matter of clergy placement. Mobilizing support for Fair Housing Council. ////////////////

BISHOP MYERS WILL PREACH AT ANNUAL MEETING

The Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Bishop-elect of California and an ESCRU Director, will preach at the closing service for the 6th Annual Meeting of the Society which opens in New York City on November 10th. Other speakers were reported in the last Newsletter and are noted in the enclosed flyer. It promises to be one of the best-attended ESCRU conferences yet. Send in your registration now and make hotel reservations (or ask a friend in New York to put you up). Several chapters are making group travel plans.

FAILURE OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PROTESTED

On August 20th, 1966, one year from when Jonathan Daniels was murdered in Hayneville, Alabama, ESCRU issued a statement protesting inaction by Justice Department officials in their investigation into the shooting. Though signed by heads of 16 groups, including major civil rights organizations, it was ignored by the Washington press where it was released. Citing reasons why they could have brought charges against Daniels' assailant, the statement said: "It is time for... (Federal officials)..to stop merely collecting reports.... and get on with the business of acting vigorously on the basis of existing laws." ESCRU's Executive Director and the Chairman of Washington ESCRU led some 35 members in picketing the Department of Justice on the afternoon of August 20th.

SELMA: NOT ENTIRELY FORGOTTEN

Miss Corine Bell, a high school senior from Selma, spent the summer in San Diego at the home of ESCRU Director Mary Eunice Oliver, whose two sons, Darrel and Marc are shown here with their guest. Marc stayed at the Bell's home in Selma last summer when he worked with Jon Daniels. Still on the scene in the Selma area is the Rev. Francis Walter who heads up the Selma Interreligious Project, for which ESCRU handles receipts & disbursements. We'll send upon request a complete Program Report on S.I.P. Like the Delta Ministry in Mississippi it represents a pioneering aspect of the Church's ministry.

BLACK POWER REVIEWED

In a supplement to this Newsletter ESCRU's Executive Director reflects on the slogans and directions taken by some civil rights groups. This also receives much attention in the most recent issue of NEW SOUTH, a quarterly from the Southern Regional Council. Available from ESCRU for $1.00. An article on "Racism in Southern Africa & American Initiative" by John Morris also appears therein.

BRIEFLY NOTED

Former national President Joseph Pelham represented 5 shares of ESCRU-owned stock at the General Motors stockholders meeting & asked what GM was doing about racial practices at plants in South Africa. The reply amounted to nothing. Consideration is being given to further steps next year... ...Report on state of the Church in Alabama will be out soon....ESCRU-encouraged "Episcopalians for Effective Conventions" met at Seabury House to map plans for Seattle....Vice-President Fr. James P. Breeden reports follow-up to Montana statement by House of Bishops on clergy placement underway.... ESCRU staff helped mobilize Atlanta human relations agencies for common cause during recent riots.

FROM RECENT CORRESPONDENCE

Fr. Robert Carlson writes from Guyana in South America about that country's "explosive racial situation", but says: "The bright spot is that within the Church this has been overcome somewhat, and in many parishes....people of all 6 races worship together, associate together, intermarry..." An impoverished member sends $1.00 and says: "I hope you go on practicing what Gert Behanna calls 'tough love'. And don't mind too much when marshmellowed souled ladies think your 'tough love' is anger...." A couple from Michigan writes: "We have recently become disenchanted with the tack taken in integration; therefore, are not renewing our membership."

STAFF TRAVEL: Newly-arrived Director of Southern Field Service, Fr. David Nickerson, has already made visits to points in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and is participating in planning for a state-wide conference on Religion & Race in South Carolina. // ESCRU's Executive Director joined the Meredith March in Mississippi for the last 2 days, relieving Frs. Robert Castle & Brian Kelley who had walked much longer!

SERVICE FOR LOVETT AT CATHEDRAL PROTESTED IN JUNE

On the night of June 1st this past summer the clergy serving Atlanta's two predominantly Negro congregations entered the Cathedral of St. Philip on Peachtree Road to remain there, fasting, through the Baccalaureate on Sunday evening, June 5th, for the Lovett School. Cathedral authorities let them remain inside where they were visited by numerous Atlantans concerned that the school still enjoyed the use of St. Philip's, notwithstanding its well-known policy of segregation. On Saturday, Fr. Robert Hunter, Rector of St. Paul's, and Fr. Kim Dreisbach, supply priest at the time at the Church of the Nativity and on the ESCRU staff, were visited by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., whose son was the first Negro applicant rejected by Lovett. Mrs. King was with her husband who is shown below talking with the press outside St. Philip's. Seventy-five Atlanta Churchmen stood in silent vigil outside during the service Sunday evening. The end of the Lovett saga came 3 months later.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Monday, Sept. 12, 1966

Lovett School to Admit Negroes, Ending Dispute

By BILL SHIPP

The Episcopal-oriented Lovett School, center of a segregation dispute for the past three and a half years, has announced it will accept Negro students beginning in 1967.

In a letter last week to parents of children in the private school, James M. Sibley, chairman of the private school's board of trustess, said that "subject to limitations of space and facilities, those applications deemed best qualified . . . will be admitted without regard to race or religion." Thus ended the school's long standing policy of accepting only white students.

"Some three or four years ago, your trustees took a position which was controversial but one which the board believed at the time to be in the best interest of the school," Sibley wrote. "Neither then nor now have we allowed our personal views, opinions or prejudice to interfere in any way with the action that we considered wise for the school."

Neither Sibley nor headmaster Rual Stephens were available for comment Sunday on the announced end of segregation at Lovett.

The Rev. John B. Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), welcomed the news. The Rev. Mr. Morris' group, ESCRU, had led protests against the school's segregation policy.

"Their good faith will have to be demonstrated now in the extent to which integration is implemented in the school," the Rev. Mr. Morris said. "The acceptance of the principle of desegregation is the first step. It will require positive steps by Lovett now if qualified Negro students are to be attracted to the institution and provide it with an inclusiveness and wholeness which can best serve both the students and the community.

"ESCRU gladly lays aside its continuing protest of Lovett's former policy of segregation and joins with all persons of good will in hoping that we will see a speedy implementation of the new position," the Rev. Mr. Morris added.

Lovett's racial problems were touched off early in 1963 when the school refused to admit a child of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Later the school turned down applications of two other Negro children.

The Episcopal Church then severed some ties with the school, although Lovett remained an Episcopal - oriented institution.

The school was picketed often after that. Two Episcopal ministers, the Rev. Robert B. Hunter and the Rev. Albert Dreisback Jr., fasted for five days in June in the Cathedral of St. Philip last June to protest the holding of Lovett's baccalaureate service in the church.

Protesters later announced plans "to focus" on the business ties of the school's trustees.

ORCHIDS to the Church & Race Fund which gave $1000. to the Meredith March and recently sent through a grant of $2500. toward the support of the Selma Inter-religious Project. Now let's work to have the Fund made a part of the Church's official budget, or at least that part which supports the NCC Commission on Religion & Race. Voluntary contributions are not sufficient to meet the needs, nor is this approach an adequate expression of the Church's commitment.

HERE AND THERE

N. Hamner Cobbs of Greensboro, Alabama, is a member of the Joint Commission on Ecumenical Relations of the General Convention and serves as one of the Episcopal Church's delegates to the General Assembly of the NCC. He also imagines himself an authority on Negroes, for in a recent talk to the Rotary Club in Birmingham he said: "The humor of the Southern Negro is being destroyed by the civil rights people." He went on to advise the Rotarians and Negroes to "...retain all this humor that you can...", and he added his feeling that "this racial unrest will pass over." /// "TWO VESTRIES CONDEMN ALL SOULS" stated the headline in a Washington, D. C. newspaper reporting that the parish which had cut its diocesan support due to civil rights & home rule efforts of Bishop Paul Moore was coming in for criticism from other parishes in the area, some of which are raising funds to offset the loss. /// A recording of Dr. Martin Luther King's address to the ESCRU Dinner at the 1964 General Convention has been banned by the Government of South Africa. About 1,200 copies of the record were made from a tape still available from the ESCRU office at $3.00 each. // // Columbia Records has issued an album on "Are You Running With Me, Jesus?", the book by Malcolm Boyd of the ESCRU staff now in its 7th printing. /// In a letter to some fellow Bishops, not members of ESCRU, Bishop Cadigan of Missouri said of the Society: "....We need this kind of group within the fellowship to serve as our unsettlers and as frontiersmen in our times." Several joined, bringing the total of Bishops in ESCRU to 51 paid-up. /// Presiding Bishop Hines sent a telegram on May 16th to Congressman Celler. It opened with: "As an individual I strongly support the general principles embodied in House Bill H.R. 14765 concerning civil rights." Said Bill died in the Senate on September 19th for lack of adequate support. /// Newly formed: Association of Episcopal Clergy, 370 Alvin Dr., Salinas, California 94102, to investigate, mediate, and - if necessary - protest abuses suffered by clergy in the Church. If interested, write for information. /// The American Committee on Africa and the National Student Christian Federation have joined in an effort to encourage New Yorkers to withdraw accounts from the Chase Manhattan and National City Banks to protest their involvement with racism in South Africa. /// Fernandina Beach's (Florida) two Episcopal congregations seem to be moving successfully toward a fully integrated status. (See ESCRU Newsletter, 10/28/65.) /// In a different Southern diocese, though, (not deep South at that), the Bishop has advised the Rector to go slow with integration which has been moving along just fine. /// Yes! The "backlash" is hurting us financially, too. $$$ needed!

FITTING PARSONS TO PLACES: (And the reverse!) Let us know if you need a Rector; or, if you are one & want to move, we invite a letter. Periodic requests come both ways and we are sometimes helpful in putting folks together - interracially & otherwise. For instance, an integrated parish in a northern urban area needs a Rector: predominantly Negro, on moderate to low side in Churchmanship, near N.Y.C.

LEGISLATION: Killed by Senators Dirkson & Russell, and not too much pushed by Mansfield, the 1966 Bill also died for lack of sufficient support from all of the groups which turned out so well in 1964 to back new legislation. /// The Diocese of Maryland has called for repeal of that state's laws against intermarriage - an effort worthy of attention for its symbolic value as well as practical effect.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

President - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr. Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris

Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.

Director, Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson / 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Georgia

(Not Printed at Government Expense) 11

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Congressman Fraser Urges Forceful Action to Bring Majority Rule to Rhodesia

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, a small clique in the United States has been spreading the fiction that the unilateral declaration of independence proclaimed in Rhodesia on November 11, 1965, is akin to that of July 4, 1776. This is fiction because the Rhodesian declaration was made by a small, privileged minority seeking to perpetuate its position against the threat of democracy in its own country. This clique, which calls itself the Friends of Rhodesian Independence, throws up a smokescreen of false issues and absurd assumptions. In a way this is useful, since to answer we have to return to fundamentals, to the nature of our society and our ideals, to what the United States stands for and wants to stand for in the contemporary world.

The rebellion of Ian Smith, the leader of the Rhodesian rebels, was designed to perpetuate the control of a small racial minority over the vast majority of Rhodesian citizens. He leads an effort by 6 percent of the population to permanently control the other 94 percent. It is a distortion of history to equate this purpose with the ideals which inspired the American Revolution and the principles for which we have been striving throughout our history.

The Smith regime seized power to prevent Britain from granting a role in government to all the people in Rhodesia as she did in all her other former African colonies; we rebelled against George III because England sought to maintain her colonial control over us. The Smith government favors rule by a racial minority through policies aimed at excluding virtually all Africans; our history has been a struggle to secure equal rights for all races. The Smith regime refuses to provide education above the primary school level for a meaningful number of Africans; we have tried to provide full public education to all citizens.

Racial injustice is no stranger to the United States. For centuries we enslaved Americans of African ancestry. We fought a Civil War to end this abominable practice, but we have moved too slowly to allow our Negro citizens full participation in our society. We have broken treaties with the Indians, and we have shunted them to reservations which are inadequate to support them.

The opponents of majority rule in Rhodesia point to these injustices and say that they justify American support for the minority in Rhodesia. But we are not proud of that part of our history, and it would be shameful for us to side with a group of people who desire only to emulate our mistakes. We have made great strides in racial equality and an aroused American conscience demands even more. We shun minority rule at home, and we cannot stand for this position abroad.

Ian Smith, the leader of the Rhodesian whites, is not George Washington reborn. Smith is defending a system which has existed in Rhodesia since at least 1923. The majority of the Rhodesian population oppose Ian Smith and proclaim the principle of majority rule. The Africans of Rhodesia say to the world that they know their own interests better than anyone else knows them, and that anyone who claims for himself a right to make decisions for other adults is by that very fact demonstrating his incapacity for responsibility in a democratic world.

THE REAL STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA

The real struggle for independence in Rhodesia today is led by African nationalists against a privileged minority. That this privileged minority was able to seize de facto power because of the errors of the colonial power, Great Britain, does not make its case any stronger. The African nationalists of Rhodesia are struggling for their freedom, however ineffectual their struggle may now seem. They should, one hopes, eventuall win. We should do whatever we can to aid this struggle and to applaud its victories.

But one can hear the defenders of Ian Smith now. Does the United States want another Congo? Is not independent Africa one long series of coups, rebellions, and anarchy? Thus, it is argued, the bad state of postindependence Africa should warn us off our hasty and ill-advised support for African nationalist movements. But these arguments misread the state of postindependence Africa. And even if they did not, it is never an argument against the possession of freedom that it may be misused.

The struggle for freedom is never simple or cut and dried. The struggle for independence in African countries has been going on since 1945. It is not yet over. Africa is still in the middle of its revolution, and it is absurd to demand that all be peace and gentility. We in the United States had to fight a second war for independence in 1812 and fought a bloody and unhappy civil war among ourselves some 85 years after our independence. We know that stability and peace are never achieved easily or rapidly.

RHODESIA IS PART OF A LARGER STRUGGLE

We cannot understand what is going on in Rhodesia today unless we remember that it is part of a larger complex—that of southern Africa. Ian Smith is fighting for the rights of the privileged minority not only in Rhodesia but in Angola and Mozambique, in South Africa and South-West Africa. If these friends of Ian Smith talk of turmoil in independent Africa, it is to make us forget oppression in minority-ruled southern Africa. If they boast of the small crumbs they have thrown the majority Africans in education, health, and living standards, it is to make us forget the enormous discrepancy between the style of life of the minority who have privilege and the lives of the majority who must work for them. If they talk of the defense of order, it is to make us forget that this status quo is not based on the consent of the governed.

VIETNAM AND RHODESIA

Another part of the smokescreen is the claim that Ian Smith and his supporters are alined with us on Vietnam and in other struggles against communism. But our Government has emphatically stated that it is fighting in Vietnam to assure the right of the people to rule themselves. Our Government rejects the claim that anyone has the right to dictate a government for the Vietnamese; we believe the people should make their own choice in free elections. To be consistent with our position in Vietnam, we must support these principles in Rhodesia as well. If Ian Smith is so sure that he represents the best interests of Rhodesia, let him present himself before an electorate where all adults can vote. He will not do it, because he would stand no chance of being elected.

The United States stands for self-determination. We have stood for this principle throughout our history. Let us make it very clear that we stand for it in Rhodesia, that we support majority rule there—not because the majority is always right, but because there is no system of government better than that of majority rule.

AMERICAN OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

If we do believe in self-determination in Rhodesia, what then should the United States do? We must do more than we have done hitherto. We have been equivocal. We have not, to be sure, supported the actions of Ian Smith. We have even sought in cautious ways to help him to disappear into the remote recesses of history where he will eventually be lodged. But neither have we clearly stated our positive objectives in the Rhodesian crisis.

The U.S. Government should state its commitment to the achievement of governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa—in Rhodesia, to be sure, but also in Angola and

Mozambique, in South Africa and South-West Africa. A statement by itself, of course, changes nothing. But it gives the world and ourselves a measure by which we can judge the adequacy of American policies in the immediate present. We can then ask about each decision in Washington or at the United Nations: Will that decision bring us closer to achieving governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa?

Given a commitment to majority rule in southern Africa, our present position of support for the British boycott of the Ian Smith regime, while commendable, is inadequate. If we are the leader of the free world, we should take the initiative, something we have never previously done on issues involving southern Africa. If mandatory economic sanctions are needed to topple the Smith regime and bring self-determination, we should work to bring this about through the United Nations. We should not wait until we are pushed by the African and Asian nations and then try to achieve the weakest possible compromise.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN SMITH FALLS?

The next question which is crucial and cannot be ignored is, What will Britain do should Ian Smith fall and power revert to the British Government? And in this House, the crucial question is, What does the U.S. Government think Britain should do? Because to replace Ian Smith with a slightly more flexible member of this same ruling minority group in Rhodesia does not bring us one whit closer to achieving a democratic society in Rhodesia. Britain must proclaim now its eagerness to negotiate with African nationalists the transfer of power within a reasonably short time. A government should be established based on universal suffrage and should receive its full independence. And the United States should press Britain to make clear this objective now.

Some may say, in a false shrewdness, that to do this would alienate some potential support for Britain's position among Rhodesian whites. But who can believe today, 6 months after the November 11 declaration, that such support exists in any meaningful amount? And in any case, what about the support of the overwhelming majority of the population which is not struggling for a return to British colonial rule, but for a government based on universal suffrage that would then receive its independence and full membership in the polity of nations?

DEMOCRACY VERSUS MINORITY RULE

If one wants to make a case against democracy, against majority rule, there are always arguments. The majority is never as educated, as rational, as foresighted as some of us would wish. But neither is the minority. Between the mistakes of the majority and inevitable self-serving decisions of even the most dedicated minority, those who believe in democracy must always choose the former. The decision in Rhodesia is today a simple one in the light of this fundamental principle. The majority of Rhodesians are not permitted to vote. It is said that many, if not most of them, are not civilized enough to vote. It is said that if they got the vote, they would use it in all sorts of ways that other people wouldn't like. Perhaps, but the majority is still the majority. Perhaps Ian Smith honestly believes he knows its interests best. That is irrelevant. The faith in democracy is based on the belief that all men are created equal. Equal in what? In native ability? In attained culture? Of course not. No, equal in the right to have a voice in the government.

Winston Churchill once said:

> No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

AMERICA MUST SUPPORT FREEDOM

This is as true for Rhodesia as elsewhere. That is why our Government must make its position far clearer than it has done up to now. That is why we may not hide in the protective coat of British initiative. That is why we ought once again to take the risks of supporting the cause of freedom.

POWER: BLACK AND WHITE - SOME REFLECTIONS

John Morris

It isn't that I can add substantially to the controversy swirling around the slogan of "Black Power", but, rather, that it's part of my responsibility to ESCRU members to let you know how I felt about it when I woke up this morning. Concepts and moods which have been emerging for several years have now come fully on the scene, and - for better or worse - this is what I now feel about them. My mind could change, but the listening and pondering of several months leads me more firmly to the following observations. I know from conversations and correspondence that ESCRU members differ on the subject, so I do not presume to enunciate a position for the Society. This is something we will invariably do at the Annual Meeting, whether formally or by tacit consensus.

Let me put it in a nutshell right off, but invite your careful reading of the balance of what I have to say before you form conclusions; with a hope, also, that you will hear this in the context of ESCRU's seven-year history and the positions I have taken on related matters heretofore. Briefly put, I view the catapulting to prominence of "Black Power" - as I discern it in the main - as tragic historically, practically untenable, morally and theologically unacceptable, but probably inevitable and, possibly necessary.

Before I try to explain this, let's look at one side of the ledger - White Reaction to the slogan. I believe that white revulsion is chiefly induced by the too-universal factor of fear and suspicion of Negroes on the part of whites. Feeling that our culture is riddled through with racism, latent and otherwise, I seem to hear many white people saying in response to "Black Power": "Now my dislike of black people is justified."; or the moderate white seems to be saying: "How dare you threaten us.....after all we've done!" At best, the white moderate seems remorseful that he might not be able to retain the initiative in social change. Whatever the nuance, a lot of racism and/or paternalism is evident in the reaction that has come from white Americans to Black Power.

Let's also look squarely at the record of White Power over the years. Those three hundred years of brutal, dehumanizing slavery & segregation - still not done away - cannot be ignored in coming to grips with Black Power and its implications. See the whites in Grenada only yesterday stomping on small black children. Reflect on the meaning of the Senate's inability to take up the 1966 Civil Rights Bill. Listen to the white invectives in Chicago and Cicero, and feel the rain of bricks and bottles. Look at the Federal Government's refusal to take action in the case of white violence done Jonathan Daniels and Richard Morrisroe in Hayneville. It's really a miracle that the more violent exponents of Black Power have kept their peace so long. With the syndrome we've experienced since 1954 of "too little, too late, and too lily-white", recent developments were probably inevitable.

It isn't sufficient to come charging out as the Bishop of North Carolina did recently when he said that "...there is no place in this Church for the thinking of the Klan or the philosophy of Black Power.", thereby making an equal juxtaposition of the two. The fact of the matter is that there are white Churchmen in his diocese who espouse the thinking of the Klan - white supremacy - whom he has not previously sought to excommunicate. It's as if a little white racism is alright, but we sure aren't going to tolerate any Negro anger. Also, the record simply does not reveal that Black Power exponents have resorted to the same violence induldged in by whites for years.

All of this and more must be a part of any assessment of Black Power. It should not be necessary to recount such here, but in the shifting sands of present-day viewpoints, one must acknowledge that he hasn't forgotten these things before he then levels criticism at what seems to some to be the latest mark of a militant spirit.

We must also recognize the positive aspects of Black Power (which is all that some exponents of the new mood mean by the slogan), affirming their legitimacy and place in American traditions. Of course, Negroes must pull together in common cause for the obtainment of full economic, political and social freedom. Where this means an all-black effort, as in Lowndes County, Alabama, (home of the Black Panther party), so be it. Elsewhere, why shouldn't the political and buying power of black people be turned toward whatever will throw off the shackles of the old order? For many, this is what Black Power means. I respect it. I reject, however, the notion that a new concept has been introduced into "the movement", as if such leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr., and others, had not long seen such a necessity. The efforts by some to downgrade older leaders, as in the encouragement given small children in Canton, Mississippi, during the Meredith March to chant "Martin Luther Coon", etc., must be labeled as the worst in attempts at organizational aggrandizement.

In short, there is an aspect of the Black Power development which is consonant with the goals and aspirations of the Civil Rights Movement. But, there is another side to the slogan and the one which is fast becoming the hallmark of the position. It is represented in such assertions from Black Power exponents as: "Can you have power without violence?", "We've been shooting and cutting the wrong people."; "I am not opposed to violence."; "The answer is armed revolt against whites."; "....our black brothers engaged in acts of rebellion...", referring to riots; "Black Men, whitey's plan for you is death in Vietnam..."; "If you keep mixing, you won't have any black blood left."; "From now on we're using Black Power - muscle! We're going to tear this city up!"; "Non-violence is dead."; "...I want a little chaos."; "these flags don't represent you", as SCLC-provided American flags were retrieved from persons on the Meredith March by a SNCC worker; "Violence and non-violence are irrelevant."; "Get that White Jesus out of here", referring to a white poverty program worker in a Negro ghetto; "...white blood will flow..."; Etc., Etc. These statements are becoming the symbols of Black Power. They reflect the mood which I believe will increasingly be predominant and explanatory of Black Power activity. They are not the work of newspapermen trying to discredit an organization or new leader. No amount of care in the preparation of fund-raising materials will obscure this mood, nor does the fact that the mood is and has been present in growing sectors of the Negro community validate it as a legitimate part of the outlook of organizations due much credit for earlier leadership in the Civil Rights Movement. To recognize the mood and its causes is one thing. To encourage it, however necessary, perchance, it may be in the realization of group identity and in the ventilation of understandable feelings is another thing.

It is a dreadfully dangerous thing to provide white America with what is being interpreted as justification for white racism, and I believe certain charismatic leaders are doing just this. We used to label the counterpart of this in the white community 'demagoguery'. Whatever the justification, the same process can operate on the other side of the great racial gulf, and little people will take these pronouncements as sanction for their acts of violence. If this were South Africa, violence would be a viable alternative - even for Christians, I believe - in bringing about change. Here such continuing polarization can only result in the white community laying plans for the erection of gas chambers. It was a well-known prophet of our Household who once predicted such an outcome. Tragically, such is not now as incredible over the course of years as it seemed. This same prophet also suggested that white America (and he meant the nation as a whole) should realize that their best friend since George Washington was Martin Luther King, Jr. Recent developments have proved the truth and depth of this assertion.

Who is to blame that utter cynicism and despair have found their public spokesmen? White America and White Churchmen who have rocked along, never coming to grips with the racial crisis! And, Negro Churchmen, also ,who have left the impression that all was well because they personally had it made. Some say the crisis is now insoluble. I don't know. I also felt when I woke up this morning that there was this day's work to be done and that, for ESCRU, it had something to do with the wholeness of God's Church and its witness in the world. - September 27, 1966

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ANNUAL MEETING

"RESPONSIBLE MILITANCY AND THE WAY AHEAD"

NOVEMBER 10-13, 1966 Cathedral of St. John the Divine NEW YORK CITY

Some Of The Speakers.....

JAMES FARMER

JOHN HARMON

GLADSTONE NTLABATI

THOMAS PETTIGREW

KILMER MYERS

Some Of The Issues.....

THE CRISIS IN NORTHERN URBAN AREAS SPECIFIC CITIES AND WHAT THE CHURCH IS DOING OR NOT DOING

APARTHEID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HOME RULE IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL THE 1967 GENERAL CONVENTION

BLACK POWER INTERNAL NEEDS WITHIN THE CHURCH THE MOVEMENT: FRAGMENTATION AND THE FUTURE

ESCRU CHAPTERS CLERGY PLACEMENT THE WHITE BACKLASH PLANS AND PROGRAM OF NATIONAL CHURCH

CONGRESSIONAL SETBACKS & LEGISLATION ROLE OF ESCRU TODAY AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Some Of The People.....

....who will attend the 6th Annual Meeting of ESCRU are just like yourself. Some are getting involved for the first time. Others are veterans of ESCRU activity and look forward to seeing old friends from around the Church. Some will be worried about new developments within the civil rights movement. Others will be worried about them. Together we will listen to a number of well qualified experts and talk among ourselves in seeking better understanding of what the times require of ESCRU and of committed Churchmen both within the Church and in the community & nation.

YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND. SEND THE FOLLOWING REGISTRATION FORM IN NOW. MAKE YOUR TRAVEL PLANS.

For hotel suggestions, see other side.

.....

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

DATE: _____

AMOUNT ENCLOSED: $ _____

I SHALL ATTEND THE 6TH ANNUAL MEETING OF ESCRU AND ENCLOSE THE REGISTRATION FEE OF $5.00 PER PERSON.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

I AM RESERVING A ROOM AT _____ HOTEL (MUST BE DONE DIRECT) OR I EXPECT TO STAY _____.

I HOPE WE WILL SPEND SOME TIME AT THE ANNUAL MEETING ON _____

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

AMONG THOSE ADDRESSING THE 6TH ANNUAL MEETING ARE: JAMES FARMER - Former National Director of the Congress on Racial Equality. Author of Mood Ebony. Consultant to the Anti-Poverty Program in New Jersey. Visiting Lecturer at Lincoln University. /// THE REV. JOHN J. HARMON - Formerly Rector of St. John's, Roxbury. Now Associate Director of Packard Manse in Roxbury, Mass. Author of several articles on the Church, the City, and the Dispossessed. /// THE REV. GLADSTONE M. NTLABATI - Methodist clergyman from South Africa now a PhD. Candidate at Harvard and Executive Director of African Student Service in the United States. /// DR. THOMAS F. PETTIGREW - Associate Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University. Author of numerous books and articles on racial matters and social change. Formerly Vice-President of ESCRU. Spoke at Founding Conference of ESCRU. /// THE RT. REV. C. KILMER MYERS - Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan. Founder of the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission. Member of ESCRU Board of Directors and spoke at Founding Conference in 1959. /// Also: Strong possibility a leading public official from New York will speak. /// Also: Various staff persons from the Episcopal Church's Executive Council, the National Council of Churches, and ESCRU.

* *

SUGGESTED HOTELS Annual Meeting participants must make their own hotel reservations or plan to stay with friends. The following hotels are suggested. Rates subject to change. Specify when you write whether you desire a private room or would prefer to share with 2 or 3 others to cut costs. Rates given are nightly. (We start Nov. 10 at 7:30 P.M. and adjourn Nov. 13 at noon.)

King's Crown Hotel, 420 West 116th St., New York 27, N. Y. - Walking distance of Cathedral. Singles: $7.00, $9.00 / Doubles: $12.00 / Three to four in a room: $14.00 to $18.00 (some cots)

Hotel Paris, West End Avenue at 97th St., New York 25, N. Y. - Bus or subway to Cathedral. Singles: $5.00 / Doubles: $3.75 to $5.00 per person / Three in a room: $3.50 per person.

Hotel Theresa, 7th Avenue at 125th St., New York 27, N. Y. - Bus connections or Taxi to Cathedral. Single or double occupancy rooms from $7.61 to $12.85 daily.

YMCA, 5 West 63rd St., New York, N. Y. - For men only. Bus or subway. Only singles at $4.50.

* *

MAKE YOUR HOTEL RESERVATIONS NOW AND SEND IN THE REGISTRATION FORM TO THE ESCRU OFFICE. Sessions will be held in the Synod House at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, located at Amsterdam Avenue and 110th Street, except for Friday's sessions which will be at St. Philip's Church and St. Martin's Church in the Harlem area of Manhattan. Friday evening is free. Upon arriving on Thursday, November 10th, register at the Synod House between 2:00 and 6:00 P.M. The first session will start at 7:30 P.M. Tickets for a served dinner on Saturday evening will be available upon arrival. Other meals on your own in the area. The final business session is on Sunday morning, with all attending the Cathedral 11:00 A.M. service, with Bishop Myers preaching.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. • Atlanta, Georgia 30303
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ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ROOM 200, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • 525-7975

TO ATLANTA MEMBERS & FRIENDS:

There has been more than a little news recently about unrest throughout the continent of Africa, and, more particularly, concerning the determination of the white minorities in countries to the south to further entrench their policies of apartheid, or segregation.

One of the few remaining voices of the Church raised in public protest against apartheid in the Republic of South Africa has been that of the Right Reverend C. Edward Crowther, Anglican Bishop of Kimberley & Kuruman. We last read about Bishop Crowther when Senator Robert Kennedy paid him a visit on his recent visit to South Africa. Before that he came under government pressure for his efforts to provide food supplies to Africans who were uprooted last Christmas by the government and moved to an area without adequate provisions or shelter. More recently he was denied permission to journey to another part of the country to be the keynote speaker at a Church Convocation.

Bishop Crowther, an American citizen now who was born in England and formerly taught law, is on tour in this country at the moment under the sponsorship of our sister organization, the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa. Because I think it is important that we know more about the racial crisis in southern Africa, and its relationship to our own crisis and initiative abroad, I have asked Bishop Crowther if he would come to Atlanta. He has consented and is delaying his return to his diocese by one day so as to add us to his very full itinerary.

Accordingly, we are honored to be able to invite you to meet and hear Bishop Crowther, one of our most distinguished members, at a dinner in downtown Atlanta at Herren's Restaurant, 84 Luckie Street, on Tuesday evening, November 1st. The cost per person will be $3.50, inclusive of everything. The menu will include soup, pot roast, potatoes, salad, apple pie, etc. Space in the private dining room at Herren's is limited, so I suggest you make your reservation now, using the form below.

Bishop Crowther has not been granted a return visa to South Africa as of when I am writing this letter. We will be the last group he meets before embarking for his adopted home and the confrontation that will determine whether the government of South Africa will forcibly separate a Bishop from his people. I hope you will have the opportunity to meet him and hear what he has to say about the racial crisis both here and in South Africa, and the Church's role in it all. Dinner will be served at 8:00 P.M. For those who want to come early and talk with Bishop Crowther, Herren's will provide beverage service in the private dining room at 7:15 P.M. (not included in the dinner charge).

Faithfully,

John B. Morris

October 5, 1966

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director

- -

TO: ESCRU, 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303 Amount Enclosed: $_____

PLEASE SEND ME _____ TICKET(S) TO THE DINNER FOR BISHOP CROWTHER ($3.50 each)

(Checks: Payable to ESCRU)

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

10/7/66

ES

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MEMORANDUM

October 6, 1966

TO: ESCRU Key Personnel & Leaders in Related Organizations

FROM: The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director, ESCRU

RE: Urgent Need for Messages to Ambassador Goldberg & Secretary Rusk

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum I received today from the American Committee on Africa. It is self-explanatory, outlining why messages of concern to the U. S. Representative to the United Nations and to the Secretary of State are needed now with regard to how the United States will vote on the South-West Africa issue now before the world body.

There is not much time before the vote will be taken. Telegrams and Special Delivery letters are in order. In my opinion this is a critical test of just where our government stands with regard to racism in southern Africa; nor is it an overstatement, in my estimation, to suggest that the very future of the U.N. and race relations at the international level hangs in balance on this decision.

The principle of U.N. authority over the territory of South-West Africa, as opposed to continued South African trusteeship, must be established; and the United States must back this principle with a determination to put ourselves at the disposal of the United Nations in seeing that it is upheld.

I hope you will write or wire today. Also, because there is such little understanding or concern for this at the grass-roots, I hope you will see that others in your area, or in your constituency, are informed and asked to help.

The enclosed memorandum and other sources offer far more competent advice on the specifics of what is involved in the South-West Africa matter. If it seems strange, still, that I am writing in behalf of ESCRU to ask you involvement in this, I invite your reading of an article I wrote in the Summer issue of the Southern Regional Council's NEW SOUTH entitled: "Racism in Southern Africa and American Initiative". I try to deal with the rationale for civil rights organizations taking an active interest in apartheid. It may be obtained from SRC, 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303, at $1.00.

If you are not now on their mailing list, I suggest that you write the American Committee on Africa, send a contribution, and ask to be included on their mailing list to receive their periodical AFRICA TODAY and other such mailings as the enclosed.

I am quote aware that this memorandum goes out in a time when all the reverses suffered by civil rights advocates make concerns for apartheid in Africa seem even remoter and beyond our influence. Certainly, here in Georgia we have felt crushing blows politically of late. I am deeply involved here in various efforts aimed at the recovery of some sanity and rebuilding for the future. At the same time, I see the inter-relatedness of all this more and more, and especially as regards those points at which decisions by industry and the Federal Government concerning apartheid are at stake.

publishers of AFRICA TODAY

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

211 East 43rd Street • New York, N. Y., 10017 • (212) TN 7-8733 • Cable AMCOMMAF

4th October 1966

Dear Friend:

We are enclosing a brief background statement on the South West Africa issue now being debated at the UN. This question together with the unilaterial declaration of independence by the white minority in Rhodesia, will be the basis for international initiatives to limit the power of South Africa. It is not expected that this General Assembly will deal with new approaches to the issue of apartheid within South Africa.

As is clear in the enclosed statement, we feel that the principle must be established by UN action that the UN has the right and the responsibility to terminate South Africa's administration of the Mandate in South West Africa. The means of implementing this action, is a most serious question. Implementation will take a period of time, undoubtedly. But the task cannot be started until the principle of UN control of the Mandate is clear.

We urge you to communicate with Secretary of State Rusk and UN Ambassador Goldberg, urging acceptance of the principle of UN control of the Mandate (as asked for in the Afro-Asian resolution) because South Africa has violated her "sacred trust of civilization". The resolution will be voted upon in a few days. Therefore immediate action is required.

Sincerely,

George M. Houser

George M. Houser
Executive Director

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The Current Issue

With the opening of the 21st session of the UN General Assembly on Sept. 20th, one item was given priority status on the agenda - South West Africa. In an unprecendented action, debate began on this issue simultaneously with general statements by various delegations on the world situation. This is a mark of the importance of this issue. The basic question is whether South Africa will with impunity continue to exercise her racist policies over a growing area in southern Africa.

Some aspects of this issue are outlined in this memorandum.

Background

The Territory: Arid scrubland and semidesert stretching over an area the size of France and the United Kingdom combined; a land hemmed in between the Atlantic and the Kalahari Desert, between white supremist South Africa and Angola, Portugal's fat colony; a land where the scarcest commodities are water and people.

Apartheid People:	Whites	Blacks
	80,000	480,000

Colonized, exploited and decimated by the Germans until 1918, the Africans haven't done any better under the "sacred trust of civilization" (Mandate). The South Africans have settled the best land in the center of the country, and the Africans have been confined by law to the north and a few shabby reserves. A permit is required to come to the "white" central areas and if you're black, you only get a permit by offering your labor. As communications in the north are virtually non-existant and African agriculture has received no assistance, cash earnings are hard to come by. So the Africans come South, where they get paid one-tenth of what Europeans earn.

The African political parties have been outlawed; Africans cannot even vote for whites. Alleged political organizers or even witnesses can be imprisoned without charge for successive 180-day periods. Africans cannot own land in half the country. Africans must use separate facilities: inferior and scarce hospitals and schools and buses and trains and crowded living compounds.

The Resources and Capital: The extensive mineral deposits, the karakul sheep lands, the rich fishing grounds, are for white capital and white profits. Half the profits leave the country; less than 10% find their way to black areas through Government revenue and expenditure for social services. With self determination, equal opportunity and independence the Africans would have the highest per capita income of sub-Sahara Africa: $250 approximately (equivalent to mineral-rich Gabon).

THE MANDATE

"THE MANDATORY SHALL PROMOTE TO THE UTMOST THE MATERIAL AND MORAL WELL-BEING AND THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY." (Mandate Article of League of Nations)

The Mandate to administer South West Africa was given to South Africa in 1920 by the League of Nations. One party to the contract, which the United Nations inherited, has obviously failed its obligations. South Africa has not sent in reports on the territory to the UN and has impeded petitioners, who have wanted to present evidence against the administration. Moreover, South Africa has violated Article 1 (2) of the UN Charter regarding the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. South Africa has flouted General Assembly resolution 1514 XV in failing to grant the people of South West Africa political independence after forty-six years of administration.

The International Court of Justice: The decision of July 18, 1966 was tragically mistaken. It was held that no country, however closely related its people to the victims of racial injustice in South Africa, whatever its concern for the sanctity of international agreements to which it is a party, has any legal interest in how South Africa governs its mandated territory of South West Africa. Effectively, this reverses the ruling of December 21, 1962, the minority opinion of that year becoming the majority opinion of 1966.

The Court's earlier advisory opinions are left untouched. In 1950, 1956 and 1962 it was shown that South Africa is responsible to the United Nations for its administration of South West Africa. However, the 1966 judgment appears to deny any effective judicial means of vindicating that responsibility.

The 21st General Assembly: A joint draft resolution has been introduced and cosponsored by most Afro-Asian states.

Operative paragraphs (4-7) of the resolution read as follows: (The General Assembly)

4. "Decides to take over the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa and to assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Mandated Territory;

5. "Establishes a United Nations Administering Authority for South West Africa composed of ... States Members of the United Nations - to be immediately designated by the President of the General Assembly - to administer the Territory on behalf of the United Nations, with a view to preparing it for independence;

6. "Requests the Administering Authority to proceed immediately with its work in the Territory and to recommend to the General Assembly as soon as possible, and in any case not later than the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, a date for the independence of the Territory;

7. "Requests the Security Council to take the necessary effective measures to enable the Administering Authority to discharge its functions in accordance with the present resolution."

US POLICY

The International Court decision of July 18 preserves the status quo - the continued control of South West Africa by South Africa, extension of apartheid, virtual annexation of South West Africa into the Republic, etc.

The real issue is whether the international community, through the UN, will allow South Africa to continue to exercise its administrative authorities in South West Africa, or whether steps will be started for the UN to assume responsibility for the Mandate. Basically this is a political, not a legal issue.

South Africa does not recognize the right of the UN even to a supervisory role over the Mandate. Therefore, whether the UN assumes only a continued supervisory role (as was recognized by the advisory opinion of 1950), or takes over the administration of the Mandate, a direct confrontation with South Africa is inevitable.

After 16 years of efforts to find a conciliatory solution, half measures are fatuous. The United States must ensure through the United Nations that the people of South West Africa secure their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the UN Charter.

The task of the United States is crystal clear. Democracy and freedom have been usurped in South West Africa. It is quite essential for the United States to support the resolution by which the powers of the Mandate revert to the UN. The United States must then demonstrate that the prospective UN Administering Authority will enter South West Africa and will enter with the active support of the United States.

It is not expected that this resolution if accepted by a UN majority will be implemented easily. A step-by-step course will undoubtedly be followed. But the principle of UN authority will be established and hopefully then, some step can be taken toward extending the provisions of the Charter even into a territory that has been dominated by South Africa for so long.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

Budget For 1966

PERSONNEL:

Executive Director's Salary	$8,300.
Church Pension Fund	1,494.
Housing	1,800.
Associate Director's Salary	6,800.
Church Pension Fund	1,224.
Housing	1,800.
Field Representative's stipend	1,200.
Office Manager/Bookkeeper	5,700.
1st Secretary	3,720.
2nd Secretary	3,720.
FICA Taxes on Lay Employees	562.
PERSONNEL.....	$36,320.

(ESCRU's Southern Field Service is funded by a foundation grant and is not a part of the regular budget)

PROGRAM & OPERATIONS:

Office Rent	$1,800.
Telephone	2,800.
Postage	3,000.
Office Supplies & Expenses	1,600.
Equipment Repairs & Upkeep	600.
Equipment Rental/Purchase	1,050.
Capital Expenditures	300.
Audit/Accounting Assistance	700.
Corporation Trust Co.	50.
Books & Subscriptions	100.
Insurance & Bonding	150.
Printing & Mimeograph	3,000.
Advertising	600.
Staff Travel	5,000.
Board & Executive Committee	2,000.
Annual Meeting	1,000.
Seattle Planning Committee	1,000.
Alabama Special Report	600.
Fund Raising Efforts	1,000.
PROGRAM.....	$26,350.

TOTAL PERSONNEL & PROGRAM: $62,670.00

Sources of Income in 1965:

Membership Dues	$16,691.55
Small Additional Contributions	13,229.17
Contributions of $50. or over	12,263.61
Chapters	4,763.00
Parishes & Organizations	2,019.00
Literature Sales	1,540.95
Total 1965 Income.....	$50,507.28

To carry out its program and work in 1966, ESCRU must depend on the same level of giving as last year (or better!) and find an additional $12,162.72.

Comments on the Budget:

In a year when many organizations concerned with race relations are anticipating they may have to cut back in their program, because of reduced receipts, ESCRU's Board of Directors has launched us on an imaginative and accelerated course in our service of the nation and the Church. It is a bold step, and a challenge we cannot turn away from. Seldom during the past ten years have our goals and the needs facing a divided people been more urgently linked together. Queries are heard on all sides: "Where do we go from here? What will the movement do now? How many riots will there be this year, and how much worse than Watts?" Perhaps more than ever before there is an opportunity for us to be heard and understood with regard to ultimate values and goals. So, it is a time to walk with determination into the unknown months ahead; not a time to reduce our efforts. With a continued good level of stewardship generally, and an increase in giving by those who are able, we should see our way through 1966 financially speaking. A budgetary increase of $12,162.72, over last year's income, will demand new sources, however. I ask your help in seeking and providing these sources.

- John B. Morris

HOW ESCRU MEMBERS FEEL ABOUT CHAPTER IN THEIR AREA (WHERE THERE IS ONE): CHAPTERS	Atlanta	Boston	Central New York	Chicago	Cleveland	Connecticut	Houston	Indianapolis	Iowa	Kansas City	Long Island	Los Angeles	Mahoning-Shenango	Maryland	Michigan	Milwaukee	Minnesota	Missouri	Newark	New Jersey	New York	Northern Virginia	Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh	Rhode Island	Richmond	San Diego	Washington
1. Too conservative		1		2	5		2	2			2	2	1	3	7	2	4	4	3		3		2	3	2			
2. Too moderate	2	2	1	2	3		3	1	1		2	2	1	1	7	1	2	3	1				1	2				3
3. Too liberal/radical				1										1		3				1								
4. Not militant enough	2	4	1	4	5	2	4	1		1	5	2		3	13	2	7	2	2	1	3		5	6	2			3
5. Sufficiently militant		12		9	6			2	1	2		5	2	4	9	1	1	1		1		1	1		4	1	2	9
6. Irresponsibly militant				4																								
7. Responsibly militant		17	3	8	4			1		1		5		3	15		5		1	2			2		3		2	6
8. At times irresponsible				7	1		1				2		1	1		1				1	2				2			1
9. Too cautious	2	4	1	4	3		2	1	2		3	3		3	8	3	2	3	4	1	2		3	4	1			
10. Disrespectful at times				4									2	1						2								
11. Not needed as much now											1			1	1		2	2				1	2		2			
12. As needed as ever		10	1	7	8		3	2	3	1	3	6		4	15	5	4	3	1	1	2		2	2	5	1		10
13. More needed than ever	2	24	4	16	6	2	1	2	3	2	5	6	4	4	20	4	5	5	3	4	5		4	3	2		2	11
14. Theologically sound		20	4	17	9	2	3	5	4	1	1	7	1	5	19	5	7	1	2	2		1	6	2	6	1	2	10
15. Theologically fuzzy		5	1	1	3		1			1	3	4			2	1		1	2		1			2	2			5
16. Not enough in the world	2	6	1	3	4	2	4	3		1		3	2	3	3	3	4	2	2		1		3	4		1		3
17. Too much of the world				2							1																	2
18. In, but not of the world		2		4	5		1	3				4		4	5	3	3		1	1			1		1		2	1
19. Too removed from crisis	2	2	1	2			3	1			4	3	2	2	7	2	5	4	2	1	2		3	4	4			2
20. Too crisis oriented			1	5	1				2					3	1						1							1
21. Too much involved with problems in the Church		2		2	1	2	1					2			1		3			1				1				
22. Too much involved with problems in the community		1		4				1				1		1			1											3
23. Maintaining a good balance in church/community focus		10	2	12	6		1			1		6		4	15	3	2	3	1			1	2	2	5		2	9
24. Not doing enough in Church	2	16	1	5	5		3	5	5	1	6	5	1	3	8	6	5	2	4	1	5	1	5	3	4	1		8
25. Too uninvolved in community	2	4		2	5		4	2	4	2	5	3	1	2	12		7	2	1	1	6	1	3	3	3			4
26. Too critical of Church				2				1						1		2								2	2			1
27. Not critical enough	2	11	1	7	4		3	1			4	4		1	5	1	5		3		4	1	1	3	3			6
28. Appropriately critical		16	2	4	4				1		3	7		3	8	3	2	1		2			1		3		2	7

HOW THE MEMBERSHIP LOOKS AT E.S.C.R.U.

Last summer the national office asked ESCRU members what they thought of the Society and its work, both at the national level and in terms of the local Chapter, where these exist. This is a report on how 434 members (out of a total membership of approximately 5000) look at ESCRU. The chart below indicates how they view national ESCRU, with a sampling of additional comments. The feelings of the 314 located where ESCRU has a Chapter are charted on the reverse side. Chapters may want to run their own survey to see if there has been any modification in feedback.

RESPONSE TO NATIONAL ESCRU	Members not belonging to a chapter	Members of a chapter	Total (chapter & non-chapter) members	PERCENTAGE of total response
1. Too conservative	1	9	10	2%
2. Too moderate	4	21	25	6%
3. Too liberal/radical	1	10	11	3%
4. Not militant enough	6	25	31	7%
5. Sufficiently militant	70	151	221	50%
6. Irresponsibly militant	1	11	12	3%
7. Responsibly militant	76	167	243	51%
8. At times irresponsible	16	29	45	10%
9. Too cautious	2	18	20	5%
10. Disrespectful at times	16	20	36	8%
11. Not needed as much now	0	7	7	2%
12. As needed as ever	45	131	146	34%
13. More needed than ever	67	164	231	53%
14. Theologically sound	85	231	316	73%
15. Theologically fuzzy	10	13	23	8%
16. Not enough in the world	7	20	27	6%
17. Too much of the world	1	3	4	1%
18. In, but not of the world	35	63	98	22%
19. Too removed from crisis	3	6	9	2%
20. Too crisis oriented	13	26	39	9%
21. Too much involved with problems in the Church	2	5	7	2%
22. Too much involved with problems of the community	0	2	2	½%
23. Maintaining a good balance in Church/community focus	79	174	253	58%
24. Not doing enough in Church	19	54	73	17%
25. Too uninvolved in community	3	15	18	4%
26. Too critical of Church	3	16	19	4%
27. Not critical enough	14	42	56	14%
28. Appropriately critical	77	172	249	57%
29. A strong force in Church	26	58	84	19%
30. Exerts some influence	60	165	225	52%
31. Hardly known	36	51	87	20%
32. A support to me and others	71	169	240	56%
33. Not supportive enough	3	12	15	3%
Total number responding	120	314	434	

Selected Comments: Pro and Con

1. Your format and Newsletter are at last readable; good work!
2. (In reference to President Peabody's suggestion that college entrance boards should think twice before admitting graduates of the Lovett School) Furthering this sort of policy is in itself a form of discrimination.
3. National ESCRU is too quick to support other (and often questionable) civil rights groups.
4. I'd like to see ESCRU more active at the grass-roots level, working more through Church and parish channels. I think we have unwittingly separated ourselves from the very people for whom we want to show our love and concern.
5. My admiration and respect for National ESCRU, its staff and its work is unlimited.
6. The primary job of ESCRU is not to indulge in "me too" tactics in areas already in turmoil..., but rather to awaken our part of the Church to the fact that our theology compels us as Episcopalians to become involved in the "movement" through existing channels.
7. National ESCRU should lessen its focus on crisis and work toward long range plans of helpfulness.
8. ESCRU is always stimulating on the national level. I don't always agree with the positions taken, but am always glad to hear someone speak with a clear, loud voice on matters of conscience.
9. I am amazed at the amount and variety of National ESCRU activity with such limited staff and paucity of funds.
10. ESCRU is an essential thorn in the side of PECUSA officialdom.
11. National ESCRU is hardly known, easily forgotten.
12. ESCRU fails to gain enough publicity about itself and its principles between crises.
13. The majority of Episcopalians are unaware of ESCRU; it is rarely mentioned in diocesan newspapers, rarer, if ever, in parish bulletins.
14. I believe wholeheartedly in ESCRU, but I cringe when it speaks and acts as the self-righteous redeemer. We have all sinned, and only Christ redeems.
15. ESCRU sometimes gives the impression of a slight lack of Christian charity.
16. ESCRU is sometimes disrespectful towards the Church - thank God!!!
17. My only criticism...is that ESCRU is (a) sometimes not pragmatic enough and (b) it syphons Episcopalians away from the more secular and often more effective civil rights work.

ESCRU

Behold,
how good and joyful
a thing it is
for brethren
to dwell together
in unity!

PSALM 133

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE PURPOSE of this Society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God's call for unity in the Church. The unity of God with man, and man with man, is made by God in Baptism and Holy Communion. We commit ourselves to establish total participation in the Church for all persons without regard to race, class, or national origin; to give mutual support to all who act in this ministry of reconciliation; and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

IN FAITHFULNESS to Jesus Christ, Who values all men equally, and Who prayed that all might be One in Him, and in understanding of the essential unity of the Church, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity affirms the unity in His Body of all persons without any distinction as to race, color, national origin or class. In accord with the councils of the Church, we affirm that any form of segregation or separation based on such distinctions in either the Church or the general community is contrary to the will of Christ and must be resisted by His Church and its members.

WE CONFESS OUR FAILURE to seek steadfastly this unity of persons and we penitently admit to prejudices which may separate us from brothers. Praying daily that the Church may be rid of all divisions based on race, color, national origin or class, and that a more just social order be established, the members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will work toward this end within the Church and their communities as they are individually and corporately able. **They constitute this Society as a sign of their commitment and as a means of resource to the Church, and they invite other Churchmen to join them in its objectives, which are to seek:**

1. A recognition that our responsibility lies with all persons in a given geographical area and is concerned with drawing these persons into full fellowship through Baptism and Holy Communion within that one parish unit.

2. Mutual support amongst this society for all clergy and laity who, in seeking total participation in parish life for all, find themselves at odds with accepted social mores.

3. Increased acceptance and implementation of the principle that the Church is an inclusive fellowship which seeks out and welcomes all persons into the worship and parish life of any congregation without distinction as to race, color, national origin or class.

4. Elimination of criteria based on race, color, national origin or class for applicants to Church camps, conferences, schools, colleges, hospitals, or other institutions or agencies which the Church may operate or sponsor in any way.

5. Understanding of the prophetic role of the Church, both through corporate and individual effort, in seeking the elimination of racial and other prejudicial barriers in society, whether these be erected by governmental process or through custom.

6. That condition of harmony among peoples which is the benefit of a mutual recognition of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, so that brothers may dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

If you agree with this Statement, take your stand with over five thousand others and use the attached form to join. If there is a Chapter of the Society where you live, you will be informed about local activities. Whether you are active in a Chapter or not, your membership in ESCRU makes you part of a growing fellowship of Churchmen who are ready to move beyond words into the concrete implementation of these objectives. You must decide what you can do where you are.

* * * *

With others being formed, as of early 1966 there were ESCRU chapters in these dioceses: Michigan, Missouri, Chicago, Maryland, Ohio (Cleveland and Mahoning–Shenango), Long Island, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Virginia (Richmond and Northern Virginia), Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Los Angeles (Los Angeles and San Diego), Indianapolis, Texas, Central New York, Atlanta, Newark, Washington, Iowa, Pittsburgh, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Milwaukee, and Western Missouri.

USE THIS FORM TO JOIN

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CHECK ONE AND SIGN:

☐ As a member of the Episcopal Church and in agreement with the principles of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as set forth in its Statement of Purpose, I apply for membership in the Society and enclose my dues for one year.

☐ I would like to support its work and be counted as a "Friend of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity". I enclose a contribution of $4.00 or more and understand that I may share in all activities and literature of the Society but may not hold office or vote.

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

MR.
MISS
MRS.
REV.
RT. REV.

NAME _____ (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ADDRESS _____

PARISH _____ DIOCESE _____

Checks may be made payable to ESCRU or Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Additional contributions are needed to support the work of the Society and will be gratefully received.	DUES: Annually $4.00 per person $6.00 per couple $ _____	ANY ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION $ _____	TOTAL ENCLOSED $ _____

Contributions to ESCRU are tax exempt.

Freedom City is.... an idea, not a single geographical site.

.... a "movement" in the sense that poor people are depending less on others for direction, while turning to their own resources -- existing and potential -- for new community life.

.... an attempt at a model of what freedom means: not a perfect city, but a community engaged in the process of self-discovery and self-determination.

.... a new approach to the problems of fear, poverty and discrimination in Mississippi. Through independent and cooperative action, poor Negroes are seeking their own solutions to their problems of food, housing, jobs, education and brotherhood.

.... not a plan for self-sufficiency, but for self-determination. Help from the outside is needed, but the decisions must come from within the community itself.

.... not an attempt at protective isolation, or an alternative to political realities. It is a base for the practice of democracy and the development of full citizenship, sufficient to contribute toward a new Mississippi.

What You Can Do Now

1. "Acres for Freedom" is a way of saying $400 will pay for an acre of land in Freedom City. ($200 will pay for half an acre, etc.)

2. As a start, the people have requested the government to furnish temporary housing and the means to build 100 low-cost permanent homes. Even if this grant comes through, it does not include the cost of land, or of a large community center building to house the educational, social and citizenship programs needed immediately. (A college or community might take this on as a project.)

3. A printer has offered to live and work in Freedom City, training apprentices and providing jobs, if we can supply a building with 2,000 square feet of space. With sufficient capital, he will start a statewide "freedom" newspaper.

4. The city urgently needs men with management, marketing and business skills to help start and run agricultural, industrial, retail and service enterprises.

5. A school bus, playground equipment, and money for trees and shrubs are also needed.

Direct gifts or inquiries to Delta Ministry, Box 139, Edwards, Miss. 39066

A New Community

For 100 years, America has paid little attention to the way black farm workers were exploited to make cotton-growing profitable.

The current refugee crisis -- in which some 30,000 Negro plantation tenants in the delta are made homeless by mechanization and reduced cotton allotments -- is only the newest manifestation of a long-time truth: "the American way of life" has no room for these people.

They live in shacks owned by the plantation boss, earning $6 or less each working day (for a median income of $456 a year). Over 90% of their homes are without running water. The state has no compulsory school laws, and no child labor laws. Although 2/3 of the people in the delta are Negroes, not one of them sits on a school board, a county board, a city council, a county crop-allotment committee or a welfare board.

The system has not only kept them in ignorance, poverty, fear and bad health, but has tried to make them incapable of breaking these bonds. Athird of the adults are illiterate; bad health and lack of incentive sap their ability to work; fear and inability to participate in decision-making dull the initiative.

For years, the only alternative for plantation people was to migrate north. More than 323,000 Negroes left Mississippi in the 1950's, encouraged by white Mississippians who saw this as the "solution" to a problem.

But the northern ghettoes have little more to offer than the plantation did. And Mississippi is "home" -- as much theirs as the whites'.

Freedom City is a creative alternative to the wretched living conditions, and to the terrible fact of being unwanted. It is a place where people can participate in determining their own future.

It is a response to those families who want to start a new life and build new communities in Mississippi.

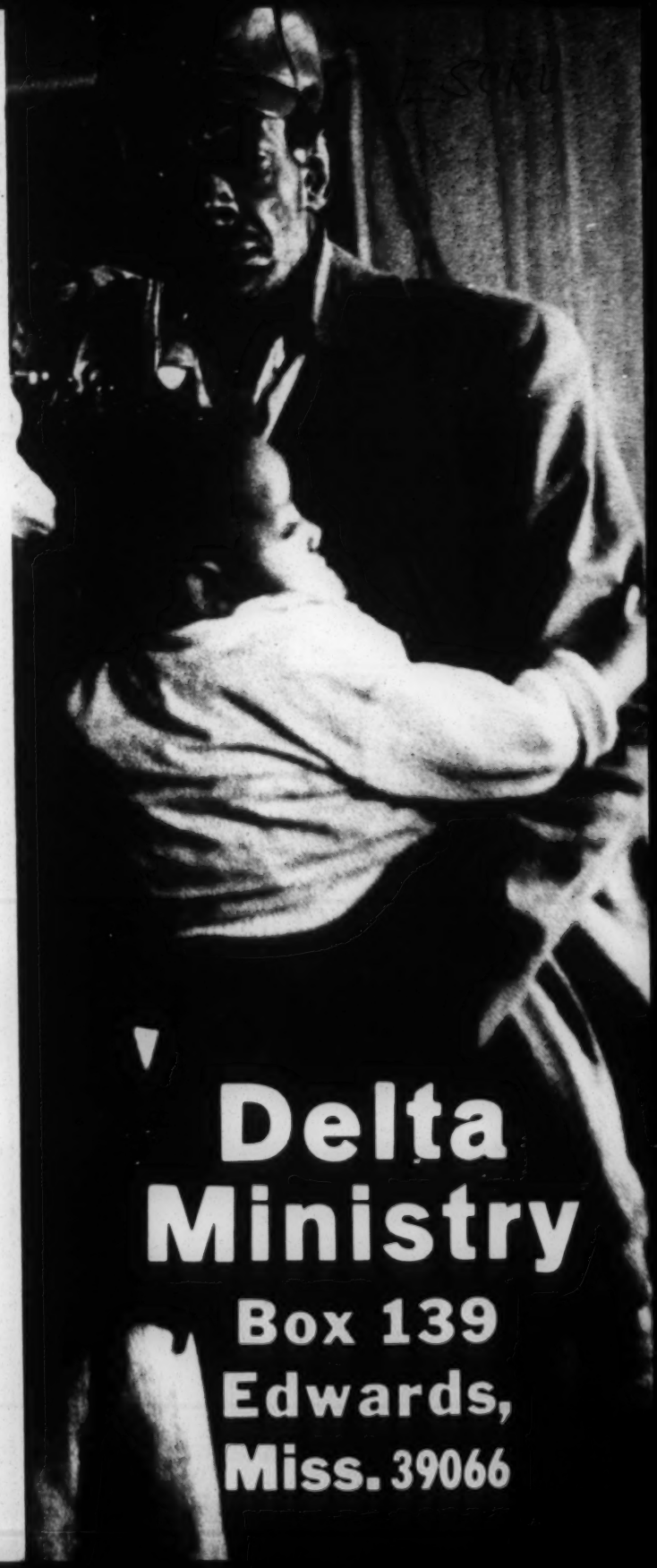
FREEDOM CITY HAS BEGUN

On 400 acres of rich delta land in Washington County near Greenville, Mississippi, Freedom City has begun. The property has a few farm buildings, some equipment, and an increasing number of residents coming off the plantations.

Even before the land had been secured, 25 families -- 125 people -- had come to the Delta Ministry's Mount Beulah Center near Vicksburg. There, while studying literacy, citizenship, and other subjects which they chose themselves, they began planning the new community.

The spring months are and have been full with planning, planting crops, seeking funds, and encouraging industry to settle on the new site.

Nobody knows how much courage, cash, confusion and callouses are involved in this venture. But the people are ready to move ahead. They believe others share their faith, and will support their efforts.



Delta Ministry
Box 139
Edwards, Miss. 39066

South Africa... "beloved" country

BEHIND THE JAILINGS AND THE HUNGER outlined in this folder lies the system of apartheid. While the world generally moves away from racial distinctions, South Africa stands out as a flagrant exception. Even the fierce segregation movement in Mississippi and Alabama, carried on in defiance of the American nation, pales when set against the government-enforced APARTHEID of South Africa. Not since the days of Hitler has the world seen such cruelty codified into a legal system—victimizing more than thirteen million non-whites for the benefit of three million "Europeans." The South African Government advertises that its system is one of "separate development," not discrimination, but, leaving aside the cases of outright opponents of discrimination,

APARTHEID MEANS:

- One African baby in four dies before he is a year old (only one white baby in 37 dies the first year)
- An average African can expect to live less than 40 years (the average white reaches 70)
- Africans may not work, live, or travel where they please. Every man and woman must be able to produce a "Pass" on demand—

  About 1,000 people per day are convicted of violation of the Pass Laws.

To understand the courage of those we shall help through AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND, we must keep in mind the vicious system of racism against which they struggle.

AFRICAN SLUM
Scenes like this are still common, even though new African Townships are being built as part of the attempt to give a new facade to the practice of segregation.

AND A YARD TO PLAY IN
Regular playgrounds for African children are rare.

FREE FARM WORKERS
Bars on the window of their living quarters—as well as Pass Laws and Curfew—underscore the limits of "Freedom" for "free" Africans.

KEEPING WARM IN WINTER
This youngster is one of the poverty-stricken Indians around the port city of Durban. The cover photo shows her hunger.

AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND
211 East 43rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

I enclose $..... for aid to South Africans suffering in their struggle for justice

I pledge $..... to be paid ☐ monthly
☐ quarterly or on .....(date)

Kindly make checks payable to:
Africa Defense and Aid Fund

(Mr.)
(Mrs.)
(Miss) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

☐ Please send ..... folders for my use in soliciting others.

Africa Defense and Aid Fund

of the American Committee on Africa
211 East 43 St., New York, N. Y. 10017

SPONSORS OF THE FUND (partial list): Harry Belafonte • Norman Cousins • Msgr. C. J. Drew • Clark M. Eichelberger • Harry Emerson Fosdick • Israel Goldstein • Jacob K. Javits • Mordecai Johnson • Martin Luther King, Jr. • Benjamin E. Mays • Reinhold Niebuhr • Rt. Rev. James A. Pike • A. Philip Randolph • Walter Reuther • Jackie Robinson • Ralph W. Sockman • Arthur B. Spingarn • Norman Thomas • Roy Wilkins • **Executive Secretary:** George M. Houser

ESCRV

aid victims of South Africa's racism

"600 families (of jailed political prisoners) with over 2,000 children, and at the moment we can do no more than pay their rent and give a pitifully small supply of powdered milk, etc. to the children."

—Letter from Port Elizabeth, early 1965

South Africans fighting racism need HELP!

THE FAMILIES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS SUFFER . . .

CASE: In November, 1964, three African labor leaders, Mini, Nkaba and Khayinga, were executed, leaving three widows and 13 children. "The children are in an absolutely desperate position. They have no decent clothing and are now without schooling." (Letter from South Africa)

In this case, $1,400 was raised in the U.S. by the Africa Defense and Aid Fund of the American Committee on Africa—enough to help for a few months.

CASE: When Jackson Mati was sent to jail for seven years, he left his six motherless children with their 70-year-old grandmother (her pension: **$3.55 per month).** Because there are so many similar cases, a sympathetic relief committee has had only powdered milk and soup to give her for the children.

There is no need to multiply the cases. All over South Africa, families are deprived of the breadwinner when he is jailed for opposing government-enforced racial discrimination. Because thousands are in jail at any given time, the needs for relief are overwhelming.

More than relief is needed, however. **Adequate legal defense for those charged** is even more important.

A good defense in court can bring acquittal. Failing that, it may mean a shorter sentence. In either case, the person charged—and his family—benefits. And we, on the outside, have done what we can to mitigate the injustices suffered under an unjust system.

CASE: James Chirwa, charged with "leaving the country for military training," was tried in secret, convicted, and given a long sentence. When the case came to light and an attorney appeared for Mr. Chirwa on appeal, his sentence **was reduced by 8 years.**

As South Africa has stepped up repression, an intricate pattern of apartheid law has evolved. Words used to title laws may not mean what they mean in other parts of the world. Thus, a person can be charged under the "Suppression of Communism Act" even though he is not, and never has been, connected with any international Communist movement. And a person can be charged with "Sabotage" even though he has only painted a sign opposing discrimination (see picture).

BANNING: African Nationalist organizations have been made illegal: they have been "banned." When applied to an individual, banning means an order restricting him in specified ways. To break the ban is to risk jail.

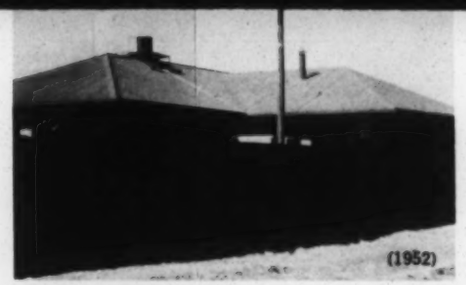
CASE: JOHN MOLEFE, released after almost three months detention without charge, was served with banning orders in late 1963. The orders contained a clause forbidding this man in his sixties from entering factory premises. Not understanding that he was being **banned from his job** as a laborer, he returned to the factory, was arrested, and jailed. Soon after he came out of jail pending appeal, he died. Subsequently, **his wife** was served with banning orders!

CASE: MRS. SCHLACTER'S banning order required her to report regularly at the police station. She forgot to report just once. Sentence: one year in jail, with 11 months suspended. On appeal, actual imprisonment was cut to seven days. Should she forget to report once again, she will be forced to abandon her two school children and serve the remaining 51 weeks.

CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT SABOTAGE: Whites and Indians as well as Africans and Coloureds are frequently so charged:

CASE: RAYMOND EISENSTEIN, 27 years old, studying for an LL.B. and working as a reporter for the **Rand Daily Mail** (Johannesburg) at the time of his arrest. Born in the Warsaw ghetto, he was smuggled out and lived in hiding as a baby and a small boy. At his trial, his mother gave evidence in mitigation, saying that the Nazi terror had so affected him that he could not help being an opponent of injustice. Sentence: 7 years imprisonment.

CASE: LALOO CHIBA, 34-year-old Indian truck-driver, married with three children. Convicted of conspiring with one other Indian, one African, and two whites to overthrow the state, he is now in jail **for 18 years.**



He alleged that, when detained earlier on a charge **of which he was acquitted,** he was beaten on the soles of his feet until he could barely walk; he was suspended upside down in a sack; and he was tortured with electric shocks. Finally, he was so savagely beaten that he is permanently deaf in one ear.

AND REFUGEES . . .

After years of struggle, arrests and threats of arrest, many flee South Africa. We must help these too—primarily by providing transport help from Bechuanaland northward to the independent African states.

the need

- for legal defense of those who fight for human rights
- for the families they leave when jailed or executed
- for those who flee their homeland because of injustice

is desperate!

As the South African Government tightens the screws on all opposition—and fear grows in the land—outside financial support becomes vital.

We Americans can express our unity with the South African struggle by giving to

AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND
of the American Committee on Africa

As Americans, ourselves involved in the struggle for interracial justice in the United States, we cannot afford to be less than generous to our allies in South Africa.

MASS BURIAL, SHARPEVILLE, 1960—67 Africans died when police attacked nonviolent demonstration against the Pass Laws.

Klan and John Birch Society Reported Gaining in South

EXTREMISM

By TOM DUNKIN

Membership in and influence of the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society are on the increase in the South, Theodore Freedman, southern director of the Anti-Defamation League, reports.

The House Un-American Activities subcommittee's expose of the klan "has not served to alienate those who would identify with the klan," Mr. Freedman told a joint meeting of Atlanta Lodge, B'nai B'rith Women and Gate City Lodge 144, B'nai B'rith.

The John Birch Society, "the radical right," has increased in the Atlanta area during the last year from 14 to more than 70 groups. Birmingham has 100 "John Birch Society cells in existence," Mr. Freedman declared.

Describing the John Birch Society as an organization which seeks to promote distrust and alienation of "those institutions which we have cherished," Mr. Freedman said that if opinion is created that the president, secretary of state and supreme court are disloyal, "you have sown the seeds of anarchy."

A CONNECTION between the John Birch Society and the klan has been noted, with one Birch official in Atlanta having been active in training "the paramilitary organization, the Minutemen" and serving as a speaker before klan groups, Mr. Freedman asserted.

The "radical right's greatest effort" since defeat in the last election will be on the local level, "to build candidates" for later races for higher office, Mr. Freedman said.

He foresees future candidates for Georgia state offices and Congress who will campaign with the endorsement of the John Birch Society, Mr. Freedman added.

The society, Mr. Freedman said, "is trying to fill the vacuum" due to failure of the White Citizens Councils in the South, and the South "has become a fertile area in recent years" for the society. "I can name you cities in Georgia where the mayor and chief of police are John Birch Society members," Mr. Freedman said. He did not name them.

QUESTIONED as to whether "the radical left" had been noted in the same Southern area, Mr. Freedman said there is "evidence of some inclination" toward the radical, or "New Left" in some civil rights and peace movements.

Elaborating upon extremism in the South, Mr. Freedman said "the mood of the South is not to be found in Atlanta, Houston, Birmingham or New Orleans. You can do better examining the rural areas, where violence and extremism remain the order of the day, countenanced if not openly supported by the white power structure." These events, "in turn, affect Atlanta, Birmingham, etc.," Mr. Freedman added.

EXTREMISM

Birch Society's TACT Will Step Up Its Fight Against Rights Activities

Ark. Gazette 2/26/66

By ERNEST DUMAS
Of the Gazette Staff

The John Birch Society is stepping up its work against civil rights activities in Arkansas through local groups called TACT—Truth About Civil Turmoil.

Several TACT committees have been formed in Arkansas in recent months, it was disclosed Friday at a news conference at Hotel Marion conducted by Rex Westerfield of Dallas, the regional public relations manager of the Society.

Westerfield was in the city to announce that the Society was expanding its work in Arkansas and the Southwest. With him was Franklin M. Childs of North Little Rock, a former Salt Lake City man who became full-time co-ordinator of Birch work in Arkansas last fall.

The TACT committees have been forming since last summer. A Washington Post reporter referred to TACT last month as a nationwide campaign against the civil rights movement. The Post article said the committees were front groups for the Birch Society and were directed by the Society's Western headquarters.

Westerfield said that Birch Society members usually were instrumental in starting the committees but that others were brought into them. He said the committees distributed books and other publications on the civil rights movement.

—Staff Photo
REX WESTERFIELD

He said that about 1,500 TACT committees were working in the country now. He did not know if any were operating in Arkansas but Childs said several were. He did not say where they were formed.

Aims to Create Understanding

TACT's efforts are directed at creating understanding between the races, Westerfield said. This also is the Birch Society's overall policy on civil rights, he said.

Westerfield insisted Friday that the Birch Society eschewed racism of any kind and that, in fact, it cancelled the membership of anyone found to be a member of the Ku Klux Klan or other racist groups.

He was asked about Dr. Medford Evans of Jackson, Miss., a leading spokesman of the White Citizens Council, who frequently writes for American Opinion, the Birch magazine. Westerfield said he did not know that Evans had any connections with racist groups. His chief asset to the Birch Society is his knowledge of atomic energy security problems, he said.

Westerfield said that the Birch Society was chiefly responsibile for the fact that there have been no major racial disturbances since the riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles last summer.

The work has included circulation of books dealing with civil rights and a speakers bureau that includes nine Negroes. They have cautioned against going to the streets with grievances, he said.

be opened at Little Rock. A book warehouse is being opened at Dallas, he said. A Fort Smith bookstore distributes Birch Society literature but it is privately owned.

Westerfield, 37, told reporters that he was a graduate of Harding College at Searcy. He said he wanted to visit the school during his Arkansas stay.

He took a crack at Senator J. William Fulbright for his remarks on the Vietnam war. He said it was tragic that a senator would suggest that you could compromise with Communists, "that we should consider these Communists as moral people."

He would not say that Fulbright was guilty of treason but he said that "it borders on it—that's pretty clear."

A reporter asked Westerfield if he had any idea how many Communists were in the United States. Like the membership in the Birch Society, the number is immaterial because three dedicated Communists can control almost any organization, he said.

Does this mean that three Birch Society members also could control any group?

"It does, but we don't work it that way," Westerfield said.

Negro Membership Is Increasing

This kind of activity has increased Birch Society membership among Negroes. Now, Negroes make up about 2 per cent of the national membership of the Society, he said.

While denying racist tendencies in the Society, Westerfield said that the Communists "unquestionably" were behind the civil rights movement in America. A number of books have documented this, he said.

In the Birch Society's January Bulletin, Robert H. W. Welch, the head of the Birch Society, said that civil rights disturbances had abated but he warned that others would begin because "you can be sure that the Communists behind the 'Civil Rights' fraud are not going meekly to drop, for long, so vitally important a part of their total strategy of subversion."

Westerfield said that the Birch Society was growing in Arkansas and the Southwest but he said he had no idea how many members or chapters the state had. He said large cities such as Little Rock had six or seven sections, each with a section leader, with a number of chapters beneath them. He said he did not know and that Childs was not allowed to say how many sections were in the Little Rock area.

Westerfield and Childs agreed, however, that every town of more than 3,000 had a chapter.

He said that eventually a Birch Society bookstore would

EXTREMISM

AC

Mohammad Defends Clay, Lashes Out at Dr. King

CHICAGO, Feb. 26 (UPI) — Elijah Muhammad, wispy white-hating leader of the Black Muslim sect, fiercely defended his disciple, heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, Saturday for balking at induction into the Army.

Clay, wearing the insignia of the Muslims, was among the crowd of shouting supporters as Muhammad delivered a meandering, two-hour diatribe to the annual convention of his Negro supremacist sect.

The 69-year-old "messenger of Allah" also told his followers that Americans are rejecting peace in Viet Nam and that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is a lover of the white man . . ." "The white man's black man."

ONLY FRIDAY, Clay refused to apologize to the Illinois Athletic Commission for bitterly protesting his reclassification from 1Y to 1A in the draft. Clay had said "I ain't got no quarrell with the Viet Cong" and declared he would fight no wars "unless they are declared by Allah."

Minutes after Clay's refusal to say "I'm sorry," the Illinois attorney general declared the March 29 championship fight scheduled in Chicago between Clay and Ernie Terrell is illegal as now licensed.

Muhammad, apparently addressing himself to the white community in defense of Clay, said "you made him a fool. You classified him as unfit and then you call him.

"You tell him that if he won't go to Viet Nam he can't fight and make money. This is awful. This is a trial."

"You say the Negro should go to Viet Nam," Muhammad said, "but you let your sons stay here in colleges and universities."

Muhammad referred to Clay by his Muslim name, Muhammad Ali, and to Joe Louis, the former heavyweight champion.

"You are robbing him (Clay) like you did Joe Louis," Muhammad said. "Louis ate at my house. He is walking around like a bum — that's what he is. I could have cried.

"You want to make a bum out of Muhammad Ali, but you won't if he sticks with Elijah."

The estimated crowd of 2,000 Muslims who gathered for the sect's annual "Savior's Day" convention filled only one-fifth of the cavernous Chicago Coliseum.

AS ALWAYS at such gatherings, burly "Fruit of Islam" guards searched everyone entering the hall, giving special attention to white news reporters. When an integrated group of Methodists arrived to observe the meeting, the Negroes were admitted and the white persons were turned away.

The promoters of Clay's Chicago fight had said he would not attend the convention. But Clay was there, proudly wearing "Fruit of Islam" identification. His spiritual leader indicated he had as scant respect for the United States cause in Viet Nam as his disciple.

"There are no agreements among government heads," Muhammad said. "The President goes one way and the vice president goes somewhere else. These people are confused. These people are rejecting peace.

"They (the Viet Cong) will fight you 20 years. Americans don't want to fight 20 months."

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EXTREMISM

SHELTON INDICTED WITH SIX OTHERS

3/4/66

Klansmen Face Year in Jail in Contempt of Congress

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 3 — Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton Jr. and six of his top leaders in the United Klans of America, Inc., were indicted today on charges of contempt of Congress.

A Federal grand jury of the District of Columbia returned the indictments that accused the Klansmen of contempt for their refusal to produce Klan records subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

United States attorney David G. Bress said the defendants would be arraigned here March 11, when a date for the trial and the amount of bond will be set. He said no arrests were necessary under the charge, a misdemeanor that calls for a maximum punishment of one year in jail and $1,000 fine.

The klansmen will be entitled to trial by jury in District Court.

Charged with Shelton were James R. Jones, 36 years old, Grand Draton or Chief Leader of North Carolina; Robert E. Scoggin, 43, Grand Dragon of South Carolina; Calvin F. Craig, Grand Dragon of Georgia; Marshall R. Korengay, 37, Grand Dragon of Virginia; George F. Dorsett, 48, Greensboro, N. C., Imperial Kludd or National Chaplain and a paid organizer for the Klan and Robert Hudgins, 37, Raleigh, N. C., Imperial Klirapp or National Secretary.

United Press International

CITED FOR CONTEMPT: Robert M. Shelton Jr., the head of the United Klans of America, Inc., was charged by a Federal grand jury with contempt of Congress.

Shelton, 36, reached at his national headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Ala., was fighting mad.

"It's another direct result of the political influence of the Administration, namely L. B. J.," he said.

President Johnson called for a Congressional investigation of the Klan last year.

"It's popular in this country to be a pinko or a political prostitute," he said, "but not to stand up and be a patriotic American."

Shelton said he would fight the charge "all the way to the Supreme Court."

The indictments grew out of the House Committee's year-long investigation, which ended last week. All the defendants and most other officials of the United Klans invoked their constitutional right not to testify about the Klan and refused to produce records ordered by the committee on the ground that this, too, would constitute self-incrimination.

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Shelton's organization is by far the largest of a dozen Klan groups that the committee has said were responsible for much of the racial violence in the South.

The House, acting on a recommendation of the committee, voted contempt citations against the seven Klan leaders Feb. 2. The vote was 344 to [illegible]. The Justice Department then took the matter before a grand jury.

The committee is considering the possibility of contempt citations against other Klansmen who refused to produce records and perjury indictments against three or four Klan members whose testimony about alleged plots of violence was contradicted by committee witnesses.

The House action was based on a Supreme Court decision of 1960, McPhaul vs. United States.

In that case, the court held by 5 to 4 that an official of the Civil Rights Commission which had been declared subversive by the Attorney General, was in contempt for not having produced records of his organization in response to a subpoena by the Un-American Activities Committee. However, only a fraction of the contempt of Congress citations have been upheld by the courtw.

In refusing to produce the records, the Klansmen acted on the advice of their lawyer, Lester V. Chalmers Jr. of Raleigh, who was retained by Shelton for the Klan hearings.

Shelton has charged the committee and the House with discrimination against the Klansmen. He noted that contempt citations were also recommended on the same day against three uncooperative witnesses in a Chicago anti-Communist hearing last spring.

More than 100 law professors have opposed the contempt action against both the Klansmen and the Chicago witnesses on the ground that the committee's procedures are unconstitutional.

EXTREMISM

Blast Rocks Clubs Called a Red Front

3/7/66 AC

Dubois Executive Believes 30 Sticks of TNT Planted

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—An explosion, believed to have been caused by a massive charge of dynamite, ripped the national headquarters of the W. E. Dubois clubs in the pre-dawn hours Sunday.

The two-story frame building was unoccupied at the time, and there were no casualties.

The blast occurred just two days after the Justice department had labeled the organization a Communist front and demanded that it be ordered to register as such.

Terence Hallinan, national executive secretary of the clubs, said he was "convinced beyond a doubt" that the explosion was deliberately set. "It was caused by about 30 to 40 sticks of dynamite," he said.

"The Viet Nam war in general, and (Atty. Gen. Nicholas de B.) Katzenbach's charges in particular, created the environment for this act," the visibly shaken Hallinan said. "The shocking thing is that it happened in a city as liberal as San Francisco."

Hallinan said the national headquarters would be moved to Chicago in May, and the clubs would operate out of a temporary office here until then.

"The move has nothing to do with the explosion," he said. "When we started we were a west coast organization. Now, our main base is in the Midwest and we're just too far away."

Authorities at first declined to say specifically that the explosion was the work of a bomber, but arson squad inspector Ernest Capper said there was a heavy smell of "gunpowder" in the area when he arrived. Utility company inspectors said the blast was not caused by a gas leak.

The structure was hollowed by the explosion, and a large section of the front of the building was blown out. The street and nearby rooftops were littered with debris, trolley lines were blown down, and windows were shattered over a one-block area.

Several residents of the neighborhood reported they heard a series of explosions, a loud blast followed by two lesser ones.

"I thought we were being bombed," said Mrs. Willie Mae Jordan, who lives across the street from the headquarters. "I thought the Viet Nam war was coming here."

Inspector Joseph Lucas of the arson squad said it appeared that the blast occurred under the stairs of the front porch. He said the fire department had asked an Army bomb disposal unit to investigate.

Are DuBois Clubs a Danger?

EXTREMISM NYT 3/13/66

By FRED GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 12 — Happiness is being called a Communist by Nicholas de B. Katzenbach.

At least, that was the impression given this week by Patrick Hallinan, national counsel for the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America. The San Francisco lawyer was brimming with youthful good spirits as he explained in a telephone interview the effect of the Attorney General's designation of the campus-oriented DuBois group as a Communist-front organization.

"We are pretty close to doubling our membership since Katzenbach went after us—especially on the campuses," Mr. Hallinan said.

"He doesn't understand young people today—you try to intimidate them and keep them from speaking out about the Vietnam war and they just become more determined to be heard.

"These kids who are in our group have been steeled by the civil rights movement. And they've grown up hearing that Robert Welch called President Eisenhower a Communist. The 'Communist' label just doesn't scare them."

Upon an examination of the organization as a whole, it is surprising that anyone bothered to label it at all.

The organization is named for W. E. B. DuBois, a prominent American Negro historian and sociologist who became a member of the Communist party at the age of 93, in 1961, and died two years later as an expatriate in Ghana. According to Mr. Hallinan's figures, the organization's membership is still below 5,000 dues-paying ($1 per year) members. Most of the 36 clubs are reportedly located near campuses, primarily in New York, California, Wisconsin and Illinois.

The members tend to be teenagers, and one turned out to be only 14 when New York police arrested a carload involved in a fracas with a red-baiting group last Sunday.

Prior to last week's action by the Attorney General—a request that the Subversive Activities Control Board order the group to register as a Communist front—the DuBois Clubs had been obscure, even among protest groups. They were overshadowed by larger and more militant groups during the mass anti-Vietnam demonstrations last fall. They would have been unknown to the public but for F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover's repeated blasts at them during the past year.

One well-informed observer put it this way: "Those DuBois guys were considered squares by the hard-nose radicals until the Government went after them, because they always followed the Russian line. That's considered reactionary by the people who are really militant. Now the DuBois club has status. Why did the Government do it? It's crazy."

Justice Department officials are at a disadvantage because they can't engage in a rough-and-tumble discussion of their motives. But soundings within the Government this week turned up several leads.

Mr. Hoover's public campaign against the DuBois Society has had Mr. Katzenbach on the spot for some months, because the law says he "shall" bring proceedings whenever he has reason to believe a group is a Communist front. While it appeared to many that his timing suggested a move against the group's anti-Vietnam stand, in fact he may have picked what appeared to him to be the least sensitive time to perform an unpleasant duty.

There is no question that Mr. Hoover considers the DuBois clubs a serious threat to the nation's security. His agents within the American Communist party tipped him off in the late 1950's that efforts would be made to form a "front" group to recruit college students for membership in the party.

When a group called the Advance and Burning Issues Youth Organization was formed, the Justice Department moved in 1963 to cite it as a Communist-front organization. Under the glare of this publicity, it quickly collapsed.

This affords a good insight into the Government's present motives. Despite claims by leftists that official "persecution" helps their cause, anti-subversive officials have found, in fact, that when a group is branded a Communist front, membership falls off and it tends to wither. Convinced as they are that the DuBois clubs' anti-Vietnam protests are a reflection of Moscow's policy, the Government officials used the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, for the purpose it was intended to serve—to frustrate the use of an unknowing American group for such a purpose.

Justice Department officials point out that 22 organizations have been found to be "Communist-front" groups by the board, and that all but one are now defunct. People don't like to be used by the Communist party and care even less about belonging to a known "front" group, they say.

DUBOIS VS. THE BOYS

The one clear loser in the DuBois Club controversy so far has been the Boys Club of America, a group that provides recreation, guidance and handicraft instruction for its nationwide membership of 750,000 boys, 7 to 17. After radio and television reports on the DuBois (pronounced doo-BOYS) affair, Boys Clubs over the country were showered with abuse by listeners who had confused the two organizations, and a spokesman expressed fear of a falling-off in public donations.

The Boys Clubs' national chairman, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, blamed the mix-up partly on the Communists. The DuBois Clubs, he said, "are not unaware of the confusion," which he called "an almost classic example of Communist deception and duplicity."

THE BOMBERS: Violence aimed at the Du Bois clubs following charges that the group is a Communist front included the bombing of their San Francisco office last week.

RIGHTISTS STRONG, A SENATOR WARNS

EXTREMISM

McGee Forecasts Record Onslaught in Fall Voting

NYT 3/15/66

By DONALD JANSON

Special to The New York Times

DENVER, March 14—Senator Gale W. McGee forecast today that this year's election campaigns would produce "the largest and best-financed right-wing extremist assault on the sensibilities of the voters in American history."

The Wyoming Democrat said unsuccessful support of Barry Goldwater's Presidential candidacy in 1964 had failed to break the back of the right-wing's drive for political influence.

Rather, he told an opening session of the National Farmers Union Convention, it persuaded the movement that the route to success was "through its own devices" rather than through an established political party.

Mr. McGee, a leading foe of right-wing extremism, noted that the John Birch Society recently announced a program to establish "cells" in 325 Congressional districts and spend $12-million to promote its aims this year.

He said "good times" were helping to make this possible.

"We might as well adjust ourselves to a long siege of right-wing agitation and to a long life for the John Birch Society," he asserted.

Local Contests

Senator McGee foresaw election to Congress in the fall of only "two or three" ultra-conservatives.

But the movement's political efforts, he elaborated at a news conference, are likely to make much greater inroads in local contests.

By electing mayors, Parent Teacher Association officers and school board members, he said, the ultra-conservatives will be laying the groundwork for effective long-range activity.

"We must watch for the proliferation of shady front groups even now under way," he told some 3,000 farmers and farm wives at the organization's 64th annual convention in the Denver Hilton Hotel.

He cited, as an example, the Denver Committee to Improve Racial Relations, a new group that will hold an all-day "civil rights seminar" here Saturday.

Invitations contain no reference to the Birch Society, but investigation by The Denver Post determined that the committee had been formed by the Society and that its four speakers would be provided by the Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau.

Joint Statement Issued

Asked how the committee intended to improve racial relations in Denver, Donald H. Kennedy, regional coordinator for the Birch Society here, said:

"By telling about the Communist infiltration into the civil rights movement."

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Denver Commission on Community Relations, the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, the Denver Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Denver Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Latin-American Research and Service Agency here issued a joint statement denouncing the new group.

"The John Birch Society is seeking to exploit the nation's racial tensions for its own propaganda and recruitment purposes and for its deeper political goals," they said.

They called the "seminar" a "preliminary" to right-wing efforts to influence this year's Congressional elections.

EXTREMISM

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 1966.

Jersey Klan Plans Cross-Burning Rally on May 23

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, April 12 — The leader of the New Jersey Ku Klux Klan announced today that the organization was planning its first big, cross-burning rally since the late nineteen-twenties, when klansmen were a power in the state.

Frank W. Rotella Jr., the klan's king kleagle and a dismissed New York City welfare worker, made collect calls to newspapers to report that the rally would be on a farm outside of Bridgeton in South Jersey on May 23. "This will be the first of many such rallies in the state," he said.

Rotella, a 28-year-old graduate of Hofstra College, a former Wall Street clerk and an American Nazi, said that Robert M. Shelton, the imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, who was a recent Congressional witness, would attend.

Rotella's announcement came as the klan was reliably reported to be no more than a small, ragtag band, so starved for new recruits that it has abandoned historical klan policy and indicated willingness to accept Jews as members.

The klan has been effectively infiltrated by Union County and Elizabeth law-enforcement officials. They reported today that the klan had fallen on poor days in the state.

"Jersey kluxers could practically meet in a telephone booth," a Union County detective said derisively, as he rattled a local newspaper headline warning: "Klan Organizing New Drive."

United Press International

Frank W. Rotella

Official assessment of klan strength follows reports of scattered klan cross-burnings and pamphleteering and the recent Passaic County grand jury investigation of Rotella, who was dismissed from his New York City job when the news of his klan leadership in New Jersey was made public last fall.

Since then Rotella has concentrated on recruiting new members and publicity for the klan. He has lost much of the friendly disposition that he had as a welfare worker, and he now carries a concealed aerosol can loaded with blinding chemicals for self-defense.

Rotella lives secretively in the 500 block of Westminster Avenue in a decaying section of Elizabeth. He refuses to give a telephone number, and his last Post Office box number in Hoboken is no longer in use.

Despite Rotella's boasts that the klan in New Jersey "is growing by leaps and bounds," the police report that he has failed to attract a large following—less than 100 members. Right after The Newark Star-Ledger reproduced a klan recruitment flyer, Rotella received nearly 100 applications through the mail. However, the police said nearly every one of the applicants dropped out after attending their first meeting.

Apparently what they hoped to see was a secret, sinister klan meeting, where everyone wore rich klan regalia. But only about six New Jersey klansmen have been able to afford official klan robes.

New Year Party a Flop

The klan's biggest social event of the year is its annual New Year's Eve party. But the last one—in the back room of a South Broad Street tavern in Elizabeth—was a flop. Less than a dozen klan faithful showed up. Food that had been prepared was given away free later to regular customers out front.

Klan leaders have attempted to tighten security measures at their meetings, and they now use secret signs, challenges, passwords and handshakes. Despite the precautions, law-enforcement officials keep on bumping into each other, even at small klan meetings.

Officials are confident that klansmen at the Bridgeton rally probably will be outnumbered by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, state troopers, sheriff's deputies, county and local police, newspaper reporters, television cameras and curiosity seekers.

Rotella believes that publicity, no matter how adverse to the klan, is one of his greatest weapons. This explains, he says, why klansmen burn a lot of crosses.

Most of the klan's newer members are leather-jacketed young toughs who are, according to the police, "in it just for the action." Like Rotella, some new members are Roman Catholics, the police say. The klan recently dropped "white, Protestant" requirements here and in New York and Pennsylvania.

System Shocks Police

Rotella has recently urged klansmen to go out of their way to be friendly to the police, who were shocked to learn that he was planning a makeshift telephone-warning system, to be used this summer at the first sign of possible Negro unrest. Klansmen want to act as a kind of militia to aid the local police.

"Can you imagine me trying to keep back an angry crowd of young Negroes with some damn kluxer standing beside me?" an Elizabeth policeman asked.

To this end, Rotella and many klan leaders have become karate experts and are urging members to become expert, too. They warn that anyone who strikes a klansman "will be cut to pieces." Rotella also talks about demonstrating against civil-rights groups and other klan opponents.

But the police doubt whether he can ever get his members to expose themselves publicly.

"You get one of these guys alone, and he'll swear up and down that he never heard of the klan; so we don't expect them to go marching around in public in their bedsheets," a detective remarked.

EXTREMISM

Alabama Riots to Be Worst In 100 Years, Craig Predicts

AC 4/18/66

FT. PAYNE, Ala. (UPI)—The Grand Dragon of the Georgia Ku Klux Kan told 300 persons Sunday that there would be more racial violence this summer in Alabama than in the past 100 years.

Georgia Dragon Calvin Craig, flanked by four members of the "Klan Security Guard," lashed out at the "government-controlled press and news media" for calling Klansmen "troublemakers and nightrides."

"My definition of a Klansman," Craig said, "is a patriotic red-blooded American who is willing to stand up for his country against the threat of communism."

The spectators at the Klan recruiting rally came from Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee.

Ernest Fortner, assistant grand dragon of Alabama, called Alabama Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers, a candidate for governor, a "long, lanky red-haired liar" if he denied asking Klansmen for their support.

Flowers, running hard as a racial moderate, won the support during the weekend of two major Negro political organizations—both of which claimed to control 200,000 votes.

The Alabama Democratic Conference, in a convention at Birmingham Sunday, endorsed Flowers in the May 3 Democratic primary. Saturday night, the Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations, set up by civil rights workers who found the other group too conservative, also endorsed Flowers.

In other Ku Klux Klan action, a Superior Court hearing was to resume Monday in Lumberton, N.C., on whether an injunction barring Klan meetings in Robeson County should be made permanent.

The last time the Klan met in the county—in 1958—Lumbee Indians went on the warpath and routed the hooded order. Announcement of a proposed rally in the county on March 27, the state said, "Created a tense and dangerous situation" in the county and probably would "result in numerous killings."

EXTREMISM AC 4/22/66

Birchite Physician Gets Data on Conley Drugs

By BILL SHIPP

A militantly conservative DeKalb County physician says he has instructed "two or three" of his followers to discover and provide him with the specific location of certain medical supplies stored inside the sprawling Atlanta Army Depot. Dr. John R. Andrew, a leader in the John Birch Society, says his men have accomplished their mission.

The Minutemen, a Missouri-headquartered far-right paramilitary organization, has formed a unit in DeKalb County. (Dr. Andrew says he is not a member, but is aware of the unit.)

Robert B. DePugh, national leader of the Minutemen, is bombarding local members of the Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan with letters warning that a Communist takeover of the United States is imminent.

(DePugh predicts a complete takeover by the early 1970s. Dr. Andrew says, however, that a takeover by United Nations troops could occur this summer if civil rights demonstrations and "riots" get out of hand.)

A "Demolition Priority" list for Atlanta has been drawn up and circulated in some extremist circles. (The newspapers, WSB radio and television and the "central telephone exchange" are among the top items on the list, a copy of which has been obtained by The Constitution.)

Extreme right-wing organizations also received catalogues recently on where to obtain information on firearms, demolition supplies and conduct of guerrilla warfare.

One such manual, which sells for $5, describes "explosives and the practical methods of using them," and includes instruction on the use of "black powder, dynamite blasting supplies and accessories,

DR. J. R. ANDREW

primers and methods of firing."

An organization of "Christian Conservative Businessmen" has been formed as part of one Birch Society chapter, and on April 14 circulated among its membership a "preferred shopping guide" of 45 business places.

Dr. Andrew, considered one of the top spokesmen for the far right in this area, told two Constitution reporters this week about his efforts to pinpoint medical supplies at the Army Depot in Conley.

The subject came up when a reporter asked Dr. Andrew if anyone had provided him with any maps of military installations.

The 39-year-old physician replied that he wanted to find out where certain medical supplies were kept at the depot "in case of a holocaust."

"I asked this man I knew where the medical supplies were. I knew he worked at Conley," Dr. Andrew said. "He told me there was plenty out there."

Later in the conversation, Dr. Andrew said "two or three" persons were involved in getting the information, but he refused to identify them.

He said he was later told "the building numbers where the medical supplies were." Dr. Andrew said this happened several months ago.

The general practitioner, who says he stands "a little to the right" of the Birch Society, said the person who provided him with the information about the Army Depot "recently asked me if I wanted to go and look over the place. I told him, 'No.' They'd think I was some kind of agent for the Minutemen."

Asked why he needed to know where the medical supplies were stored, Dr. Andrew said he feared that "everyone out there would be dead" in the event of "a holocaust."

"I'm a doctor. I dread the day when I get 100 calls, when a disaster comes. I want to know where I can get medical supplies," he said.

A spokesman for the Army Depot said general information about supplies there is not classified but he said he has called on the FBI to investigate reports of spe-

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Birchite Doctor Gets Conley Drug Data

Continued From Page 1

cific information being given out.

The supplies Dr. Andrew wanted to know about included a quantity of drugs, such as 10 antibiotics and morphine, dilaudid and demerol.

Dr. Andrew repeatedly denied that he was a Minuteman, but said he had received literature from DePugh and had been a subscriber to the Minuteman magazine, "On Target."

However, he added, "It's ridiculous to have an organization like this. . . . Who is to determine when they go into action?"

Nevertheless, Dr. Andrew said he liked the Minutemen's idea of "We'll never surrender."

As for the quick take-over of the U.S., as predicted by the Minutemen, Dr. Andrew has his own ideas about that.

Conceivably, it could come this summer, he said, unless civil rights "demonstrations and riots" are held in check.

Forty cities have been designated as probable spots for Watts-type riots to break out, the black-haired, bespectacled physician said.

If these riots occurred at about the same time and were not controlled, Dr. Andrew pointed out, troops "of the United Nations might take over" and occupy the United States.

Dr. Andrew said he is concerned about having too many U.S. troops committed overseas.

Dr. Andrew, a one-time liberal and a "kind of Zen Buddhist," is now an avid opponent of the U.N., which he sees as part of a world-wide conspiracy aimed at one-world government.

"This started with Woodrow Wilson and Col. E. M. House," Dr. Andrew said.

HE'S A VETERAN

Although a veteran of World War II, Dr. Andrew said he now believes the U.S. should never have gotten into the war. He said Germany would have wiped out Russia, China and Communism, then the German High Command would have "killed that nut Hitler."

Dr. Andrew is a native of Rockdale County, a graduate of Tech High School, the old Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia and the Medical College of Georgia. He was a member of the NAACP in 1952 and of the liberal Unitarian Church. He said he left the church about 1954-55 when the "unitarians started this movement to take God off coins."

He is a former leader of a John Birch chapter officially designated as CMHX. The chapter continues to meet at his home.

Dr. Andrew was an unsuccessful Republican candidate for the Georgia House last year. The physician, who has addressed the KKK but considers that group "too hot tempered," said he plans to run again this year.

Of the Birch Society, Dr. Andrew has this to say:

"I consider the Birch Society a kind of high school. There's graduate work beyond that. We need not just the educational programs but an action program, a positive program."

Dr. Andrew said he is a gun enthusiast but has never participated in any of the paramilitary exercises of the Minutemen. He said he knew of their existence in DeKalb County because of "a bulletin" he saw.

He said an agent of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith is after him and has tried to connect him with the Minutemen. He said two FBI agents also have interviewed him about the Minutemen.

The Minutemen have been active in this area for about a year and membership includes an estimated 15 men, The Constitution has learned from a reliable source.

The Minutemen have carried on firearms practice and drills locally and have pledged themselves not to reval their membership, the source said.

THE FIRST DATE

Prospective local members of the Minutemen recently received a three-page letter from DePugh, "national coordinator" of the organization, in which he declared:

"July 4, 1966 is the first date on our time table."

DePugh did not elaborate on what would occur on that day.

Here's how DePugh, in his letter, sees what he calls the pending Communist take-over:

"The Communist conquest of our nation will continue through internal subversion and gradual destruction of our economy. . . .

"Race war may be provoked at some future time in an attempt to lure armed civilians into the open and as an excuse to declare martial law in certain areas. . . .

"Civilians will be gradually disarmed, not so much by confiscating guns they now possess as by drying up sources of ammunition — which is already being done. Later on, the private ownership of firearms will be discouraged by a yearly federal tax. . . .

"Government economists are hoping to effect a plan within a very few years whereby there will be no further need for paper money. Each employe will be required to have a bank account that is affiliated with the Federal Reserve System. . . .

"Major business dealings will be made by transfers of bank credits. . . . A federal permit will be required to move from one state to another. . . .

"According to our best information, Socialist control will be virtually complete by 1973 or 1974."

But that needn't happen, says DePugh, if local activists will join his group, then follow his "month-by-month time table for first reversing the trend then ultimately saving our national and individual freedom."

DePugh who operates out of Norborne, Mo., claims a membership of 25,000.

The "Demolition Priority" list reportedly was drawn up after a discussion of whether "the enemy" should be contained within Atlanta. In addition to communications facilities, the list includes bridges, railroad stations, the airport and City Hall.

DeKalb Seeking N.C. Escapee In Rape Probe

Continued From Page 1

year-old woman's apartment on Monroe Drive NE. and tried to hold or tie over her head a pajama top he found in the apartment.

The woman was molested but not raped, and her assailant escaped. He was of medium weight and "chunky," and does not fit the description of the masked prowler.

The prisoner captured in North Carolina Thursday was arrested after state troopers spotted his car on N. C. 27, about 25 miles from the home of a girl friend of Clark's.

Clark had escaped April 13 from the Central Corrections Institution in Columbia where he was being held on two 10-year terms for larceny and pointing a pistol at another. Police were stationed in the area of his girl friend's home after receiving reports he had been seen there.

He surrendered without a struggle. Authorities said he had fastened another license tag over the one from the car stolen in DeKalb County.

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EXTREMISM

Action and Reaction

HOME: Social Essays. By LeRoi Jones. 252 pp. New York: William Morrow & Co. $4.

By ROBERT BONE

THERE is a line from Countee Cullen which expresses the intent of this collection: "My spirit has come home, that sailed the doubtful seas." LeRoi Jones writes in the mood of a Prodigal Son who has returned at last to his blackness. He celebrates his homecoming in some 20 essays, written between 1960 and 1965. In the title piece, Mr. Jones asks us to take note of the movement of these essays, and to view it as a linear progression toward his Negritude. Actually it represents the swing of a pendulum from assimilationism to Negro nationalism, from an extreme hatred of self to an extreme hatred of whites.

The art of being Negro in America is an art of balance. Conflicting impulses — toward whiteness, toward blackness—must be held in a precarious equilibrium. What strikes one most about the career of LeRoi Jones is precisely its lack of balance, from his early Greenwich Village days to his role as director of the Black Arts Repertory Theater. In the early days, his closest friends, his wife and his verse were rather conspicuously Caucasian. Now all that has changed, and he parades his blackness. In neither phase does one encounter the complexity, the creative tension, the double vision we have come to look for in the most perceptive Negro authors.

The present phase of Jones's career can only be described as rabid. Toward the end of this collection, the writing rises to a crescendo of hatred and invective. The last 60 pages are indistinguishable in tone and content from Muhammad Speaks; they differ in no respect from the rantings of black nationalist street speakers. As the pendulum moves through the middle ranges, however, on its way to this extreme, Jones has some important things to say. The early pieces, written between 1960 and 1963, are often arresting and sometimes persuasive. Thereafter Jones enters the fantasyland of black nationalism.

At the heart of these early essays is a dispute over the nature of reality. The view from the top of the hill and the view from the bottom, Jones insists, are not the same. It follows that the Negro writer, in assuming the burden of self-definition, must liberate himself from the white man's definitions of reality. For the truth about the Negro has never been admitted to the consciousness of his oppressor. Preventing it has been a screen of twisted images and grotesque stereotypes. Hence the Negro writer's determination to "tell it like it is," and not the way the white man says it is.

An official version of reality, for example, permeates the thinking of the white South: "Governor Wallace, on television, admonishes his black housekeeper warmly, 'Y'all take care of everything, heah?' The old woman smiles, and goes off to take care of his baby. That is the Negro that really exists for him. No other. The smiling convicts raking up leaves in his yard. He waves as he crosses to the car. More real Negroes. He is on his way to the University to make the fake Negroes disappear."

THE white Southerner, we may perhaps agree, is the victim of his own hallucinations. But when Jones extends his discussion to the realm of foreign policy, we begin to feel uneasy. Is it possible that America is responding to the colonial revolution in the jaundiced spirit of a James Eastland? "The Negro who wants the foot off his neck must be inspired by Communists." So the whites believe in Mississippi. But time and again, says Jones, confronted with national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, we have opposed the legitimate aspirations of the people in the name of anti-Communism. Here too are twisted images, falsified reality, and often enough a course of action based on dangerous hallucinations.

Not for nothing, then, does the present work begin with a long essay on the Cuban revolution. In the summer of 1960, Jones traveled to Cuba with a group of Negro intellectuals. Uninvolved in politics during his bohemian period, he is naive about the Communist involvement in recent Cuban history. But he brings back three home truths, however much they may offend the Yankee ear: first, that the Castro regime commands widespread popular support, by virtue of its program of agrarian reform; second, that Washington's determination to isolate if not destroy the revolution has more to do with overseas investment than with ideology; and third, that the Latin-American intelligentsia has entered a period of revolutionary ferment, the end of which will not be witnessed in our time.

Several essays are subsequently devoted to an attack on tokenism among white liberals. This theme is not unrelated to the foreign-policy considerations raised in the opening essay. For many American liberals, who do not subscribe to the tribal orthodoxy of Mississippi, do endorse official versions of overseas reality—or at the very least remain ambivalent, unable to resolve conflicting claims upon their loyalty. This unwillingness to challenge the official State Department view accounts for the political paralysis of contemporary liberalism. Putting it another way, liberals have failed to place the Negro revolution in a world perspective.

About a third of the collection is devoted to literary subjects, and here Jones is distinctly at his best. Three essays in particular contain the most considered writing of the present volume. "The Myth of a Negro Literature" states the case for disaffiliation from the value system and the world view of the white middle class. "Expressive Language" explores the relationship between Negro speech, emotional nuance and cultural expression. "Hunting Is Not Those Heads on the Wall" attempts to define an esthetic. In his emphatic rejection of formal art, of tradition and of classical restraint, Jones betrays his affinity for that neo-Romantic permissiveness, that unbridled self-indulgence, which links him to the poets of the Beat generation.

We have finally to deal with five or six pieces which are not so much essays as fulminations. Ostensibly they announce the author's conversion to black nationalism; in reality they signal an esthetic breakdown, a fatal loss of artistic control. The prose disintegrates, the tone becomes hysterical, and all pretense of logical argument is abandoned. The style, shall we say, is severely disturbed.

THE consequences are apparent in the following passage, from an essay called "The Legacy of Malcolm X and the Coming of the Black Nation": "The concepts of National Consciousness and the Black Nation, after the death of Malik, have moved to the point where now some Black People are demanding national sovereignty as well as National (and Cultural) Consciousness. In Harlem, for instance, *as director of the Black Arts Repertory Theater School,* I have issued a call for a Black Nation. In Harlem, where 600,000 Black People reside. *The first act* must be the nationalization of all properties and resources belonging to white people, within the boundaries of the Black Nation." (My italics).

LeRoi Jones, it is now apparent, is hoping to assume the mantle of the late Malcolm X. But pass over the self-aggrandizement; pass over the element of fantasy; concentrate on the unintended ambiguity of *first act.* Here is a playwright who has lost the fundamental distinction between image and event, between a scenario and a political program. This blurring of boundaries, this loss of discriminative power, is the price that Jones has paid for the unrestrained indulgence of his hate.

Mr. Bone is associate professor of English at Columbia University Teachers College, and the author of "The Negro Novel in America."

Photograph by Daniel Dawson.
LeRoi Jones.

NATIONAL

BIRCH SOCIETY PLANS NO CUTS IN CAMPAIGN

EXTREMISM

BELMONT, Mass., May 9 (UPI).—The John Birch Society, which has been losing money and lagging in recruitment of new members, plans no cutback in its campaign to extend its influence, it was disclosed today.

Robert H. W. Welch Jr., founder and president of the society, announced in his May bulletin that the society had fallen $1-million behind its goal for 1965 and acknowledged that the membership "did not catch up to the projected level to match and support the expanded field staff."

He said, however, that the society's national council had "firmly decided against cutting back at all."

Mr. Welch said the society's operating overhead was running considerably ahead of its income but that its monthly magazine and weekly paper were "steadily gaining in circulation and influence."

"What we need right now is a contribution of at least $1,000 from every person receiving this message," he declared.

Mr. Welch also said the society and its members spent a total of $5-million in 1965 while taking in $4,089,000. Contributions in 1964 totaled $3.2-million.

He said members had spent approximately $1-million on their own in 1965 for newspaper advertisements and other activities.

Moscow Chess Postponed By Illness of Petrosian

The 13th game of the 24-game title cheese match between Tigran Petrosian, the world champion, and Boris Spassky, both of the Soviet Union, was postponed in Moscow last night because Petrosian was ill, according to Tass, the Soviet news agency. No details were given of the champion's illness.

The score in the match, being played at the Variety Theater, stands at 7-5 for Petrosian.

Under the rules of the International Chess Federation, each player may postpone no more than three games on account of illness. Yesterday's was the first game of the match. The next game is scheduled for Wednesday.

EXTREMISM

Top Bircher Sees Red Plot in Dixie

5/21/66 AC

By DIANE THOMAS

America's racial turmoil is a Communist-inspired movement to establish a Soviet Negro Republic in the Dixie states, John Birch Society founder Robert Welch said in Atlanta Friday night.

"Hundreds of thousands of whites will be killed and tens of thousands of responsible Negroes along with them" if the Communists carry through their plot, Welch said.

In a two-hour speech interrupted 13 times by applause, the leader of the conservative Birchers lashed out at Chief Justice Earl Warren ("the man most admired by the Communists"), American college students ("brainwashed by the Communists"), SEATO, the United Nations, the Johnson administration in general, and in particular U.S. strategy in Viet Nam.

"Our war in Viet Nam is being run by Edward Lansdale, Henry Cabot Lodge and McNamara's Band," he said to loud applause. "Our Viet Nam line is as nutty as a pecan pie."

DIVERSION CHARGED

He charged the war is a diversionary tactic to enable the Communists to move toward total government in the U.S.

"The fact we are at war will be an excuse for the rationing of food and fuels, allocation of materials . . . and making opposition to government policies equal to treason," Welch told some 800 persons assembled in the Biltmore Hotel's exhibition hall.

The Communists will work to bring on total government and then turn the nation into a police state, he asserted.

In reply to "the sizeable portion of the American press that slavishly follows the Communist line" by labeling the Birch Society a "hate group," Welch declared, "We don't hate anybody, not even Earl Warren." The group, he said, is only opposed to the principles of Communism.

At one point in his speech, Welch paused to halt a television cameraman who was shooting film directly in fornt of the platform.

"Let's dont," he told the photographer. "That's idstracting to everybody. If you want more pictures, I'll stand still for them later."

48-STAR FLAG

Welch stood before a mammoth 48-star American flag which covered nearly a third of the front wall. Smaller 50-star banners decorated pillars in the hall.

Platform guests included Mr. and Mrs. John Birch, Sr. Their son, a native of Macon, Ga., was murdered by Chinese Communists at the end of World War II. The society is named for him.

Audience members included former Georgia Comptroller General Zack Gravey and current gubernatorial candidate Lester Maddox.

At the rear of the hall was a set of tables comprising the "American Opinion Book Store" and offering "a complete collection of conservative, patriotic literature."

Volumes on display included "McGuffey's 4th Eclectic Reader," "The Grim Truth about Fluoridation," George Orwell's "1984" and the Holy Bible.

The meeting was sponsored by John Birch Society groups in the five-county Atlanta area.

Petitioners Urge Probe of King Unit

EXTREMISM

5/27/66

By REMER TYSON

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A huge roll of paper, made up of reprints from a page in Roy Harris' Augusta Courier, with signatures on the back, was presented Thursday to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) as a petition to investigate Communist infiltration into major civil rights organizations.

The petitions were presented by the Rev. Bill Beeny, 28, pastor of the St. Louis, Mo. Baptist Temple.

Beeny said the roll of petitions contained 106,341 signatures, which he said were collected with the assistance of Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Ala., and the John Birch Society.

The petitions requested an investigation into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of Atlanta, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Black Muslims.

In a statement Thursday night from his Chicago headquarters Dr. King said, "The civil rights movement is dedicated to establishing a truly democratic society within the framework of the American Constitution. My personal philosophy is so diametrically opposed to communism that it is not even worthy of me to defend myself on this charge."

Two Deep South HUAC members, who served on a sub-committee that conducted extensive public hearings in Ku Klux Klan activities during the past six months, took opposite views of the proposed civil rights probe.

Atlanta Rep. Charles L. Weltner, a Democrat, said: "I am not inclined to support any pe-

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Petitioners Ask Probe Of SCLC

Continued from Page 1

tition prepared and submitted by the John Birch Society and the White Citizens Council."

Rep. John Buchanan, R-Ala., issued a statement endorsing the proposed investigation.

Leaders of civil rights and civil liberties organizations had protested the KKK investigation, charging it would be used as a means for the conservative-dominated HUAC to begin looking into civil rights activities.

Signatures on the batch of petitions were written on the back of a reprint from the Augusta Courier, a red-head-lined tabloid newspaper published by arch-segregationist Roy Harris. Date of publication in Harris' newspaper was July 8, 1963, according to the reprint.

The photographic reprint was described in a caption as a picture of Dr. Martin Luther King attending a meeeting at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., on Labor Day weekend in 1957.

"The photographer was sent to the Highlander Folk School by the Georgia Commission on Education," stated the caption.

Rep. Weltner said he sees no grounds for investigating activities of SCLC, CORE or SNCC.

"I view the duty of this committee is to investigate significant organizations that have as their purpose the forceful overthrow of the United States and the forceful deprivation of citizens' rights guaranteed by the Constitution," said the Atlanta congressman.

Weltner said he supported a HUAC resolution on March 30, 1965, directing a continuing inquiry into the KKK, the Black Muslims, the Minutemen, and the American Nazi Party.

"In spite of the terribly bad judgment of SNCC, I have seen no evidence that SNCC is trying to overthrow the government of the United States," said Weltner. "I don't know of any substantial basis for making that accusation against SCLC or CORE."

Rep. Buchanan said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover had reported Communist influence in some civil rights activities, and the Alabama congressman advocated finding out the degree of influence.

Buchanan praised unnamed civil rights leaders who he said had rejected Communist influence.

Rep. William Tuck, D-Va., ranking HUAC member, and Buchanan received the bundle of petitions from Beeny.

HUAC Chairman Edwin Willis, D-La., is ill and could not comment on the prospects of an investigation into civil rights activities.

Fed. Policy

Address of

President Lyndon B. Johnson at Commencement Exercises Howard University Washington, D.C.

June 4, 1965

Reprinted by

Housing and Home Finance Agency

Office of the Administrator

Washington, D.C. 20410

June 1965

Dr. Nabrit, my fellow Americans: I am delighted at the chance to speak at this important and this historic institution. Howard has long been an outstanding center for the education of Negro Americans. Its students are of every race and color and they come from many countries of the world. It is truly a working example of democratic excellence.

Our earth is the home of revolution. In every corner of every continent men charged with hope contend with ancient ways in the pursuit of justice. They reach for the newest of weapons to realize the oldest of dreams, that each may walk in freedom and pride, stretching his talents, enjoying the fruits of the earth.

Our enemies may occasionally seize the day of change, but it is the banner of our revolution they take. And our own future is linked to this process of swift and turbulent change in many lands in the world. But nothing in any country touches us more profoundly, and nothing is more freighted with meaning for our own destiny than the revolution of the Negro American.

In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope.

In our time change has come to this nation too. The American Negro, acting with impressive restraint, has peacefully protested and marched, entered the courtrooms and the seats of government, demanding a justice that has long been denied. The voice of the Negro was the call to action. But it is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts and the Congress, the President and most of the people, have been the allies of progress.

Thus we have seen the high court of the country declare that discrimination based on race was repugnant to the Constitution, and therefore void. We have seen in 1957, 1960, and again in 1964, the first civil rights legislation in this nation in almost an entire century.

As majority leader of the United States Senate, I helped to guide two of these bills through the Senate. And, as your President, I was proud to sign the third. And now very soon we will have the fourth--a new law guaranteeing every American the right to vote.

No act of my entire administration will give me greater satisfaction than the day when my signature makes this bill too the law of this land.

The voting rights bill will be the latest, and among the most important, in a long series of victories. But this victory--as Winston Churchill said of another triumph for freedom--"is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

That beginning is freedom; and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally, in American society--to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, or do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability--not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result.

For the task is to give twenty million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities--physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.

To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough. Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family you live with, and the neighborhood you live in, by the school you go to and the poverty or the richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally the man.

This graduating class at Howard University is witness to the indomitable determination of the Negro American to win his way in American life.

The number of Negroes in schools of higher learning has almost doubled in fifteen years. The number of nonwhite professional workers has more than doubled in ten years. The median income of Negro college women tonight exceeds that of white college women. And there are also the enormous accomplishments of distinguished individual Negroes--many of them graduates of this institution, and one of them the first lady ambassador in the history of the United States.

These are proud and impressive achievements. But they tell only the story of a growing middle class minority, steadily narrowing the gap between them and their white counterparts.

But for the great majority of Negro Americans--the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted and the dispossessed--there is a much grimmer story. They still, as we meet here tonight, are another nation. Despite the court orders and the laws, despite the legislative victories and the speeches, for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening.

Here are some of the facts of this American failure.

Thirty five years ago the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was about the same. Tonight the Negro rate is twice as high.

In 1948 the 8 percent unemployment rate for Negro teenage boys was actually less than that of whites. By last year that rate had grown to 23 percent, as against 13 percent for whites unemployed.

Between 1949 and 1959, the income of Negro men relative to white men declined in every section of this country. From 1952 to 1963 the median income of Negro families compared to white actually dropped from 57 percent to 53 percent.

In the years 1955 through 1957, 22 percent of experienced Negro workers were out of work at some time during the year. In 1961 through 1963 that proportion had soared to 29 percent.

Since 1947 the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 percent while the number of poorer nonwhite families decreased only 3 percent.

The infant mortality of nonwhites in 1940 was 70 percent greater than whites. Twenty-two years later it was 90 percent greater.

Moreover, the isolation of Negro from white communities is increasing, rather than decreasing as Negroes crowd into the central cities and become a city within a city.

Of course Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance. But the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true equality too many are losing ground every day.

We are not completely sure why this is. We know the causes are complex and subtle. But we do know the two broad basic reasons. And we do know that we have to act.

First, Negroes are trapped--as many whites are trapped--in inherited, gateless poverty. They lack training and skills. They are shut in slums, without decent medical care. Private and public poverty combine to cripple their capacities.

We are trying to attack these evils through our poverty program, through our education program, through our medical care and our other health programs and a dozen more of the Great Society programs that are aimed at the root causes of this poverty.

We will increase, and we will accelerate, and we will broaden this attack in years to come until this most enduring of foes finally yields to our unyielding will. But there is a second cause--much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. It is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery; and a century of oppression, hatred and injustice.

For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences--deep, corrosive, obstinate differences--radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression. For the white they are a constant reminder of guilt. But they must be faced and they must be dealt with and they must be overcome, if we are ever to reach the time when the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin.

Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and a largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice.

The Negro, like these others, will have to rely mostly on his own efforts. But he just can not do it alone. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome, and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness, nor were they excluded--these others--because of race or color--a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of that blanket. We must stand on all sides and we must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens.

One of the differences is the increased concentration of Negroes in our cities. More than 73 percent of all Negroes live in urban areas compared with less than 70 percent of the whites. Most of these Negroes live in slums. Most of these Negroes live together--a separated people.

Men are shaped by their world. When it is a world of decay, ringed by an invisible wall, when escape is arduous and uncertain, and the saving pressures of a more hopeful society are unknown, it can cripple the youth and it can desolate the man.

There is also the burden that a dark skin can add to the search for a productive place in society. Unemployment strikes most swiftly and broadly at the Negro, and this burden erodes hope. Blighted hope breeds despair. Despair brings indifference to the learning which offers a way out. And despair, coupled with indifference, is often the source of destructive rebellion against the fabric of society.

There is also the lacerating hurt of early collision with white hatred or prejudice, distaste or condescension. Other groups have felt similar intolerance. But success and achievement could wipe it away. They do not change the color of a man's skin. I have seen this uncomprehending pain in the eyes of the little Mexican-American schoolchild that I taught many years ago. But it can be overcome. But, for many, the wounds are always open.

Perhaps most important--its influence radiating to every part of life--is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man. It flows from the long years of degradation and discrimination, which have

attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to provide for his family.

This, too, is not pleasant to look upon. But it must be faced by those whose serious intent is to improve the life of all Americans.

Only a minority--less than half--of all Negro children reach the age of 18 having lived all their lives with both of their parents. At this moment, tonight, little less than two-thirds are at home with both of their parents. Probably a majority of all Negro children receive Federally-aided public assistance sometime during their childhood.

The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled.

So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together--all the rest: schools, and playgrounds, and public assistance, and private concern, will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation.

There is no single easy answer to all of these problems. Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings and a chance to learn--an equal chance to learn--are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

Care for the sick is part of the answer. An understanding heart by all Americans is another big part of the answer.

And to all these fronts--and a dozen more--I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson Administration.

But there are other answers still to be found. Nor do we fully understand even all of the problems. Therefore, I want to announce tonight that this fall I intend to call a White House conference of scholars, and experts, and outstanding Negro leaders--men of both races--and officials of Government at every level.

This White House conference's theme and title will be "To Fulfill These Rights." Its object will be to help the American Negro

fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement; to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin; to dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong--great wrong--to the children of God.

And I pledge you tonight this will be a chief goal of my Administration, and of my program next year, and in years to come. And I hope, and I pray, and I believe, it will be a part of the program of all America.

For what is justice? It is to fulfill the fair expectations of man.

Thus, American justice is a very special thing. For, from the first, this has been a land of towering expectations. It was to be a nation where each man could be ruled by the common consent of all--enshrined in law, given life by institutions, guided by men themselves subject to its rule. And all--all of every station and origin--would be touched equally in obligation and in liberty.

Beyond the law lay the land. It was a rich land, glowing with more abundant promise than man had ever seen. Here, unlike any place yet known, all were to share the harvest.

And beyond this was the dignity of man. Each could become whatever his qualities of mind and spirit would permit--to strive, to seek, and, if he could, to find his happiness.

This is American justice. We have pursued it faithfully to the edge of our imperfections, and we have failed to find it for the American Negro.

So, it is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American nation and, in so doing, to find America for ourselves, with the same immense thrill of discovery which gripped those who first began to realize that here, at last, was a home for freedom.

All it will take is for all of us to understand what this country is and what this country must become.

The Scripture promises: "I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out."

Together, and with millions more, we can light that candle of understanding in the heart of all America.

And, once lit, it will never again go out.

GPO 893-984

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

February 18, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

AS YOU PROBABLY KNOW, The Civil Rights Protection bill has been introduced in the Senate by a bipartisan group headed by Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) and Clifford Case (R., N.J.). Although the Leadership Conference has as yet taken no formal position on this bill, we are enclosing for your information a background paper prepared by the Washington Bureau of the NAACP. Still to be introduced is the Administration's bill on civil rights protection. When that is available, we will send you a comparison of the Administration and the Douglas-Case measures.

Rec'd 2/21/66 (C+D file) "FEDERAL POLICY"

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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CONGRESS GETS THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTION ACT OF 1966

A bipartisan group of 20 Senators headed by Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) and Clifford Case (R., N.J.), on Thursday, February 10, introduced the bill under the title, "The Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966" (S.2923).

The bill is a response to the violence at Selma and Birmingham, the street corner and highway killings of men and women peacefully asserting their constitutional rights, and the kind of outrageous justice that has resulted in the acquittal of practically self-confessed murders.

What the Douglas-Case Bill Contains

Its six titles provide for: non-discriminatory selection of juries in federal and state courts; removal of state crimes to federal courts in order to assure equal protection of the law; injunctions against police and private violence; removal to federal courts of cases brought against Negroes and civil rights workers with the clear purpose of harassing them and subjecting them to discriminatory and segregated trial; compensation for persons killed or injured while exercising their lawful rights; and non-discrimination in the employment of persons in jails and courts and all facilities of justice.

The Senators omitted from their bill a provision in the draft prepared by a committee of well-known civil rights attorneys that would permit the Civil Service Commission to remove state and local police officials whose violation of their constitutional duty resulted in death or maiming.

Representatives Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D., Mich.) and Donald M. Fraser (D., Minn.) have introduced substantially the same bill in the House (H.R.12807 and H.R.12818); but they included the provision for removing state and local police officials who fail in their duty.

The bills are being referred to the House and Senate Judiciary Committees.

In addition to Senators Douglas and Case, the other sponsors of the Senate bill are: Philip Hart (D., Mich.), Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), Pat McNamara (D., Mich.), William Proxmire (D., Wis.), Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.), Hugh Scott (R., Pa.), Stephen M. Young (D., Ohio), Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), Maurine B. Neuberger (D., Ore.), Birch Bayh (D., Ind.), Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.), Abraham Ribicoff (D., Conn.), Thomas J. McIntyre (D., N.H.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Robert F. Kennedy (D., N.Y.).

In introducing the bill, Senator Douglas summarized its main provisions. Attached are excerpts from his speech. We also enclose an editorial from the New York Times, on the need for the bill.

* * * * *

Attachments

Attachment No.1

Senator Paul Douglas, summarizing the provisions of the Civil Rights Protection Act, in a speech to the Senate, February 10, 1966 (Congressional Record, p.2856)

IMPROVE JURY SELECTION

In the first place, the bill is designed to improve the selection of juries in both State and Federal courts. Jury lists are sometimes manipulated in a strange way to obtain virtually all white juries or such overwhelmingly white juries as to make any other representation merely token and of no account. It provides for a representative cross section of the population on jury lists, and to avoid discrimination on grounds of race or color in the selection of juries.

That is buttressed by provisions which would set up jury commissions in each Federal district court, which would put into effect a sampling plan subject to the approval of the Director of the Administrative Office of U.S. Courts which would furnish a representative cross section of the population of the Federal district without exclusion on the basis of race, color, sex, religious or political affiliation, or economic or social status.

In addition, literacy tests are banned for Federal juries, but the judge may exclude illiterate jurors from particular cases where reading is a significant factor, except that no person shall be excluded on this ground who has completed the sixth grade in an English-language school.

CAN APPLY TO STATE COURTS

With regard to the State courts, when a Federal district court finds that there has been discrimination on the ground of race or color, the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts would take over and would administer the selection of juries under the Federal system created by this act, and he might use the Federal jury list if that were practical. In other words, discrimination on grounds of race or color is the trigger for Federal action, but where this discrimination is found, the jury rules for fair juries apply.

These can be ordered into effect only by a Federal judge and upon appeal of the Attorney General. Of course, the assistance of the Bureau of Census can be called upon in the preparation of representative cross-sections.

JURISDICTION OF AND REMOVAL TO FEDERAL COURTS

The second feature is an important one because it makes it possible for the Federal courts to have jurisdiction of certain crimes when Federal prosecution is necessary to assure equal protection of the laws. That may seem to some of those who read the RECORD, as well as to those who are listening to my speech, to be a very radical proposal, but I would like to read from the report of the Civil Rights Commission for 1963, page 125, recommendation No. 4. The Commission recommended:

That Congress amend section 1443 of title 28 of the United States Code to permit removal by the defendant of a State civil action or criminal prosecution to a District Court of the United States in cases where the defendant cannot, in the State court, secure his civil rights because of the written or decisional laws of the State or because of the acts of individuals administering or affecting its judicial process.

So, we are merely carrying into effect the very important recommendation on this point by the Civil Rights Commission That was a unanimous recommendation.

If we may put this in simple terms, if a county or other political subdivision should exclude Negroes from juries, or deny the voting process to them, or otherwise discriminate in the administration of justice, State crimes against Negroes or civil rights workers would be triable in Federal court. But in order to give the Federal court jurisdiction there must be proof of such a segregated system of justice and, in the second place, a certificate by the Attorney General of the United States that prosecution in the Federal court would fulfill the responsibility of the U.S. Government to assure equal protection of the laws.

Under similar circumstances, the Attorney General may remove to Federal court a case which has already been commended in a State court. These provisions last for only 10 years and expire on the 1st of January 1975, or perhaps more technically speaking, 10 years after the date of enactment of this measure.

I hope that this will stimulate the States to purify their own jury systems and to improve their own systems of justice so that the transfer of jurisdiction need not occur in many cases, but will be held back in reserve and can be employed if the States and the civil subdivisions thereof continue to be derelict.

BROADENS FEDERAL OFFENSES

This title would also amend section 241 of the United States Code to broaden Federal offenses in the area of civil rights. It is believed that this broadening of Federal offenses may be the less important part of the title. The killer of a civil rights worker ought to be tried for the crime of murder rather than for depriving someone of his constitutional rights. Basically, that is what this title does.

EXTENSION OF OLD PART III

In addition, we have part III, which provides civil preventive relief to those who exercise rights under the 14th amendment to the Constitution. In a sense, this is the old title III or part III of the 1957 bill, which was debated before this body for many weeks, and upon which there was a rather close vote. It permits an individual or the Attorney General to obtain injunctions against violations of constitutional rights. This is now true in many circumstances, such as segregation in the schools, segregation in public facilities, the denial of voting rights, and the rest; but the proposed authority would also provide protection against police violence and private violence, and do it in advance, rather than to have, as so often occurs at present, futile subsequent trials, almost universally resulting in acquittal.

REMOVAL OF DEFENDANTS

The fourth title provides for the removal of defendants in certain cases from State to Federal district courts. This is where a county or other political subdivision provides a segregated and discriminatory system of justice.

Where a county or other political subdivision provides a segregated and discriminatory system of justice, those who attack Negroes and civil rights workers have almost universally done so with impunity, and Negroes and civil rights workers who themselves are chargd with crime have not received fair trials.

Just as title II of this bill provides for the prosecution in the Federal courts of those who attack Negroes and civil rights workers in areas of segregated justice, so title IV permits the removal to Federal courts by Negroes and civil rights workers who are subjected to prosecution in such areas.

CIVIL INDEMNIFICATION

A somewhat novel feature is introduced by title V, which I think is crucial. It provides for civil indemnification awards by a Federal board in certain cases where a person is injured in his person or property or is deprived of his life while he is lawfully exercising rights protected by the Constitution. This would be done by creating an indemnification board within the Civil Rights Commission to indemnify persons killed or injured or who have lost their property because of lawful civil rights activities. Just as the Federal Government assists those who have served their country, and just as States provide compensation for injured workmen, so those hurt in the struggle for civil rights should also be compensated.

Under this title, the Federal Government would make payments to the injured person and would then have the right to collect such payments from the person who caused the injury and from the State or political subdivision where the injury was caused by a person acting under color of law.

The idea that persons injured by unlawful acts should be allowed to bear the full burden of their losses, physical and financial, is being gradually replaced by the idea that the community owes some responsibility to those people. This proposal is an attempt to apply that principle to the field of civil rights.

FEPC EXTENDED TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Title VI provides that the FEPC provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act shall now be made applicable to State and local governmental units. It is only by integrating State and local personnel engaged in the administration of justice that equal protection of the laws can be made a reality.

Attachment No.2

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, February 12, 1966

Still the Reconstruction

More than a century after Lincoln's death, the Negro's share in American life is a mingled portion of rich accomplishment and tragic inequality, of faith redeeemed and hope snuffed out, of brilliant opportunity and dark fear.

A bipartisan group of twenty Senators led by Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Clifford Case of New Jersey has introduced this week a bill that seeks to dismantle yet another part of the rotting, unjust structure of segregation that still humiliates and contains many Negroes. The bill would reform Southern justice, enabling the Federal courts and prosecutors to take jurisdiction in state cases where a fair trial is not possible.

Such intervention could occur, for example, if Negroes were systematically excluded from juries. It would become a Federal crime to kill, injure, or intimidate Negroes trying to exercise their constitutional rights. The bill would insure that juries were selected from a representative cross-section of the population. Incentives to desegregate Southern police forces are provided, and victims of racial violence would be eligible for financial compensation.

President Johnson has already indicated his intention of recommending similar measures, but Senator Douglas and his colleagues have in the past pointed the way for Congress on Federal voting registrars and other innovations. Certainly, it is clear that legislation in this field is necessary. Numerous Negroes and white civil rights workers have lost their lives in recent years, but Southern state juries have repeatedly refused to convict in such cases. The miasma of fear must be lifted from the lives of Southern Negroes and those who battle to assure them genuine equality.

In the North the need is less for new laws than for a sense of urgency about removing the roots of tension. Six months after the riots in Watts, eighteen months after the upheavals in Harlem and Rochester, nothing very much has changed in the racial ghettoes. The bad housing and inferior schools are still there; the additional blue coliar jobs for the unskilled are still missing; the aimless, angry teen-ager is still drifting.

The American Negro has to help himself, but the larger society also has to do more than it has yet done to help him overcome decades of past discrimination and deprivation. A century after Lincoln, the Negro still has a claim on the American conscience.

Rights Regulation Hard to Enforce

AC 2/23/66

FEDERAL POLICY

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON—One of the main sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that pertaining to use of federal funds to attack discrimination, is not working nearly as well as many backers of the legislation had anticipated.

There is growing criticism from civil rights groups of the administration's enforcement of the section, Title VI, and there is disillusionment within the administration about what can be accomplished under Title VI without the addition of a large police force.

In some areas, the administration is putting new emphasis on alternate remedies that existed long before Title VI was passed — lawsuits and contract compliance.

"Title VI is the atomic bomb of civil rights," an administration source said. "We dare not use it all at once."

The title says there shall be no racial discrimination in any federally assisted program. Almost 200 federal programs are covered by it, but in only a few of these have stringent enforcement efforts been made.

Coordination of Title VI enforcement has rested with the Department of Justice since last September when Presiden Lyndon B. Johnson ordered a realignment of civil rights agencies and duties.

In new Title VI guidelines issued in December, the department made it clear that withholding or termination of funds by the executive branch was not always desirable.

"Compliance," the department said, "may often be obtained more promptly by appropriate court action than by hearings and termination of assistance."

The administration is threatening to get tough under another old remedy, contract compliance by executive order. For several years, the government has sought to end discrimination in firms holding federal contracts.

So far, no contract has been canceled for non-compliance. The policy has been to try to achieve voluntary compliance.

U. S. AGENCY HELD LAX ON RIGHTS ACT

FED. POLICY

Gardner Concedes Gains in Health Facilities Are Slight

2/24/66

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23 — Racial discrimination is still being practiced in many federally supported hospitals and other health facilities in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commission on Civil Rights said in a special report today.

The report, based on investigations in 40 communities in 12 Southern and Border states, was sharply critical of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers most of the Federal health funds. It said the agency had been lax in learning the facts of discrimination, and slow to take corrective action where the facts were known.

The study was based on on-the-spot investigations of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which provides that Federal funds for local programs can be cut off whereever racial discrimination is practiced in the use of such funds.

The study was limited to four medical programs under the jurisdiction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and to the Head Start educational program administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Gardner Concedes Lag

The commission's report is also critical of the preschool Head Start program, describing it as "a lost opportunity" for providing an integrated school atmosphere in the areas studied.

William L. Taylor, staff director for the commission, said at a news conference that the health agency had not cut off funds to any of the communities involved but that negotiations looking to that end were in process.

In a statement today, John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, conceded that his department had made little progress in imposing sanctions for evasions of the nondiscrimination law. He noted that new compliance machinery had been set up only a few months ago and that he was now assembling an investigative staff.

However, some preliminary steps toward enforcement have been taken, the Secretary said.

Two hundred hospitals and 87 school districts that have been found to be violating Title VI have been declared ineligible

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Two hundred hospitals and 87 school districts that have been found to be violating Title VI have been declared ineligible for new Federal funds but continue to receive money under grants previously approved.

Welfare Agencies Scored

The commission reported that less progress toward integrated medical service had been made by local welfare agencies than by any other group studied. Many doctors and hospitals who serve welfare clients, the report stated, have not even been told that the law forbids them to discriminate in rendering such services.

The most notable progress has been made in hospitals, the study found. It said that a few of the 39 institutions visited had abolished all forms of discrimination and most of the others had done away with such obvious symbols of segregation as separate wards, waiting rooms and toilets. But in the majority of hospitals "discernible patterns of noncompliance" still exist, it said.

"The pace at which hospitals had desegregated was primarily determined by the administrator or the board and was seldom the result of efforts by the PUBLIC Health Service staff of H.E.W.," the report said.

Politically Dangerous

The process of applying ultimate sanctions against a recalcitrant state or community is loaded with political and other hazards.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, is required to notify Congress 30 days in advance of every such decision. In addition, the Secretary takes a moral dilemma in that the principal sufferers from such acitions would be persons on welfare rolls and the public, often served by only a single hospital or clinic.

A total denial of funds is regarded by many in the Government as unnecessary harsh and difficult to apply. Consideration is being given, therefore, to court action to enforce compliance in medical services.

There has been a disposition in the Welfare Administration to accept formal assurances from state welfare departments that their programs are nondiscriminatory. There is no official contact between the Federal agency and local welfare departments.

FEDERAL POLICY 2/25/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FR

U.S. ACTS TO OPEN JOBS TO NEGROES

Civil Service Issues Rules on Federal Employment

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24—The Civil Service Commission issued today new regulations designed to open more Federal jobs to Negroes and members of other minorities.

The regulations, which become effective April 3, will for the first time permit persons with grievances concerning racial discrimination to appeal to the commission from the agencies where the grievances originate.

Mandatory procedures are set down for agencies to "eradicate all vestiges of prejudice" and to assure new opportunities for employment and advancement of minorities.

Agency heads, for example, are directed to participate in community action with other public and private employers and educators "to improve employment opportunities and community conditions that effect employability."

The regulations, announced by John W. Macy Jr., the commission chairman, were drawn up under an executive order issued last September by President Johnson. The order abolished the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and transferred its duties in Federal employment to the commission.

2.5-Million Jobs Affected

Under the previous setup, Mr. Macy said, grievances could be appealed to the President's committee but the committee had no power to order the agencies to end discrimination. It could only conciliate.

The commission, however, has power to order an agency to take corrective steps when it finds evidence of discrimination.

Mr. Macy said that the regulations applied to some 2.5 million Federal jobs in 30,000 cities, towns and villages.

The last survey of minority employment in the Federal Government, completed last July 1, showed that Negroes held 13.5 per cent of the Federal jobs. While most were in low-paying categories, the commission said that significant increases had been made in better paying jobs.

Mr. Macy said that the trend had continued in recent months.

In the past, minority employment has been measured by a face count. Racial designations on employment records were discontinued several years ago because it was believed such designations could be used to foster discrimination.

Computer Get Racial Data

The new regulations call for all employes to fill out forms designating their race or national origin. This information will not go into personnel records but will be filed separately and fed into computers to facilitate frequent checks on the racial balance in Federal employment.

Agency heads are directed to "conduct a continuing campaign to eradicate every form of prejudice or discrimination based upon race, creed, color or national origin."

Each agency is to appoint an equal employment opportunity officer and deputies, if needed, to assist the head of the agency.

The commission is to review periodically the steps each agency has taken to keep employment opportunities open.

Mr. Macy said that the regulations called for new emphasis on training, counseling and recruiting. For example, the commission is conducting a recruiting campaign in Negro colleges and agencies are directed to inform minority groups of the job opportunities available.

The new regulations, Mr. Macy said, "do not mean lowering of standards or ignoring basic concepts of the merit system." He said the agencies would have no quota for minority groups.

EW YORK TIMES, SA

WEAVER TO DECIDE BUDGET AND PLANS

NYT 2/26/66

Control Centralized in Urban Department Administration

FEDERAL POLICY

By JOHN D. POMFRET

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—The White House today announced an organization plan for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development designed to give the department's Secretary strong centralized policy-making control. Regional administrators will have the power to make key operating decisions on their own.

The plan was outlined in a memorandum from Secretary Robert C. Weaver to President Johnson that was released by the White House press office.

The plan, which is to be put into effect gradually over the next few weeks, does not entail any new programs or functions. It is designed to prepare for what Mr. Weaver's memorandum called "a sound management framework" for carrying out the so-called Demonstration Cities Program should Congress approve it.

The program, submitted to Congress on Jan. 26 by Mr. Johnson, calls for the expenditure of $2.3-billion over six years to rebuild slum neighborhoods in 60 to 70 cities of various sizes. The cities have yet to be selected.

The organization plan places in the Secretary's office the important functions of budgeting and planning new programs and reviewing old ones.

Before the department was created, Mr. Weaver, as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, presided over a set of loosely linked bureaus that retained virtual autonomy. The new organization plan is designed to bring these bureaus under Mr. Weaver's firm control.

The delegation of what the memorandum called "clear and unambiguous authority" in the department's seven regional administrators reflects a developing trend in Federal administrative philosophy that is being encouraged by the President. Basically, the theory is that the Federal Government cannot operate efficiently if all decisions have to be made in Washington.

The regional administrators will coordinate all the department's established programs and will have authority to make decisions in carrying them forward.

The demonstration programs, however, would be administered from Washington by "a small and mobile staff." The regional administrators would coordinate support in their areas for them.

The organization plan provides for an assistant secretary to administer the department's mortgage credit programs in the private housing field, a second to administer urban renewal and housing assistance programs in central cities, a third to run programs affecting larger urgan areas, and a fourth to develop experimental programs and to take care of relations with other Government departments and agencies.

RIGHTS LEADERS CHARGE FUND LAG

NYT 2/26/66

Say O.E.O. Hasn't Allocated Money to Fight Illiteracy

FEDERAL POLICY

The opening of a nationwide program to combat illiteracy appears to have encountered resistance and delay in Washington.

The heads of the most important civil rights organizations at a meeting here yesterday expressed "serious concern" over the delays but were at a loss to understand the reasons. Nor were they able to identify those responsible fo the resistance to the opening of the program.

The drive is to be conducted by a new agency—The Center For Community-Action Education. James Farmer resigned as national director of the Congress of Racial Equality to head the projected program.

Difficulties with the Office of Economic Opportunity, which had approved the program, came to light after yesterday's meeting of the civil rights leaders.

Participating in the meeting were Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, Roy Wilkens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Forman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Dorothy Haight of the National Council of Negro Women, and others.

A statement issued after the meeting blamed the O.E.O. for the difficulties in getting the program off the ground.

The statement said:

"The Council For United Civil Rights Leadership, in reaffirming its enthusiastic endorsement of the national literacy program planned by the Center For Community-Action Education, expresses its concern that this program has not yet been approved for funding by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity lespite the fact that the sponsors of the program have met the long list of specification of the O.E.O."

The program's sponsors submitted their application to the O.E.O. last August 16th and, after many conferences in which views were adjusted and details worked out, were led to believe that the Federal government would finance its share of the program.

The agreed date for starting the program was Feb. 15th, 1966. This was postponed to March 1st.

The sponsors assumed that the latter date would see the program in being but as of yesterday no word has been received from Washington and there have been no replies to inquiries from the sponsors as to whether the decks had been finally cleared for action.

The O.E.S. was said to have committed itself to contribute $875,000 to finance 18 pilot projects during the first year if the new agency raised $100,000 from private sources.

FEDERAL POLICY

LBJ Appoints Negro To FRB; Chairman May Lose Majority

Ark. Gazette 2/27/66

WASHINGTON — President Johnson reached into the ranks of his own administration Saturday and appointed a 39-year-old Negro as a member of the Federal Reserve Board.

The president said at a news conference that he was nominating Andrew F. Brimmer, now assistant Commerce secretary for economic affairs, to the vacancy created by the expiring term of Vice Chairman C. Canby Balderston.

Balderston was one of three other members who voted with Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin Jr. last December to raise the discount rate because of what Martin called the threat of inflation. Mr. Johnson vigorously opposed the 4 to 3 decision. Brimmer would be the first Negro ever to serve on the Board.

The nomination to the seven-man Board is for a term of 14 years, and is subject to Senate confirmation.

Mr. Johnson, it was learned, discussed the appointment with Martin before announcing it. Sources said that Martin urged the president to appoint a businessman to the vacancy so that commerce and industry could be represented in the Board's decisions. The Board, which operates independently of the executive branch, is the dominant agency controlling the nation's money supply and in setting interest rates.

Brimmer formerly worked as an economist for the New York Reserve Bank and in the Commerce Department has been dealing extensively with the nation's balance of payments problems.

Martin Endorses President's Choice

After President Johnson announced the appointment, Martin issued a statement that, in effect, endorsed it.

He said: "Mr. Brimmer achieved a very commendable record as a member of the economic research staff of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York during the 1950s and I believe that he can be counted upon to build further upon that record in his service as a member of the Board, especially in view of the experience he has gained as assistant secretary of commerce in working on the difficult problem of the nation's balance of payments."

This was interpreted as indicating that Martin has no intention of resigning in protest.

Native of Louisiana Has Doctorate Degree

Brimmer was born in Newelton, La. He moved to Bremerton, Wash., after graduating from high school at age 17.

He worked on a weekly newspaper in Washington while attending night school and later obtained bachelor's and master's degrees in economics at the University of Washington. He spent a year in India under a Fulbright scholarship and receive his doctorate from Harvard in 1957.

U.S. Found Hesitant To Enforce Rights By Cutting Off Aid

2/23/66

FED. POLICY

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22 — One of the main sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—the provision pertaining to use of Federal funds to attack discrimination — is not working nearly as well as many backers of the legislation had hoped.

There is growing criticism from civil rights groups of the Administration's enforcement of the section, Title VI, and there is disillusionment in the Administration itself about what can be accomplished under Title VI without the addition of a large police force.

Enforcement has also been slowed, official sources said, by political pressures exerted on the departments and agencies by both the Administration and members of Congress.

In some areas, the Administration is putting new emphasis on alternate remedies that existed long before the act was passed—lawsuits and contract compliance.

A Civil Rights 'Bomb'

"Title VI is the atomic bomb of civil rights," an Administration source said. "We dare not use it all at once."

The title says there shall be no racial discrimination in any federally assisted program. Almost 200 Federal programs are covered by it, but in only a few of these have stringent enforcement efforts been made.

The Potomac Institute, Inc., a private research agency, recently issued a report saying that Title VI, if it were used properly, would provide a more effective means of desegregating all housing, public and private, than the fair housing legislation proposed by the Administration.

Coordination of Title VI enforcement has rested with the Justice Department since last

Continued on Page 26, Column 3

FED. POLICY

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1966.

U.S. TO UNDERPLAY VOTER DRIVE ROLE

Negroes Decry Katzenbach Stress on Local Action

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Feb. 28—Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach told civil rights leaders today he expected more than half of the eligible Negroes in the Deep South to vote in this year's elections.

However, he said private organizations, rather than the Federal Government, had chief responsibility for getting them registered.

After his speech, which drew mild applause, some of the civil rights leaders expressed disappointment that Mr. Katzenbach had not pledged the immediate appointment of more Federal voting examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

"I still feel we need more registrars," said the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "We will not be able to go into all the counties where there is a need with voter education projects."

"It looks like we will have to have more demonstrations to get examiners," said Dr. King, noting that examiners had been appointed in Birmingham after his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, conducted street demonstrations there.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said Mr. Katzenbach had made a "forthright statement" but that the Federal presence was needed at the polls in large areas of the South. He pointed out that there were no Federal examiners in Georgia, the state with the largest number of unregistered Negroes of voting age.

"He put the burden right back on us," said a member of the Southern Regional Council, which sponsored the meeting.

Their statements underscored a basic disagreement that still exists between civil rights groups and the Justice Department on voter registration despite stepped-up enforcement of the act and some impressive gains made under it.

Mr. Katzenbach spoke at a luncheon at Atlanta's new Marriotte Motor Hotel marking the start of a new Southwide voter education project by the council. A similar project resulted in the registration of about 700,000 Negroes in 11 states prior to the elections of 1964.

About 600 civil rights leaders, representing the major organanizations in all Southern states, attended.

Mr. Katzenbach said that as of Feb. 1 about 200,000 Negroes had been registered by local officials in voluntary compliance with the Voting Rights Act in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina, the five states principally affected.

In addition, he said, Federal examiners in 36 counties have registered more than 100,000 Negroes since the act was signed last Aug. 6, thus bringing the total five-state Negro

"I hope and expect," Mr. Katz- This represents less than 40 per cent of those eligible.

"I hope and expect," Mr. Katenbach said, "that by the time of the next election in each of these states, more than half of the voting-age Negro population will register—and will vote."

Mr. Katzenbach pointed out that Federal examiners had been sent in where local officials had refused to make registration accessible. He said he would appoint more examiners if necessary, but his speech stressed the duty of private organizations.

"The most important generating factor is local organizations," he declared. "Counties which have extensive Negro registration, whether by local officials or by Federal examiners, are counties in which registration campaigns have been conducted. In counties without such campaigns, even the presence of examiners has been of limited gain."

FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1966.

JAVITS DISPUTES RIGHTS UNIT SHIFT

FEDERAL POLICY

Clashes With Katzenbach During Senate Hearing

NYT 3/4/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 3—Senator Jacob K. Javits told Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach today that the Administration was about to send conciliators into racial disputes "with the prosecutor's pistol packed right on their side."

The New York Republican made the statement in questioning Mr. Katzenbach at length about President Johnson's controversial proposal to transfer the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Justice Department.

Mr. Katzenbach, testifying before the Government Operations Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, chain-smoked cigarettes and stuck by his argument that the transfer would enhance the cause of racial peace and civil rights.

Power Played Down

Senator Javits said he was "disquieted" that a racial conciliation agency was about to be placed under the department charged with enforcing the laws. He pointed out that much of the conciliation work by the service had involved businessmen in various communities.

"If you were a businessman," Mr. Javits asked, "and a man sent in his card and said, 'I'm from the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice, tell me all you know in confidence,' what would you think about it?"

"I would think they employed an idiot," Mr. Katzenbach replied, adding that he did not think the Justice Department's power to bring lawsuits or the legal requirement that the service keep its negotiations secret would harm conciliation efforts.

In reference to conciliators being armed with "the prosecutor's pistol," Mr. Katzenbach replied:

"Maybe it's not the gun that you think it is, Senator."

"You better not repeat that out loud," Mr. Javits responded.

Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut who is the subcommittee chairman, brought up the current dispute between the Attorney General and Texas officials and asked if such a controversy might not hamper conciliation efforts in which the Justice Department was directly involved.

Texas officials accused Mr. Katzenbach yesterday of interfering in state affairs by assigning Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to observe voter registration in that state. Mr. Katzenbach said his action was in line with a Federal Court order that had brought about a special registration.

Area Is Broadened

The Attorney General told the Senators he favored putting the service in the Commerce Department when it was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because the main job of the service was then believed to be the bringing about of peaceful integration of public accommodations in the South.

Since then, he said, racial problems have sprung up throughout the nation.

"The expanding range of the service's activities has brought it more and more often into areas in which the Department of Justice has a direct enforcement responsibility," he said.

"Conciliation is an old friend. Indeed, it has always been the function of the law and the good lawyer to keep tempers down, to find satisfactory agreement and to settle cases, wherever possible, out of court."

Politics Snags Literacy Project Directed by Ex-Head of CORE

FED. POLICY

Powell Reported Opposed to Program, Stalled for Weeks in the Antipoverty Agency

3/5/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 4 — James Farmer's plan to switch from civil rights demonstrations to teaching literacy is caught on political shoals.

A project with a $780,000 grant has been held up for weeks in the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal antipoverty agency.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell was reported today to be opposed to the project. Mr. Powell's public position is: "No comment."

Whether Mr. Powell is personally opposed, or is simply making a tactical move to shepherd the antipoverty agency's new bill through hearings in the next two weeks, could not be determined. An aide to the Manhattan Democrat said that a number of members of Congress had privately told Mr. Powell in recent weeks of their opposition to the project.

The project first became known in December, prematurely in Mr. Farmer's view. As a result of the publicity, he felt obliged to announce then his resignation as executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality, effective March 1.

Causes of Delay Unclear

The project, called the National Cooperative Literacy Program, is to be operated by the Center for Community-Action Education. It would provide literacy classes in 18 communities, with Federal funds being used to train the instructors and to provide teaching materials.

In January, the antipoverty agency was on the verge of announcing approval of the project. That announcement has never come. The agency says the project is very much alive, but it is not possible to get a clear statement of the cause of the delay.

Mr. Powell is chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, which manages the agency's authorization bill. The Senate Appropriations Committee, with veto power over the agency's money requests, is packed with members from the Deep South.

When Sargent Shriver, head of the antipoverty agency, is under political pressure, or expects it, he is at great pains to find all possible flaws in a proposal. Weakness that would be overlooked in noncontroversial projects are magnified in expectation of challenges at the Capitol.

The New York Times

James Farmer

The fine combing of the literacy project is not finished.

One result of these challenges is that the board of directors of the project has been strengthened. It now includes; besides Mr. Farmer, who is the president, the following members:

Dr. Stanton L. Wormley, acting president of Howard University, vice president.

Gene Kamper Kahn, Washington lawyer.

Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, of the Russell Sage Foundation.

The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University.

Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, director of the Washington Bureau, National Urban League.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

David B. McCall, president of LaRoche, McCaffrey & McCall.

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE.

Henry Morgenthau 3d.

Dr. John Morsell, associate director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

James M. Nabrit, a United States delegate to the United Nations.

Hazel Brannon Smith, owner-editor of The Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser.

Lyle Spencer, president of Science Research Associates.

Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the Institute of Education Research. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes.

FEP. POLICY

PARLEY ON RIGHTS ENLISTS SUPPORT

White House Meeting Seeks Leaders From All Fields

NYT 3/6/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 5 — "The American people would like to get this problem behind them."

The speaker was Ben W. Heineman, the new chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, and the problem, as defined by President Johnson, was how to make the Negro American a full partner in society.

Mr. Heineman, who also is chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, has set out to broaden the responsibility for finding and achieving solutions.

"I would hope the Federal Government will continue to play a major role in the whole area," he said in an interview. "But I also feel strongly that more must be done by the private sector and by the state and local governments."

This new emphasis is reflected in the make-up of a 29-member council the President has appointed to develop an agenda for the conference, which will be held here June 1 and 2.

Many Key Leaders

In addition to civil rights, government, education and labor leaders, who traditionally have been concerned with racial matters, the council includes the following:

James A. Linen 3d, president of Time, Inc.; James G. Maddox, professor of agriculture, University of North Carolina; J. Irwin Miller, chairman of Cummins Engine Company; Rafer Johnson, former Olympic decathlon champion; Courtlandt S. Gross, chairman of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; John S. Gleason Jr., vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago, and United States District Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. of Philadelphia.

A Philip Randolph, the Negro labor leader, is honorary chairman of the conference. New vice-chairmen under Mr. Heineman are the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, director of the Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Edward Sylvester, director of the Labor Department's Office of Contract Compliance.

Mr. Heineman said the council would sift the many ideas made at a planning session of 250 delegates last November, consult experts in the fields involved and draw up proposals for conference action.

The conference may include as many as 2,000 delegates from all walks of life. It will come one year after President Johnson announced he would call such a session "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

Mr. Heineman said no attempt would be made to narrow the proposals to any area. While urban problems are particularly pressing, he said, the conference will also be concerned with Negro life in the rural South.

"The whole society is not deeply enough involved," Mr. Heineman said. "I haven't any doubt at all that the American people will respond to this problem if we are able to show them how and what to do."

New Morals and Loyalty Rules Ordered by Antipoverty Agency

NYT 3/10/66

Guidelines Now Being Issued Produced Friction at Shriver Office—Proposal to Increase Jobs Offered by Wirtz

FEDERAL POLICY

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON March 9—The Office of Economic opportunity has ordered new morality standards and much stronger loyalty requirements for its antipoverty workers in community action programs.

The regulations will not apply to the 60,000 persons now at 650 cities and towns across the work in the local programs of nation. They will apply to tens of thousands who wish to serve in the antipoverty campaign in the future.

The new guidelines, which reportedly caused mcuch friction and controversy inside the agency, headed by Sargent Shriver, are being issud this week.

They prohbibit hiring any per son manifesting "disloyalty to th United States," or anyone who has recently been convicted "of a crime involving moral turpitude." They also forbid any partisan political activity.

The responsibility for enforcing the standards lies with the local agencies, according to the seven-page memorandum from Washington.

Wirtz Offers Suggestion

On Capitol Hill, meanwhile, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz suggested an unusual approach to reducing underemployment and poverty. He proposed setting up semipublic corporations to provide jobs for people "who are not good employment risks" and to help meet the costs of transportation and other difficulties confronting such workers.

Community action programs, started and conducted locally with 90 per cent Federal funding, are by far the biggest part of the antipoverty effort. They will consume more than half of all poverty funds in the coming fiscal year and have already

public affairs director, said that "hundreds of letters an questions" about hiring policy had come into the agency's headquarters here, most of them from "newly created and developed agencies that you can't expect to have sophisticated personnel systems."

An Answer to Queries

He added that the new directive simply answered all the most frequently asked questions in one mailing.

Those who support the move believe it will prevent local attacks alleging that the program is controlled by left-wingers, a charge that has cropped up on numerous occasions. Those who oppose the new instructions say they will humiliate both the agency and those considered for hiring.

Frederick O. Hayes, deputy director of the branch here in charge of the community programs, said that a proposal for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to make field investigations of community action directors and their immediate subordinates had been discussed for months. But he said that there had been no decision and that there was no internal directive "even in draft form" at the agency.

Suggestions at Hearing

Secretary of Labor Wirtz made his suggestions on reducing poverty in testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, headed by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan.

Replying to Mr. Powell's demand for greater emphasis on jobs in the antipoverty program, Mr. Wirtz said'

"I suggest the committee's serious consideration of the

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Community action programs, started and conducted locally with 90 per cent Federal funding, are by far the biggest part of the antipoverty effort. They will consume more than half of all poverty funds in the coming fiscal year and have already directly touched 2.4-million poor Americans, according to Mr. Shriver.

Previously, community action agencies had been instructed to employ only "capable and responsible personnel who are of good character and reputation," sympathetic towards the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, who "are not members of subversive organizations."

That directive now reads:

"Manifestations of disloyalty to the United States, membership in subversive organizations or lack of sympathy with the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act are inconsistent with employment in a community action program. Recent conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude shall be considered strong evidence of failure to meet these standards."

The section, aimed at the governing boards of citywide community action programs, adds that no person may be banned from any board "until he has had a full and fair opportunity to hear and answer the asserted factual basis for his ineligibility at an open meeting" of the governing body.

Entitled to a Lawyer

It further states that the accused person shall be entitled to be represented by a lwyer and that the final ruling must be made by a majority of the full board.

There are 20,000 persons already serving on such governing boards in the United States, 20,000 more professional workers among the poor and 20,000 more nonprofessionals, including poor people, who serve as block workers, neighborhood center workers, health and teachers' aides.

The first two groups will expand much more slowly from now on as community action programs reach out to about 200 more communities in the fiscal year that begins next July 1, according to a spokesman for the agency. The nonprofessional group is expected at least to double in the coming year.

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Replying to Mr. Powell's demand for greater emphasis on jobs in the antipoverty program, Mr. Wirtz said'

"I suggest the committee's serious consideration of the possibility of establishing some kind of semipublic corporation which could enggage in semicommercial (but not for profit) operations which would employ workers who are not good private employment risks on enterprises which have some return but are not privately profitable.

"I also suggest consideration of a semipublic corporation which would undertake to meet the costs of transportation—and the difficulties inherent in putting together part-time jobs—which are today the difference between employment and submarginal underemployment for hundreds of thousands of America's poor."

Says Cost Would be Low

"This includes a great many domestic workers who live in slums and for whom there are jobs—12 miles away in the suburbs, and two days a week," he went on." It also includes perhaps as many as a million migrant farm workers."

"Both of these suggestions involve the possibility of substantial reductions of underemployment and poverty—at comparatively low cost," he said.

After testifying, Secretary Wirtz said that collecting scrap from the Jersey Meadows area around Newark would illustrate a kind of project in mind.

Collecting the scrap and selling it would not be worthwhile for a profit-making corporation and the Government could not do it without legislation, he said. The solution, he suggested, might be a semipublic corporation that would in effect underwrite the wages of persons who could not get jobs in private industry.

Transportation is a problem not only for part-time domestics but sometimes for full-time breadwinners, Mr. Wirtz said.

A resident of the Watts district of Los Angeles who works in Santa Monica, 11 miles away, has to ride three buses in each direction. His total travel time is about five hours daily and the cost for a low-wage worker is relatively high.

FED. POLICY

BALTIMORE CORE ASSAILS HOUSING

NYT 3/12/66

6 Leaders Meet With U.S. Aides and Decry Ghettos

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11—An angry delegation of whites and Negroes from Baltimore descended on the Department of Housing and Urban Development today to protest housing discrimination in their city.

The delegation, made up of a half-dozen leaders of the Baltimore chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, met for about three hours in a closed session with housing agency officials.

The session, according to those present, produced much candid discussion, but no meeting of minds. The CORE delegation insisted that the agency had not used the powers it had to reduce discrimination.

The agency officials acknowledged the existence of discrimination and expressed their sympathy. But they said their authority to make significant changes in existing patterns were limited.

Letter to Weaver

The meeting was initiated by the CORE chapter in a letter last month to Robert C. Weaver, secretary of the agency. The letter said that "months of nonviolent demonstrations and negotiations to break down the walls of the Negro housing ghetto" in Baltimore had failed.

Out of "sheer desperation," the letter went on, CORE had decided to ask for a direct confrontation with housing officials to explain and dramatize their plight.

Among the charges made by the CORE group, both in the letter and the meeting, were:

¶Despite concerted efforts by civil rights groups, very few

Aides and Decry Ghettos

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Among the charges made by the CORE group, both in the letter and the meeting, were:

¶Despite concerted efforts by civil rights groups, very few new homes or apartments outside the downtown area had been opened to Negroes, although they make up nearly 40 per cent of the city's population.

¶The only readily available supply of new housing for Negroes is public housing. But even public housing projects have become ghettos.

¶Despite President Kennedy's Executive order of November, 1962, barring discrimination in Federally assisted or insured housing, Baltimore Negroes are "completely" barred from housing insured by the Federal housing agency.

Of 17 public housing projects in the city, they said, three had "significant" racial integration, three were all-white, and eleven were all, or nearly all, Negro.

"Unless something is done now to sever the housing noose that is strangling the Negro chapter here," the delegation said, "Baltimore is certain to erupt in the same destructive way that so many other large cities have erupted in past summers."

The meeting was directed by Booker T. McGraw, special assistant to the secretary for intergroup relations. He and Dr. Weaver are Negroes.

Mr. McGraw was joined by Philip Maloney, assistant commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration; Frances Servaites, assistant commissioner of the Public Housing Administration; Howard Wharton, deputy commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration, and several other top departmental officials.

The CORE group directed its complaints principally at Mr. Maloney, the F.H.A., and what it said was the agency's "timid" and "unnecessarily negative" interpretation of Mr. Kennedy's Executive order.

The group insisted that the order, if interpreted liberally and enforced regularly, would enable the agency to police discrimination in new housing developments built with F.H.A.-insured loans much more vigorously than it was now doing.

It also said that the order, if properly interpreted, would allow the agency to recruit Negroes and place them in new developments to insure nondiscrimination and to relieve "intolerable pressures" of the ghetto.

Agency officals said that they did not think such an interpretation of the order was possible and that their authority extended only to the "investigation" of complaints and, if necessary, the punishment of the builder involved.

FED. POLICY

White House Seeks Rights Safeguards In Broad Measure

3/17/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 16—The Administration will ask Congress to make it a Federal crime to intimidate or to harm persons engaged in the desegregation of public facilities.

The proposed law, which would not be as broad as some other bills now before Congress, would provide a graduated scale of penalties according to the severity of the crime.

The Administration will also seek to eliminate racial discrimination on juries through two courses of action.

First, Federal juries would be selected only from lists of registered voters or from other representative lists of adult residents that are approved by the appropriate judicial conference.

Second, it would be made illegal to bar persons from state and local jury panels because of race, sex or national origin. In states where there was evidence of violation, the attorney general could seek relief in a Federal court.

The court could then establish nondiscriminatory standards or appoint a master to

Continued on Page 27, Column 4

NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1966

JOHNSON TO SEEK BROAD RIGHTS BILL

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

see that discrimination was eliminated.

Congressmen and Civil Rights leaders have been told that these provisions are contained in the Administration's 1966 civil rights proposals. The proposals, which are to be combined under one bill with fair housing legislation, is ready for submission to Congress, according to members who have been briefed on them.

Except ofr fair housing, the Administration proposal is more narrow and less stringent than both the civil rights bills introduced earlier by Republicans and a bipartisan bill prepared by the Leadership Conference o Civil Rights, which represents more than 100 organizations.

However, the Justice Department has said the Government's bill for the protection of civil rights workers will be strengthened considerably if the Supreme Court acts favorably on its request to broaden two conspiracy statutes under which civil rights crimes have been prosecuted in the Federal courts.

Racial Makeup Varies

The racial composition of jury panels has varied widely from district to district in both state and Federal courts. On Federal courts the jury commissioners have employed a number of methods of selecting Panels.

Some are chosen at random from telephone books. Another method is called the "key man" system. Under this prominent citizens are asked to recommend responsible citizens for jury duty.

Under the Administration bill, prospective jurors could be chosen at random from lists of registered voters. It is believed that when ten Voting Rights Act of 1965 becomds fully effective voting lists will represent a fair cross-section of the community.

Where this is challenged, however, a judicial conference could prescribe standards to be used. The conferences are made up of judges who administer the business and rules of the court.

The present literacy requirements for Federal jurors would be permitted to stand under the Administration bill. The bipartisan bill and those introduced by Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York and other Republicans would permit illiterates to sit on cases where it was decided that the ability to read and write was not needed.

Some proposals now before Congress call for juries to be selected from the Federal census to obtain representation by all groups.

The bill is designed to open local juries to both Negroes and women in a number of states in the South. In Lowndes County, Ala., until the Federal courts intervened, jurors were drawn from a pool of about 700 white men. Women were barred by state law.

Not contained in the bill, Congressional sources said, is a key provision sought by the leadership conference and the United States Commission on Civil Rights—broad authority to transfer cases from local to Federal court when there was evidence of flagrant discrimination in the local court.

Rescuers Kept at Bay By Injured Man's Dog

NOTTINGHAM, England (UPI)—Kim, a German shepherd, loves his master and is fiercely loyal. Sometimes he is too fierce.

Alan Twigg, Kim's master, took the dog for a stroll one night recently, and fell into a 10-foot-deep hole, injuring his head.

Kim took up a vigil at the top of the hole and kept would-be rescuers at bay.

The would-be rescuers called the police who sent a special dog handler to the scene. The policeman was bitten three times.

He changed tactics then and talked soothingly to Kim for 15 minutes.

Kim relented and allowed his master to be taken to a hospital.

UNITED WILL APPEAL

EDITORIALS

FED. POLICY

The Federal System

AJ 3/8/66

PRESIDENT Johnson has been talking vaguely about a new means of dispersing federal power, and he is expected to spell out some of his thoughts about it shortly.

He obviously has a difficult riddle to solve.

His own legislative program has created, of course, great new labyrinths of governmental activity.

Some of his programs, such as poverty, are designed in part to create some vital local leadership. But all the lines of power in the big new federal programs really end in Washington.

Is it possible, at a time when federal activity has so expanded, to disperse the power over it?

The President evidently is thinking in terms of more decision-making in regional federal offices, for one thing.

He also evidently looks to the time when federal grants can be made to states, local governments and even private agencies with less federal-level control than we are accustomed to.

That would be an admirable goal at a time when federal power, of necessity, will continue to increase greatly.

The federal system has been severely tried during the past few years because of racial change. A large part of the South for a long time openly rejected the one principle of a federal system that cannot be rejected: the ultimate supremacy of the federal constitution, as construed by the federal courts.

Because of this new kind of civil war, the sort of federal-state comity that is necessary in a working federal system of divided powers was greatly strained. When even a governor renounces the federal system, as governors of several Southern states have done at various times, working federalism is obviously disrupted.

Federal lines of power then are tightened. Right now we are seeing them pulled tighter than they should have to be pulled, in the case of school desegregation. But here was an instance in which, after 12 years, a large area still had not assumed local responsibility of the kind necessary for working federalism; and so the federal reins pull tighter.

We will have to get over the dying throes of this rebellion before working federalism can be restored. As long as state and local officials provoke tighter federal control, we cannot have looser federal control.

How we can have it, even without this problem, remains to be seen. Mr. Johnson has, certainly, a difficult riddle to solve.

PRESIDENT BACKED ON RIGHTS IN HOUSE

NYT 4/21/66

Community Service Will Go to Justice Department

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 20—The House sustained President Johnson on a civil rights issue today by approving his proposal for transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice.

The vote was 220 to 163. The Senate approved the plan,on April 6 by a vote of 42 to 32.

The House action cleared the way for the transfer to take place as scheduled on Friday.

President Johnson proposed Senate approved the plan on the shift in a message to Congress last February. He said it enlarged scope to our efforts to ease racial tension."

He added:

"Placing the Community Relations Service within the Justice Department will enhance the ability of the Justice Department to mediate and conciliate and will insure that the Federal Government speaks with a unified voice in these tense situations where the good offices of the Federal Government are called upon to assist."

The Community Relations Service was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Its assigned function is to work quietly at the community level to mediate racial differences.

When President Johnson first proposed its transfer, some civil rights spokesmen strongly objected on the ground that the agency was likely to be downgraded.

The feeling was that the agency might be submerged in so large a department and that its stature and effectiveness might thus be impaired.

However, the President apparently convinced most of them that their fears were unwarranted. His recent appointment of Roger W. Wilkins as director of the agency did much to appease them. The director's father is Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Reuss Backs Shift

Representative Henry S. Reuss, Democrat of Wisconsin, called the proposed shift a "very simple and straightforward" way to improve coordination of Federal civil rights activities. He said one effect would be to upgrade, rather than downgrade, the agency's "important function of conciliation."

The opposition was led by Republicans, who contended that effective coordination already existed. They suggested that conciliation would be handicapped by the agency's attachment to a department responsible for law enforcement.

Representative Robert P. Griffin, Republican of Michigan, recalled that President Kennedy had sought to insure "an atmosphere free of coercion" for conciliation and mediation activities of the Community Relations Service. This "important principle" would be eroded, Mr. Griffin argued, by its transfer to the Justice Department, which also includes the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The house vote, like that in the Senate, came on a Rpublican-sponsored motion to disapprove a Presidential reorganization plan providing for the transfer. Under the Reorganization Act of 1949, reorganization plans go into effect automatically unless vetoed by either the House or the Senate.

Head of Poverty Unit Resigns, Charging a Lack of Planning

Helen Harris Leaves Post as Chairman of Group That Screens Proposals

By JOHN KIFNER

Helen M. Harris resigned yesterday as chairman of the city's screening board for antipoverty proposals, charging that "the situation has deteriorated well past the point where I can hope to retrieve it, and my usefulness is at an end."

Miss Harris, who is executive director of United Neighborhood Houses, resigned as chairman of the Committee on Planning and Coordination of the Council Against Poverty. In a letter to former Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson, chairman of the council, she was sharply critical of the operation of the antipoverty program.

"The truth of the matter is the committee is neither planning nor coordinating — nor can it," Miss Harris wrote. She said there was a lack of information about the problems of impoverished areas, a staff insufficient for helping local groups in making proposals, a failure to coordinate efforts with city and Federal authorities, and a feeling of immobilization because of the impending reorganization of the program.

Neither Sidney Gardner, executive secretary of the Council Against Poverty, nor Anne M. Roberts, executive director of the Economic Opportunity Council, had any comment.

Second Such Departure

Miss Harris was the second head of a private welfare agency to resign from an antipoverty post in recent weeks. Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer, chairman of the Day Care Council of New York, resigned on April 4 as co-chairman of the city's Project Head Start committee in protest at what she called the "chaos" in the program.

Miss Harris, a social worker since her graduation from Bryn Mawr in 1917, will remain as a member of the Council Against Poverty and of its executive committee.

The council is the policymaking body of the city's antipoverty program. Its planning and coordinating committee is responsible for helping local agencies develop proposals for programs.

"To plan responsibly," Miss Harris wrote in part, "we should have at our disposal a map and a profile of every poverty area, with all the most up-to-date pertinent facts concerning its population, the extent and character of its poverty, its housing, its unemployment by age groups, its incidence of school dropouts and its resources, both public and private," as well as "reports on the status of all antipoverty efforts in the area."

The New York Times Studio
Helen M. Harris

"As it is now," her letter went on, "with few exceptions, the committee considers each project on its merits, but in a vacuum, sometimes giving approval to really questionable proposals simply because they are in what appears to be a sparsely served area or because heavy pressure is brought to bear.

"In other cases, projects which may be potentially useful in breaking the poverty cycle are delayed because of the inability of the small antipoverty staff to help prospective sponsors develop proposals that will have a chance of acceptance in Washington," Miss Harris said.

She said that despite repeated requests, "the council has not set guidelines and priorities for the committee, nor has it provided the additional staff," and that this had led to "waning interest on the part of many committee members, irregular attendance and a lack of consistency in decision-making."

In her letter, Miss Harris said that lack of coordination between the council and the Antipoverty Operations Board "aggravates an already chaotic situation."

She recommended a complete reorganization, with "adequate staffing, as the first priority, and comprehensive planning as the second."

"The staff as a whole," she said "is far too small and pressures upon them from every segment of the community have been monumental, with unreasonable deadlines set by Washington and ground rules changing like shifting sands. The miracle is that so much has been accomplished."

Miss Harris, who has been on the committee for more than a year, became chairman last Jan. 1.

THE NEW YORK TIM

Johnson's Rights Goals

FEDERAL POLICY

Many Think Too Much of His Effort Is Restricted to Problems in the South

5/2/66 NYT

WASHINGTON, May 1—Despite the breadth and eloquence of President Johnson's latest civil rights message, many observers believe the Administration has yet to come to grips with the major, more controversial issues in race relations. These include de facto segregation, the inferiority of many slum schools and the alleged use of public funds to worsen rather than alleviate the problems of the ghetto.

News Analysis

In short, the Government's efforts in civil rights is largely a regional one, with its programs and resources concentrated in the South. The Administration however, has embarked on making a shift in emphasis politically feasible by involving a wider spectrum of the American society in what the President called "a great adventure as great as that of the last century, when our fathers marched to the Western frontier."

"Our frontier today is of human beings, not of land," Mr. Johnson said in his message to Congress last Thursday.

Whether the nation succeeds in conquering that frontier, he said, "is an issue that rests in the heart of every American . . . in our common willingness" to secure equal opportunity and achievement for the Negro American.

The White House Conference on Civil Rights, which will bring 2,000 delegates to Washington June 1, is being shaped to capture hearts as much as it is to draft bold proposals for action.

Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway who will be chairman of the conference, is calling for delegates from every important segment and interest in society. This will be in sharp contrast to the planning conference last fall that was made up largely of those having a direct interest in civil rights.

The June conference will deal with the burning issues.

Civil rights leaders believe that the proposals President Johnson sent to Congress barely touched the fringes. The bulk of them amounted to a mopping-up operation against overt discrimination in the South, a supplement to the large body of laws that have been passed in recent years affecting that region.

He called for jury reform, stronger Federal laws against racial crimes and intimidation and additional authority for the Justice Department to proceed in the courts against school segregation.

Only one proposal is national in scope—the ban on discrimination in housing. Even if the bill passes, which is highly doubtful, it will not help Negroes in the slums.

The bill calls for relief through the courts. Voluntary compliance with the law and the right to go to court would help Negroes with means. But much stronger state laws than the proposed Federal ones have made little impact on the slums, where the gravest problems lie. Negroes there suffer much more than racial discrimination.

In its recent hearings in Cleveland, the United States Commission on Civil Rights heard some sobering testimony. A Negro youth said he had never met a white boy until he was 14 years old — and all he knew of whites was their reputed cruelty. A psychiatrist who examined slum children said he had found them surprisingly bitter, cynical and discouraged at an early age.

The commission said it had found that Federal rograms such as urban renewal and public welfare had been perverted so that they actually degraded and worsened conditions of Negroes living in the Cleveland slums.

Yet the Government's civil rights efforts are not directed to these children but confined almost entirely to the South.

Because of political pressure, the Office of Education has backed off its once firm intention to move against de facto segregation under the fund withholding provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, which contains almost 100 lawyers, is concerned almost exclusively with Southern problems.

There has been a consensus for "making over" the South, and this has met with some success. But there seems to be no clear consensus for "making over" institutions and attitudes that shape life in the slums, North and South.

The proposed fair housing legislation, even with its limited applicability, faced difficult opposition. A Democratic Congressman from a large Northern city said many members with strong civil rights records would find it hard to vote for this one.

Proposals to be considered by the White House Conference are much more controversial. For example, the council that has been drafting an agenda has been talking of legislation that would make it illegal for a landlord to make a profit on slum property. Council members say that present Great Society programs, even if extended, are timid and inadequate.

EDUCATORS DECRY U.S. RIGHTS PACE

FEDERAL POLICY

Notre Dame Panel Charges Enforcement Inadequacy

5/3/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—A group of university professors, lawyers and leaders of private foundations and associations has issued a report saying the administration of Federal civil rights laws is inadequate in many respects.

It said, among other things, that the Johnson Administration's efforts at enforcement had been damaged by decentralization among agencies and that the Government faced a "crisis of credibility" in respect to its intention to enforce the fund-withholding provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The report is the consensus of a conference on civil rights legislation and administration held at the University of Notre Dame Law School in February. It is scheduled for publication in the June issue of The Notre Dame Lawyer.

Participants included some of the leading theorists and intellectuals in the civil rights field. The conference was directed by Joseph O'Meara, dean of the law school.

Scathing Criticism

The most scathing criticism concerned the enforcement of Title VI of the act, which is intended to ban racial discrimination in an federally assisted program.

Last December, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach issued guidelines intended to aid departments and agencies in enforcement of Title VI in a wide range of Federal programs. This set of guidelines, the report said, "thwarts Congressional intent and threatens to destroy he effeciveness of Title VI."

The main fault, the report said, is that the guidelines refer to termination or withholding of funds because of discrimination as a last resort or "ultimate sanction" and look to bringing of lawsuits as the normal method of enforcement.

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"Cutting off Federal assistance becomes an 'atom bomb' which must not be used," the report said.

"The Federal Government currently faces a serious crisis of credibility with respect to its intention to enforce Title VI by terminating assistance. The Attorney General's guidelines have exacerbated doubts that the Administration has the political will and determination to give Title VI its intended effect."

Congress Intention Cited

Congress, the report said, did not intend that a judicial determination should be a condition for cutting off Federal assistance.

"This is not what the long struggle for Title VI is all about," the report said. "Litigation has not proved to be a suitable weapon to effectuate speedy, wholesale desegregation. Congress thought that the threat to cut off Federal assistance would be. Litigation policy must serve to make this threat credible."

The group said school desegregation under Title VI had moved at a "sluggish pace" and the Administration had made little effort to use it in federally assisted housing programs and other activities.

Enforcement of civil rights laws and executive orders was decentralized last September when President Johnson abolished the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity, headed by Vice President Humphrey.

"Only the President himself has the official responsibility to see civil rights problems as 'all of a piece' and act upon this insight," the report said. "We are concerned that existing arrangements seem inadequate to assist the President in performing this duty. Some additional coordinating authority, responsible directly to the President and independent of the operating agencies and departments, is essential."

The report said the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the independent agency established by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, should be transferred to the Department of Labor and its work coordinated with other Government efforts to end racial discrimination in employment practices.

Recent transfer of the Community Relations Service, a conciliation agency, from the Commerce Department to the Justice Department should not be regarded as permanent, the report said.

RIGHTS UNIT ASKS BROAD U.S. ACTION

FED. POLICY

Proposals for White House Conference Are Readied

NYT 5/22/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21—The nation may soon see a conference composed largely of the middle class approving a group of far-reaching social proposals put together by a railroad magnate who considers the proposals "equitable and too long deferred."

This is the outlook for the long-awaited White House Conference on Civil Rights to be held here June 1 and 2.

Invitations have gone out to 2,400 Americans who are said to represent a cross-section of society. On Monday, these 2,400 persons will be mailed copies of the proposals drafted by a 29-member council with the help of leading scholars across the country.

Optimistic Engineer

At the conference, every delegate will be given a chance to speak out on any proposal, on or off the agenda, and whatever consensus is reached will be transmitted to President Johnson, to state and local governments and to a wide range of private interests for possible implementation.

This ambitious attempt to involve the total society in the Negro revolution was engineered by the chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, Ben W. Heineman, who was named chairman of the conference last February.

"If I were not an optimist," Mr. Heineman said in an interview, "I would not be in the railroad business. I am hopeful that in two, three or five years we can look back and say, 'This was a point of departure.'"

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The proposals, which will be made public on Tuesday, are said to be rather advanced. They cover four broad categories—administration of justice, education, housing, and economic security and welfare. They range from breaking up the slums to assimilating rural Negroes in the South.

They call for action by the Federal, state and local governments, the business community, educational institutions and others in the private sector.

All Called "Equitable"

A spokesman said the proposals call for "sizable expenditures" of money. Economic security is approached from the point of view that every person is entitled to hold a job and if that is not available the person should receive public assistance.

Mr. Heineman was asked if the proposals could be implemented within the present American system.

"There are none I do not regard as equitable and too long deferred," he said. "I would be glad to see them in effect."

The conference was first proposed by President Johnson a year ago in an address at Howard University. He said it should find ways "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure" through civil rights legislation.

At the November planning session, attended largely by persons directly involved with civil rights, a great number of law proposals were advanced, but about the only consensus was a protest against the way civil rights laws were being administered.

When Mr. Heineman took over, his first act was to appoint a council to draw up an agenda for the June meeting. Council members ranged from John Lewis, the recently ousted chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, to James A. Linen 3d, president of Time, Inc.

The council has met in Washington on weekends for three months and Mr. Heineman said attendance had been "excellent." Study groups, composed largely of university specialists, were appointed to conduct research and to analyze the problems. The proposals grew out of this study.

One thing that has concerned planners is the possibility that the conference could erupt in disorder or turn into another protest against the Administration. Mr. Heineman said he was confident the session would be "thoughtful, dispassionate and rational."

CIVIL RIGHTS PLAN COSTING BILLIONS URGED ON PARLEY

FED. POLICY

White House Meeting Asked to Support Program for Negro's 'True Equality'

NYT 5/25/66

TOTAL SOCIETY INVOLVED

President's Panel Proposes Reforms in Employment, Education and Housing

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Excerpts from rights report are printed on Page 28.

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 24 — The White House Conference on Civil Rights, to be held June 1 and 2, will be asked to approve a multibillion-dollar program to give the Negro "true equality" without disturbing the Federal system or private enterprise.

The recommendations, made public today, are contained in a 100-page report submitted to the 2,400 conference delegates by a 29-member council named by President Johnson last February to draw up an agenda.

Despite the breadth and cost of the proposals, the chairman of the conference, Ben W. Heineman, a railroad executive, said he considered them all attainable goals and not "pie in the sky." However, he said their enactment would involve the total society, not just the Federal Government.

Goal Is Achievement

The purpose of the conference, as announced by the President a year ago, is to help Negro

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Goal Is Achievement

The purpose of the conference, as announced by the President a year ago, is to help Negro Americans "move beyond opportunity to achievement" and dissolve remaining barriers that have kept them "a people apart."

The major recommendations include:

¶Sweeping new public works projects that would attempt to provide employment for all at their existing levels of skills. For those still unable to work or find jobs, there should be a guaranteed level of income provided under uniform, Federal standards.

¶Federalization of public employment agencies to make jobs available without regard to regional boundaries.

¶Adoption of a national minimum of welfare assistance to furnish a standard of living "compatible with health and decency."

¶Equalization of the education effort among states and districts throughout the nation "so that our schools provide for all children what is now provided for the fortunate few." The average expenditure for each pupil should be raised from $533 to $1,000 a year as a "reasonable goal."

¶Affirmative action at every level "to break down the walls of segregation" in public schools.

¶Assurance that every citizen will have the right to higher education.

¶Large-scale construction of low-cost, integrated housing to "revitalize the ghetto" and to disperse people from the slums through a total revamping of present methods.

Although the recommendations went far beyond the Great Society legislation on the books and before Congress, the Coun-

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

VAST RIGHTS PLAN URGED ON PARLEY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

cil made it clear that the chief burden for achievement of the goals laid outside the realm of Federal Government.

"In our diverse society," the report said, "it is the citizen who leads. It is to this mobilization of spirit, commitment and resources that we must address ourselves."

"The national Government's response to the compelling cry of the Negro American for justice and true equality has not been matched by the state and local government, by business and labor, the housing industry, educational institutions, and the wide spectrum of voluntary organizations who, through united effort, have the power to improve our society," the report continued.

"In the struggle for equality, we must now move to new and different battlefields in every city and its suburbs, in rural areas, and in every state."

Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, who is the conference chairman, said at a news conference here that the delegates invited to attend represented "every shade of opinion" ranging between the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Muslims.

He said those two groups were not invited because they did not prescribe to the purpose for which the conference was called—the assimilation of Negro Americans.

Mr. Heineman said he regretted that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the most militant of the national civil rights organizations, had withdrawn from the conference.

However, he said that poor and unorganized Negroes would be represented.

In order to assure their representation, he continued, members of the Council had contributed money to two foundations to provide for travel and living expenses for those who could not afford to pay their way.

A Broad Representation

The Council like the conference, contains broad representation. Its members range from men like James A. Linen 3d, president of Time, Inc., to John Lewis, the recently ousted chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Lewis attended a majority of the meetings in which the recommendations were adopted. One reason for his replacement on the student group, according to informed sources, is that the organization, which works largely among the poor in the South, is moving toward black nationalism.

Mr. Heineman, who answered questions with the crispness of an executive at a stockholders' meeting, would not say what security precautions were being made to prevent an outbreak of violence or disruption by civil rights militants who believed the Johnson Administration to be insincere in its efforts to help Negroes.

Another spokesman for the conference, however, said "regular White House security" would be arranged because Vice President Humphrey is expected to address the opening session and the President is likely to speak at its conclusion.

The conference will adopt no resolutions nor vote on any proposal. Delegates will be divided into several sections where each recommendation will be discussed and where each delegate will be free to make recommendations on his own.

After the conference, the Council will take transcripts of all the sessions and draft a report to the President.

Mr. Heineman said this procedure was adopted by unanimous consent of the Council in order to keep the conferen from bogging down parliamentary quarrels.

It is expected that the fin report to the President will ge erally follow the recommend tions released today.

The Council pointed out tha many proposals were being su mitted because, as Mr. Johns said last year, the problem confronting Negroes constitut "a seamless web." For this re son, Mr. Heineman said, no of the proposals were give priority.

The report, however, seem to put special emphasis on en ployment. It pointed out th even in today's booming eco omy the unemployment rate f Negroes was about 7 per cent more than twice the average f the whites. For Negro youth between 16 and 19 years old, said, unemployment is "nothin less than catastrophic, ave aging more than 30 per cent f girls and 25 per cent for ma teen-agers in 1965."

Billions In Negro Aid Asked

FEDERAL POLICY

AC 6/28/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — The White House Conference on Civil Rights to be held June 1 and 2 will be asked to approve a multi-billion dollar program to give the Negro "true equality" without disturbing the federal system of free private enterprise.

The recommendations, made public Tuesday, are contained in a 100-page report submitted to 2,400 conference delegates by a 29-member council named by President Lyndon B. Johnson last February to draw up an agenda.

Despite the breadth and cost of the proposals, the chairman of the conference, Ben W. Heineman, a railroad executive, said he considered them attainable goals and not "pie in the sky." However, he added, their enactment would involve the total society, not just the federal government.

HELP TO ACHIEVE

The purpose of the conference, as announced by the President one year ago, is to help Negro Americans "move beyond opportunity to achievement" and dissolve remaining barriers that have kept them "a people apart."

Essentially, the recommendations are an effort to involve the nation in a comprehensive, ambitious effort to bring the Negro into the center of American life without disturbing the system of federalism, private initiative and enterprise.

HUGE COSTS

As expected, they call for federal spending programs that go far beyond the Great Society legislation on the books and before Congress. An example is a massive new public works effort that would attempt to provide employment for all at their existing level of skill.

For those still unable to work or find jobs, the report said, there should be a guaranteed level of income provided under uniform, federal standards.

FEDERAL POLICY

Excerpts From Rights Council's Recommendations

5/25/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 24—Following are excerpts from the recommendations of the Council of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, which will be held June 1-2:

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

There is no single, simple or quick solution for the economic problems of Negroes but nothing less than a broad, based "crash" program can significantly improve the life-chances of hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans now trapped in joblessness and poverty.

I. Establish metropolitan jobs councils in all major urban areas.

Metropolitan jobs councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro population. Membership should include organized labor, metropolitan government, education and training institutions and other appropriate community organizations.

II. Create a rural jobs task force.

The council recommends the appointment of an emergency rural jobs task force whose first report, with action recommedations, should be due no later than Sept. 1. Local and regional rural jobs councils will be needed to implement the action program.

III. Develop a comprehensive human resource program.

The recommendation will provide a flexible basis for creative action; serve as a guide in developing new manpower, economic, or related legislation; help to alert local and national planners to emerging problems or trends, and provide guidelines for manpower program actions by business, organized labor, local and state governments and other agencies.

IV. Develop guaranteed jobs programs.

providing equal employment opportunities and to reduce employment prejudice and discrimination.

VII. Initiate and reinforce supportive services.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials.

There is a need to federalize the public employment service.

VIII. Strengthen income maintenance and labor standards programs.

The strengthening of income and labor standards programs is of special importance for Negroes, who are heavily concentrated in occupations and industries which pay low wages, provide only intermittent employment, and are excluded from protective labor standards legislation.

IX. Restructure public assistance and related welfare programs.

The nation's welfare programs fail to provide welfare recipients and other impoverished people with maximum opportunity to move from dependency to self-sustaining employment.

The Federal Government should establish and enforce national standards.

State and local governments and community organizations should make available supplemental services to needy people; consumer education, legal assistance, vocational and personal counseling, health information, home management services, free family planning services, day-care centers for working mothers, and expanded school lunch programs.

HOUSING

For 15 million Negroes congested slums have constituted their homes and ghettoed isolation has been their environment. In housing, as also

duction of new houses to 2,000,000 units per year is urged.

The rent supplement bill as submitted to Congress in 1965 is strongly endorsed as a model until a more comprehensive program can be devised.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development should request funds necessary for a vastly enlarged program of research and development in housing and urban development.

Consultation of experts on all aspects of community development and housing should be called.

F.H.A. 221 (D) (3) below-market interest program, which benefits moderate-income families, requires greatly increased funding.

The authorization of federally chartered rural housing development corporations to build homes in rural areas for either the elderly or for agricultural labor, migrant or otherwise, is urged.

A housing industry program, patterned after the plans for progress program in employment, should be launched under the leadership of the President.

III. Suburban communities and new towns.

The Federal Government bears a large share of the responsibility for the dual market—new housing in the suburbs for white families with sufficient incomes, and old housing in the central city for Negroes regardless of their incomes.

Federal assistance to any local governmental unit should be conditioned on the submission of a metropolitan-wide plan providing for the desegregation of housing and promotion of communities inclusive of all races and incomes.

In areas in which local governing bodies are not meeting their responsibility to provide housing for all segments of the population, the nonwhite and the poor, the Federal Government should take direct action to provide the housing needed.

In housing, as also

Federal courts, the Congress, and the executive branches have made almost no affirmative contribution to solving problems of de facto segregation in the North and West, which has become more, rather than less rigid.

State governments have defaulted in their obligation to achieve adequate and equal educational opportunity for all.

I. Equalizing educational investment.

The present average of per pupil public expenditure is $533. A reasonable goal would be $1,000 per child.

States must commit themselves to a public policy of equalization, educate their citizens on revenue needs, and devise formulas in allocation of financial and human resources that will remedy past inequities.

Individual local school districts must also take the initiative in achieving equality of educational opportunity.

The Federal Government should increase the allocations under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

II. Reduction of racial concentration.

The Federal Government should proclaim that it is national policy to reduce racial concentration in the schools — racial concentration of pupils, teachers, and other school personnel.

Proposals to deal with problems of de facto segregation should not eclipse the size of the job still to be done to eliminate the dual system prevailing in the South.

The Federal Government should enlarge the scope of present provisions for demonstration centers.

Specific efforts must be made to promote integration in teacher and other school personnel assignments.

The sanctions already enacted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are failing in their purpose and must be strengthened.

It is time that the burden of desegregating the Southern schools be removed from the Negro

rights or aid others in the exercise of such rights.

The threat to the personal security and rights of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South warrants the attention of the country and the Congress. There must be adequate Federal protection for those asserting Federal rights.

There is a need to secure equal justice for Negroes in the South. Negro citizens and civil rights workers must be free to exercise their constitutional rights free from harassment, intimidation and discrimination by courts, court officials, law enforcement agents, and unfairly selected juries.

Police-minority group community relations is an urban problem most pronounced in the North and West but with grave implications for the entire nation. Positive steps must be taken to deal with them. Fairer and more professional police departments will be far more able to cope with the rising incidence of street crime.

I. Protection of Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation.

There should be broad support of Title V of the Administration's civil rights bill, which would provide greater Federal protection to Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation.

Legislation should be enacted giving persons who suffer physical injury or property loss as the result of exercising rights protected by the criminal provisions of Title V, or as the result of urging or aiding others to exercise such rights, an opportunity to receive compensation for the injury or loss.

Any county, Government, city government, or other local government entity that employes officers who deprive persons of rights should be jointly liable with the officers to persons who suffer injury or loss from such officers' misconduct.

More Federal agents should be made available to increase the effective enforcement of civil rights laws.

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IV. Develop guaranteed jobs programs.

Jobs must be provided without delay to solve the Negro unemployment crisis. And these jobs must be made available for Negroes at their existing level of skill attainment.

The tasks assigned to workers on a proposed government employment program, far from being "make work," are essential to fill the very real and pressing needs for public works and services that have accompanied population growth, urbanization, and increasing demands on the nation's physical resources.

V. Mount year-round programs for Negro youth.

Young Negroes need especially intensive vocational counseling to determine their best occupational prospects, and to plan the most effective educational and training programs tailored to their individual needs.

VI. Affirmative actions by private employers, labor organizations, and Government to provide more and better jobs.

Employers need to look, think, and act beyond simple nondiscrimination and pro forma or passive equal employment opportunity programs. Active and deliberate efforts to increase and improve jobs for Negroes are necessary. The Government itself needs to become a model employer in every respect and set the example for affirmative action. State and local governments should also become model employers.

Management must devote as much thought and effort to this as it does to other major functions of administration.

Labor organizations have failed to take affirmative action commensurate with the problems faced by Negro job seekers.

Churches, educational institutions, health and welfare groups, and associations can undertake affirmative action through technical assistance and through the example of their own practices.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be strengthened by expanding its coverage, authorizing "cease and desist" orders, and providing back pay to persons suffering financial loss.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's technical assistance and education programs should be greatly expanded to help employers, labor unions, and others develop capabilities for a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials.

There is a need to federalize the public employment service.

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HOUSING

For 15 million Negroes congested slums have constituted their homes and ghettoed isolation has been their environment. In housing, as elsewhere, there have been and continue to be two Americas.

The only program aimed at their housing needs was low-rent public housing. After nearly 30 years, however, that program has accounted for only 1 per cent of the nation's housing inventory.

I. Freedom of choice—the open market.

A firm and vigorous policy on the part of the Administration to utilize all the programs and resources of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and other agencies to promote and implement equal opportunity and desegregation is needed.

Enforcement under the executive order and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 must be more affirmative and vigorous.

A comprehensive Federal antidiscrimination law is urgently recommended.

State licensing authorities should require that all licensed brokers, builders, etc., show that they are serving the entire public without distinction as to race as a condition of the issuance or reissuance of the license.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards (N.A.R.E.B.), the National Home Builders Association, the several banking and saving and loan associations, and insurance companies engaged in housing finance, are urged to adopt and prominently publish policy statements advocating equal opportunity in housing guaranteed by law.

N.A.R.E.B. and all state and local real estate boards are urged to admit all licensed real estate brokers of all races to membership.

Fair housing councils or their equivalent should be organized in every urban area. Housing information and service centers should be established at convenient locations in each urban area.

II. Housing Supply for Low- and moderate-income families.

More that one million new houses per year are required to take care of the housing needs of the expanding population. At least half, preferably more, of the new stock should be made available to low- and moderate-income families.

The Federal Government should invest as extensively in promoting research and development in housing as it has in, for example, agriculture.

Federal legislation designed to increase the rate of program of research and development in housing and urban development.

Consultation of experts on all aspects of community development and housing should be called.

F.H.A. 221 (D) (3) below-market interest program, which benefits moderate-income families, requires greatly increased funding.

The authorization of federally chartered rural housing development corporations to build homes in rural areas for either the elderly or for agricultural labor, migrant or otherwise, is urged.

A housing industry program, patterned after the plans for progress program in employment, should be launched under the leadership of the President.

III. Suburban communities and new towns.

The Federal Government bears a large share of the responsibility for the dual market—new housing in the suburbs for white families with sufficient incomes, and old housing in the central city for Negroes regardless of their incomes.

Federal assistance to any local governmental unit should be conditioned on the submission of a metropolitan-wide plan providing for the desegregation of housing and promotion of communities inclusive of all races and incomes.

In areas in which local governing bodies are not meeting their responsibility to provide housing for all segments of the population, the nonwhite and the poor, the Federal Government should take direct action to provide the housing needed.

In locating, transferring or expanding governmental agencies, departments, and other operations, the Federal Government should require racial and income inclusiveness of the community.

H.U.D. should be empowered to purchase, lease, and sell land to assure that its development and occupancy, now and in the future, will provide housing, facilities and services for persons of all races and incomes.

Local public housing authorities should be enabled to function on a metropolitan basis.

State governments should either regulate the zoning activities of municipal and township governments, establish state land banks for housing purposes, or create district authorities to reserve land in all parts of each metropolitan area for housing for lower-income families.

State governments should create housing development corporations comparable to the industrial development corporations which have come into common use in recent years.

IV. Revitalizing and integrating the Ghetto.

Thirty years of public housing experience and 15 of urban renewal have taught us that the problems of the American slums are far too huge and complex to submit to the piecemeal, uncoordinated attacks of separately conceived and administered programs.

The elimination of the segregation pattern of residence from the American urban scene, the affirmative implementation of equal choice and freedom of movement for all Americans and the revitalization of existing ghetto areas should be made the cornerstone of Federal housing policy.

The proposed demonstration cities program is strongly endorsed in its principle and its general design.

A realistic plan for promoting racial desegregation in the city and metropolitan community should be a basic and mandatory element of all workable programs for urban renewal.

The practice of locating large public housing projects in areas of racial concentration must be changed.

EDUCATION

More than 90 per cent of our children are educated in racially segregated schools. Segregated Negro schools, almost without exception, are inferior in quality to white schools.

I. Equalizing educational investment.

The present average of per pupil public expenditure is $533. A reasonable goal would be $1,000 per child.

States must commit themselves to a public policy of equalization, educate their citizens on revenue needs, and devise formulas in allocation of financial and human resources that will remedy past inequities.

Individual local school districts must also take the initiative in achieving equality of educational opportunity.

The Federal Government should increase the allocations under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

II. Reduction of racial concentration.

The Federal Government should proclaim that it is national policy to reduce racial concentration in the schools — racial concentration of pupils, teachers, and other school personnel.

Proposals to deal with problems of de facto segregation should not eclipse the size of the job still to be done to eliminate the dual system prevailing in the South.

The Federal Government should enlarge the scope of present provisions for demonstration centers.

Specific efforts must be made to promote integration in teacher and other school personnel assignments.

The sanctions already enacted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are failing in their purpose and must be strengthened.

It is time that the burden of desegregating the Southern schools be removed from the Negro parents and children where it now resides, and placed squarely as the responsibility of school boards and administrators.

III. Quality education for all.

Communities must realize that built-in inequities cannot be compensated for by an effort of a year or two, in effect shaking an educational Aerosol can over our nation's slums.

Individuals and organizations, school boards and school administrators, civil rights groups and government officials, private foundations and other private resources must take on the hard task of reorganizing local education to establish flexible, healthy educational centers that belong to the community and to the children.

School boards must, as far as possible, be constituted so as to support a policy of equal opportunity, reduction of racial concentration, and improvement in the quality of education.

Consideration should be given to a major reorganization of the school system.

School systems should make kindergarten a regular part of the school program in the many areas where it does not now exist, with curriculum, teacher-pupil ratios, and enrichments patterned after successful experimental programs.

Rural communities need to investigate curricular innovations which will prepare their children not only for probable migration elsewhere, but for different kinds of vocational and technical skills.

Vocational education has not kept pace with the rapid changes in technology and work, and has not involved sufficiently the efforts of industry, labor, schools, agencies and organizations to make it relevant.

Negro students in present agricultural programs have little opportunity to participate in work experience in local agri-business.

Two years of postsecondary education should be made available at public expense for all high school graduates.

Predominately Negro colleges should be adequately supported and strengthened.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Effective legislative and executive measures are needed to combat the deplorable condition, found in some parts of the Deep South, where Americans are murdered, beaten, and subject to other forms of intimidation because they exercise constitutional or other Federal civil rights free to exercise their constitutional rights free from harassment, intimidation and discrimination by courts, court officials, law enforcement agents, and unfairly selected juries.

Police-minority group community relations is an urban problem most pronounced in the North and West but with grave implications for the entire nation. Positive steps must be taken to deal with them. Fairer and more professional police departments will be far more able to cope with the rising incidence of street crime.

I. Protection of Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation.

There should be broad support of Title V of the Administration's civil rights bill, which would provide greater Federal protection to Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation.

Legislation should be enacted giving persons who suffer physical injury or property loss as the result of exercising rights protected by the criminal provisions of Title V, or as the result of urging or aiding others to exercise such rights, an opportunity to receive compensation for the injury or loss.

Any county, Government, city government, or other local government entity that employes officers who deprive persons of rights should be jointly liable with the officers to persons who suffer injury or loss from such officers' misconduct.

More Federal agents should be made available to increase the effective enforcement of civil rights laws.

II. Equal justice.

Title I and II of the Administration bill which provide for nondiscrimination in the selection of Federal and state jurors should be supported.

Federal legislation should be enacted to provide for the removal of civil rights cases from state to Federal trial courts in order to assure a fair trial.

Federal legislation should be enacted to permit private persons to obtain injunctive relief where state prosecutions are brought against persons for exercising First Amendment rights directed at obtaining equal treatment for all citizens.

Federal legislation should be enacted to afford more adequate criminal sanctions against state and local officials who deprive citizens of constitutional rights.

Law schools and bar associations, including the American Bar Association, should take steps to assure zealous representation by local counsel of Negroes and civil rights workers.

Legal aid centers should be established by the Federal Government to provide adequate legal representation to Negroes and civil rights workers.

III. Improvement of Police-community relations.

The Federal Government should seek to improve police-community relations by establishing assistance programs in the areas of recruitment, testing, selection, training, organization and pay.

The states and localities themselves must take action in those areas in which success will depend upon their initiative. The states should take the following steps:

1. Initiation of a positive and aggressive campaign to recruit and hire qualified minority group personnel.
2. Establishment of minimum state standards for all police officers.
3. Provision for periodic training programs.
4. Assist localities in developing better police forces.

The major burden for improving police-community relations rests on the local government. They should undertake the following steps:

1. Upgrade police organization, equipment and facilities.
2. Establish adequate complaint procedures.
3. Define the role that the police department is expected to play in the community.
4. Establish a community relations unit in the police department.

CORE Seeks New Agenda For Rights Talks Today

FED. POLICY 6/1/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 31—The White House Conference on Civil Rights, which opens here tomorrow, was dealt a blow today when the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality announced he would move to throw out the prepared agenda and start from scratch.

The announcement by Floyd B. McKissick added to the air of uncertainty that hung over the conference as the 2,500 delegates representing many views began arriving at the Sheraton-Park Hotel and setting up strategy caucuses of their own.

In this respect it seemed more like a political convention than a conference. If there was any prevailing attitude it was one of skepticism about what could be accomplished in two days by so many people of divergent opinions.

Mr. McKissick was a member of the 19-member council that drafted the broad set of recommendations that will be placed before the conference. These are aimed at helping the American Negro achieve the equality that has been promised to him under national law and policy.

He attended none of the preliminary meetings, however, saying today that the money he would have spent on travel

Continued on Page 33, Column 2

CORE IS CRITICAL OF RIGHTS PARLEY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

and expenses was needed for CORE projects. Arriving as a delegate, he called a news conference and announced:

"We have decided after deliberation to participate—in order that the militant can bring forth ideas which otherwise would not be brought forth."

Then he said:

"There's a prevailing sentiment that the conference has been rigged by the Administration."

Mr. McKissick said CORE would offer a motion in the opening session tomorrow to permit a vote on any resolution offered. If this motion is denied, he said, CORE delegates will then decide "what action to take."

Don W. Heineman, the Chicago railroad executive who is chairman of the conference, indicated in an informal news conference in his hotel suite that he would not recognize such a motion.

It was the unanimous agreement of those attending the preliminary meetings, he said, to present the recommendations, let delegates discuss them and offer suggestions of their own but to take no votes on any matter.

Was Given Reports

"This is the first time I was aware that he [Mr. McKissick] was dissatisfied," Mr. Heineman said, noting that Mr. McKissick had accepted a position on the preliminary council and had been sent reports of the meetings.

Mr. Heineman said if votes ere taken the conference would turn into "great parliamentary confusion" and nothing would be accomplished.

Last week, the Studet nonviolent CCoordinating Committee announced that it was boycotting the convention because its members believed the Johnson Administration was not sincere about helping the Negro and because of American involvement in Vietnam.

Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian, turned down an invitation to attend the session and promised to join dissident groups i picketing it.

In New York yesterday, an affiliation of civil rights groups aligned with the militant poor called the conference "a frivilous exercise which will accomplish no hing."

Mr. McKissick was asked by

The New York Times

SCORES CONFERENCE: Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, said White House conference on civil rights was "rigged."

reporters whether, if his recommendation were accepted, speakers would be "booed down" as Sargent Shriver, the anti-poverty director, was at a meeting in Washington a few weeks ago.

He replied he saw nothing wrong with a speaker being booed, that he himself was some times booed by followers who did no tagree with him.

Positive Tone Stressed

At the same time, other leaders were trying to establish a positive tone for the conference.

"This conference," said Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, the Mississippi-born president of the National Baptist convention, "must address itself now to the problems of tensions and to threats of riots."

"We cannot ignore that we have new human tensions," he continued. "A great deal of bitterness has developed. We must be positive about the things that are being done."

The recommendations drafted by the preliminary council involve the Federal, state and local governments as well as the private sector.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a member, estimated they would cost a minimum of $10-billion over the next 10 years if carried out. They include massive public works projects and doubling the effort for education.

Conspicuously absent from the recommendations is the theme suggested by President Johnson when he called the conference one year ago—the need to give stability to the Negro family, which as been damaged by centuries of slavery and injustice.

The author of an Administration report on the Negro family, former Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan, will attend as a delegate but is not expected to have anything to say in the public sessions.

Report Criticized

The report was widely criticized by civil rights leaders. This criticism was set off by Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, executive director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, in a published reply to Mr. Moynihan.

Dr. Payton is a leader in the New York group that condemned the conference yesterday. He also is a delegate to the conference.

Delegates expected to attend range from the very poor to Marlon Brando, the actor. Gov. Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi will attend, as well as the usual government and civil rights leaders who usually make up such meetings.

Except for the poor, who are being assisted by private foundations, delegates are paying their own way. To remind them of one reason why they are there, one hall of the hotel is devoted to large pictures of debris-littered slums and children staring down with hollow, hungry eyes.

Statement Not Approved

A statement by members of the executive committee of the New York Pre-White House Conference Committee, issued Monday criticising the White House Conference on Civil Rights was not approved by James Gallagher, executive director of the John LaFarge Institute.

Mr. Gallagher said that although he was a member of the executive committee of the organization, he did not authorize the use of his name in connection with the statement, as reported in The New York Times yesterday.

NASA Tries to Ease Jet Tremor

MOUNTAIN VIEW, Calif. (UPI)—Scientists at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Ames Research Laboratory are conducting tests to determine how to reduce vibration in jet and space flights. The research involves use of a "vibration seat" mounted on a centrifuge. The device simulates shaking motions in jet plane cockpits and space capsules. NASA experts also hope to develop new cabin interior designs to cut down on vibration.

Rights Conference to Vote On Criticism of U.S. Policy

FED. POLICY

Leaders at Meeting Called by President Yield to Militants on Resolutions—Humphrey Says Equality Lags

6/2/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 1—The leaders of the White House Conference on Civil Rights yielded today to militant delegates and reluctantly agreed to permit a vote on resolutions that could embarrass the Administration.

As a result, resolutions criticizing the Johnson Administration's role in Vietnam and its enforcement of civil rights are likely to be approved in some sessions of the conference.

The development was a clear victory for Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and other delegates who opposed the White House plan to have no parliamentary procedures in the two-day conference.

"Our request has been granted," Mr. McKissick said triumphantly as delegates aligned with him began working on resolutions for presentation tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Vice President Humphrey, the keynote speaker at the conference, won delegates with a denunciation of the "gap between promise and performance" in civil rights.

Mr. Humphrey, showing the fire and flash that has captivated liberal audiences in the past, said that virtually all segments of American society had failed to meet the needs of the Negro.

The change in procedure at the conference was announced by Ben. W. Heineman, the Chicago railroad executive who is chairman of the two-day meeting. He indicated to the 2,400 delegates who had assembled in an immense meeting hall of the Sheraton-Park Hotel that he did so reluctantly.

Mr. Heineman said the 29-member council that drew up the agenda for the conference felt very strongly that a formal vote would only slow the work of the conference, but that each delegate should be allowed to speak on any subject.

"It has come to the council's

Continued on Page 21, Column 4

PED. POLICY 1960

NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 2,

A Fiery Humphrey Denounces Society for Lag on Civil Rights

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 1—Vice President Hubert Humphrey denounced today virtually every segment of American society for maintaining a "gap between promise and performance" in civil rights. And the audience loved it.

It was the old Hubert Humphrey who addressed the White House Conference on Civil Rights. He seemed to be speaking not so much as an agent for President Johnson as an independent liberal speaking to other liberals who want to shake the country into action.

Mr. Humphrey was keynote speaker at the conference, which brought together many who have been bitterly critical of the Administration's enforcement of civil rights laws. The audience was at first cool, but when Mr. Humphrey finished he received a standing ovation.

The reaction obviously warmed the Vice President, who has been having problems with liberals. They have complained about his vigorous defense of the Vietnam war and about what they call his subservience to the White House.

Notes Federal Lag

Mr. Humphrey first acknowledged that the Federal Government had not done all it could to close "a tragic gap separating promise from performance." But then he said the blame could not be placed on any single person or institution, but with "every major segment of society."

Then he enumerated what he saw to be the shortcomings of each group, including Negroes who "appear more concerned about their own positions than about the plight of those less fortunate, less articulate members of their race."

Departing from his text, Mr. Humphrey said, "I'm not here in a popularity contest. I'm here in an act of conscience." This drew spirited applause from many of the 2,500 delegates.

"Twenty million Americans," he said, alluding to the American Negro, "will no longer be pacified by slogans and tokens."

"'Freedom Now' is not a catchword for a minority of Americans. Iit is a moral imperative for all Americans. We can strive toward it. . . . We can defer it, or distort it, or deceive whose who seek it. But we do so at our peril," he said.

He called for "hard, visible evidence that performance is linked with promise." He pledged on behalf of President Johnson that the Federal Government "will improve its performance wherever that is necessary."

But he said it would be in the state capitols and city halls, not in Congress or the Federal courtrooms, "where the major battles of the next phase of the civil rights struggle will be waged."

"It is in our states and local communities where we must wage the war against America's shame — slumism," he said.

Describes Slums

He went on to describe the slums in which many Negroes were forced to live, and he said that governments, labor and business and religious institutions had made progress in assimilating the Negro, but all had fallen short.

Referring to churches that fail to speak out affirmatively on "racial justice," Mr. Humphrey borrowed words often used by President Kennedy: "Dante said the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who maintain neutrality in periods of moral crisis."

He struck out at movements toward Black Nationalism when he said, "There are some Americans who see separation and exclusion as the remedy for racial injustice and evils of the past."

"Our entire American experience cries out against this approach," he said, "and our history books are filled with the failures of prior separatist movements."

He condemned those who would put down racial violence by the few "with heavy-handed, indiscriminate retaliation against the many" and he condemned those who see "in the struggle for freedom and equality a license for irresponsibility and violence."

"They are both wrong," he said, "and they must realize they are wrong—and realize it now—while there is still time to seek racial harmony and justice in America."

Mr. Humphrey said the nation would "require a depth of maturity and understanding seldom achieved on such controversial social and economic issues."

"The goal of 'freedom now,'" he said, "will be attained precisely to the degree we are successful in enlisting additional sources of strength in our march toward equality and justice."

FED. POLICY

Rights Conference Averts Showdown on War Policy

Parley Ends in Unity After CORE Fails to Win Support for Vietnam Pullout —Proposals to Aid Negro Backed

6/3/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2—The White House Conference on Civil Rights ended in a show of unity tonight after the Administration and moderate Negro leaders had succeeded in heading off a move to call for American withdrawal from Vietnam.

A Vietnam resolution sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality was soundly defeated or ruled out of order in the working sessions where it was brought up.

One of the sessions urged President Johnson to intensify his efforts to end the war. And there were resolutions calling for stronger enforcement of civil rights laws by the Administration.

Generally, however, the White House won its main objectives in the conference and apparently stopped, at least for the time being, a movement toward an anti-Administration foreign policy in the civil rights field.

The two-day conference had all the confusion and uncertainty of an open political convention and its usefulness could not be determined immediately.

But it was clear that the 29-member planning council would be able to submit a final report to President Johnson not too different from the broad set of proposals that the council had presented to the 2,600 delegates.

The proposals call for new spending and action on all levels of Government and the private sector in a combined effort to help the American Negro achieve equality of education, employment and mobility. The proposals will cost many billions

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

RIGHTS DELEGATES AVERT SHOWDOWN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

of dollars. The Administration's concern over the Vietnam resolution offered by Floyd McKissi national director of CORE, became apparent this morning when Arthur J. Goldberg, United States Representative to the United Nations, showed up at several of the 12 workin sessions.

Mr. Goldberg expressed his deep interest in the cause of civil rights and did not mention the Vietnam issue. But later he told a news conference:

"I believe the cause of civil rights helps our foreign policy. I do not believe that what is happening in Vietnam applies to that fight."

Other high Administration officials attended the panels during the day.

Young's View Is Typical

Whitney M. Young, executive director of the National Urban League, expressed at a news conference what was perhaps the prevailing view of Negroes attending the conference.

"The people are more concerned about the rat tonight and the job tomorrow than they are about Vietnam," Mr. Young said. "If the alternative were guns or butter then we must cut Vietnam."

But he said he did not believe the nation faced that alternative; he believed that the nation could spend more to combat poverty without altering her commitments abroad. Therefore, Mr. Young said, he did not consider the Vietnam issue germane to the conference.

The issue came to a head in the session attended by Mr. McKissick in a glittering meeting room of the Sheraton-Park hotel. Mr. McKissick had won a fight with the Administration yesterday when leaders of the conference, which was headed by Ben W. Heineman, the Chicago railroad executive, reluctantly agreed to open the agenda to resolutions.

This morning, Mr. McKissick called a news conference in his room and said he believed "no longer that the conference is rigged, but that it is in reality a hoax."

A Ruling and a Vote

He enumerated a long list of complaints, including the expenditure of billions of dollars in Vietnam when great areas of poverty remain at home. One of the resolutions he had prepared called for the United States to "make equal opportunities for its minority citizens the No. 1 priority . . . and cease its involvement in Vietnam."

Mr. McKissick read the resolution at an afternoon session headed by James M. Nabrit Jr., Deputy Representative in the United Nations. Mr. Nabrit ruled the resolution out of order, saying:

"I don't want to put that albatross around the civil rights movement."

After a parliamentary fight Mr. Nabrit took a vote by a show of hands. About 100 voted against the resolution and nine for. Mr. McKissick charged that Mr. Nabrit had not acted propertly as chairman.

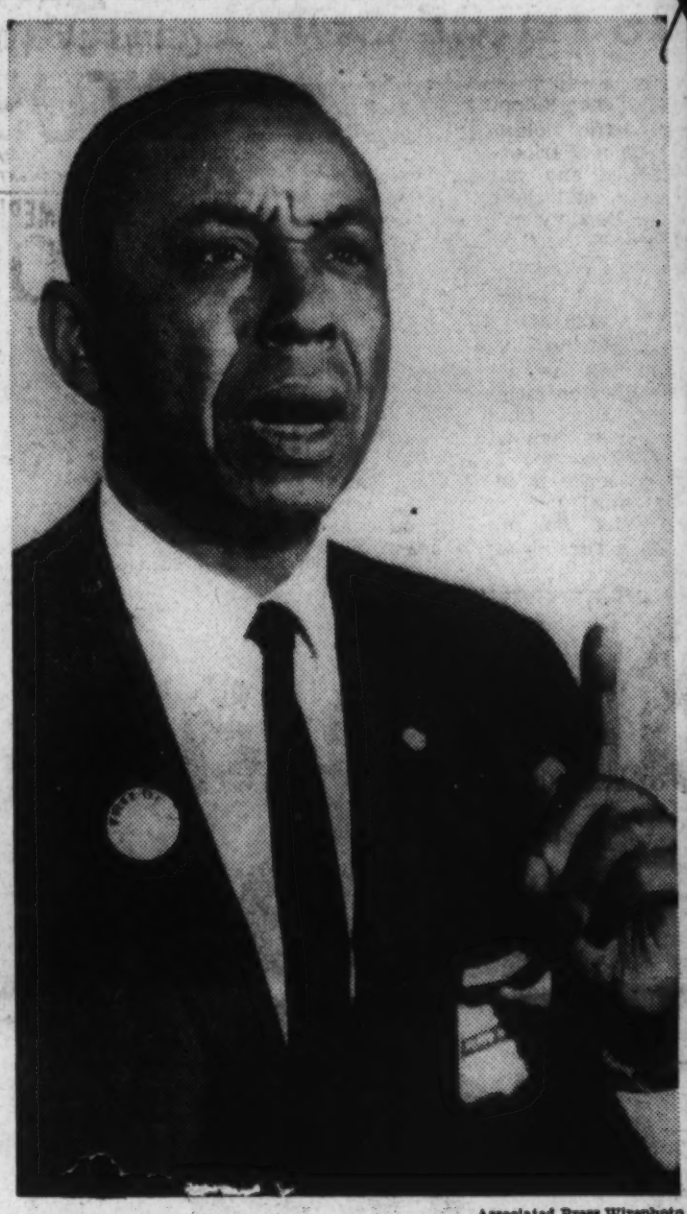
"This is what I'm here for, Mac," Mr. Nabrit replied.

A few minutes later Homer A. Jack, executive director of the Unitarian-Universalist Association, proposed and had adopted unanimously this resolution:

"This committee urges President Johnson to continue and intensify his efforts to bring the war in Vietnam to an early and honorable end so that the same and even a much greater level of Federal funds and Federal leadership can be focused to fulfill these civil rights today."

No Strong Support

In several other sessions the CORE resolution was ruled out of order or emasculated without a challenge from the floor. In other sessions the issue was not mentioned.



Associated Press Wirephoto

OFFERED RESOLUTION: Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, offered the resolution at the White House Conference on Civil Rights calling for United States withdrawal from South Vietnam.

The sessions were headed by men and women appointed by the conference planners. But it was apparent that there was no substantial sentiment for adoption of such a strong proposal.

Silent throughout the conference was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who has been critical of the Administration's stand in Southeast Asia. Dr. King, who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was reported at the conference today, but he could not be found by reporters.

Walter Reuther, the head of the United Automobile Workers, announced the consensus of many civil rights leaders when he spoke at a news conference in behalf of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an affiliation of liberal organizations.

"If people want to debate foreign policy," he said, "they should have a White House Conference on Foreign Policy."

Many of the sessions, however, did accept without opposition CORE resolutions charging the Administration with laxity in civil rights enforcement and calling for greater effort to achieve desegregation under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

From Home Rule to F.B.I.

In a typical session, the delegates adopted resolutions calling for the following:

¶Home rule for the District of Columbia.

¶Quick passage of the civil rights legislation pending before Congress.

¶More Federal involvement in efforts to set up civilian review boards on police brutality.

¶On-the-spot arrests and greater involvement in civil rights cases by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

¶A system of priorities on the broad recommendations drafted by the planning council.

Although there was no formal endorsement of the planning council recommendations the prevailing opinion was that they should be made more specific and adopted. The recommendations fill more than 100 pages and include new public works programs, guaranteed employment, and new efforts in education, housing and administration of justice.

1966.

Rights Parley Package

FED. POLICY

Broad and Costly Proposals Emerge From Meeting Influenced by Johnson

6/4/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 3—The White House Conference on Civil Rights, which ended last night in an unusual show of harmony and good humor, is expected to give President Johnson some new leverage in getting Great Society legislation enacted. The multibillion dollar package of proposals that won the general approval of the 2,600 delegates make current Government proposals seem pale and noncontroversial by comparison.

News Analysis

Ben W. Heineman, the chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway who served as chairman of the two-day conference, said the meeting had amounted to an "overwhelming consensus in favor of the planning council's recommendations for an action program to help American Negroes achieve in reality the rights that have been opened to them in theory."

Mr. Heineman said a final report would be submitted to President Johnson in about a month and that he hoped Congress would enact the major recommendations for Federal legislation. These include huge public works projects, larger antipoverty appropriations, guaranteed jobs or income and large new outlays for education.

In the opinion of some delegates, this amounts to "just indemnity" for centuries of injustice to Negro Americans.

But others say that the recommendations are so broad and so general that they amount to no mandate at all for President Johnson or Congress.

Almost everyone agrees, however that the conference was President Johnson's show all the way. The Federal apparatus in the skillful hands of Lyndon Johnson seemed capable of controlling even so uncertain a force as the civil rights movement.

There is doubt about the conference mobilizing public opinion behind the proposals because it did not represent a cross-section of society as planners had said it would. The conservatives who had been invited—Southern Governors, for instance—did not show up in numbers while civil rights leaders and Government officials were there in full force.

The conference, in fact, had a strange evolution. President Johnson called it one year ago in a remarkable speech at Howard University.

In the speech, Mr. Johnson suggested that all Americans must make a special effort to help Negroes achieve equality of results as well as of opportunity, and this would require a change in men's hearts as well as laws and national policy.

A planning session held in the fall generated some ideas but got out of control when the delegates, mostly civil rights activists, insisted on criticizing the Administration's enforcement of existing civil rights laws.

For the full conference, Mr. Johnson appointed Mr. Heineman as chairman and a 29-member planning council that consisted of civil rights, labor, business and religious leaders. Delegates were carefully screened to keep out potential trouble-makers.

But the chief maker of trouble for the Administration turned out to be a member of the council, Floyd McKissick, the new national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Mr. McKissick had attended none of the planning sessions, apparently because of anti-Administration sentiment within his organization. He arrived at the conference declaring that it was rigged and said he could participate only if the rules were change to permit a vote on resolutions.

The council had a choice of changing the rules or having the conference thrown into a bitter fight. It changed the rules, though Mr. McKissick had one resolution calling for American withdrawal from Vietnam.

At this point, the Federal apparatus went into operation. President Johnson made an unscheduled appearance at the dinner Tuesday night and won a warm reception by reiterating dedication to the movement and by taking the unusual action of introducing a speaker, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, a pioneer Negro leader.

The next morning Arthur J. Goldberg, United States delegate to the United Nations, and other Cabinet members came to the conference. The working sessions were laced with Federal officials. The session at which Mr. McKissick presented his Vietnam resolution, which was soundly defeated, was chaired by a Goldberg assistant, James M. Nabrit Jr.

Many Negro leaders who agreed with Mr. McKissick on Vietnam remained silent, believing with Mr. Nabrit that the issue was "an albatross" for the conference.

"It looks to me," one Negro leader said, "that we are going to have to have Mr. Johnson as our leader whether we want him or not."

The conference, after all, had come out almost as the civil rights establishment had wanted it to.

The White House had originally planned that the conference by centered on strengthening the Negro family, which has been damaged by centuries of slavery and discrimination. But civil rights leaders had bitterly opposed this and the subject was not even on the agenda of the conference.

The man who originally proposed this central theme, Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor, was a silent, unnoticed delegate, but he was said to believe that the country had missed an opportunity to give the conference a theme that might have resulted in the righting of old wrongs.

FED. POLICY

HELPING NEGROES INTO MAINSTREAM OF LIFE

'Here's Another Chance'

By JOHN ASKINS

The June White House conference on civil rights represented a final opportunity for state and local governments and organizations to take the initiative in helping Negroes into the mainstream of American life, believes Dr. Vivian Henderson.

Dr. Henderson, president of Clark College, was chairman of a task force that shaped the economic proposals discussed at the conference.

The conference, entitled "To Fulfill These Rights," was represented in the headlines mainly by accounts of internal dissention. But it had a significance that went deeper than flashes of controversy, and served to say two things to the American public, says Dr. Henderson:

"Number one, it was called by the President of the United States, which means it was something sponsored by 190 million people. It said in this framework that the national conscience is being further examined on this question.

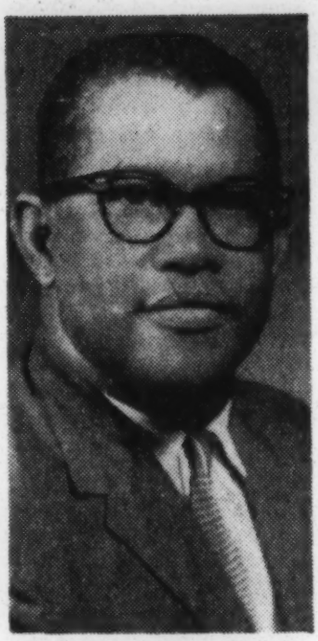
"It said that we need to say again to the nation and the world that we are not satisfied with our progress, that we're not going to be satisfied until we complete this job, and that we don't have from now until eternity to complete it.

"AND WHEN we talk of completing, we talk not only of preventing further inequities but of correcting the inequities that are part of the past.

"It also says, this White House thing, it says in essence that we are now trying to arrive at some means whereby we can say to business firms and to private employers, to the states and cities, 'now we're trying to come up with some programs that would at least give you a sense of direction on what YOU could do, and what you ought to do.'

"And I think this is also saying, 'If you don't do it now, if you don't respond now, then this is the last chance. The federal government is just going to have to take a bigger hold.' I think personally that this is unfortunate in many ways.

"I'm not trying to interpret the mood of the President and others who are responsible for planning. But it does seem to me that something's being said: 'Now, here's another chance.'



DR. VIVIAN HENDERSON
Chairman of Task Force

"The whole thing was cast in the framework of trying to see if we couldn't find out what people in local areas would do. This was part of the mood of the conference. And I think we will get some action on local levels."

TO THAT END, participants said, the conference debated myriad proposals, these among them:

— Creation of metropolitan job councils in all major urban areas, made up of business, labor, government and educational leaders, to coordinate all local efforts to find jobs for Negroes, establish centers in ghetto districts to work with hard-core unemployed, and assume leadership in local branches of a national year-round youth job placement program, among other things.

— Development of an emergency Rural Jobs Task Force to report no later than Sept. 1 with recommendations for improving the economic lot of rural Negroes.

— Creation of government-financed public works and services programs to provide jobs for workers who can't find them anywhere else. Included would be a "guaranteed employment" plan.

— Origination of plans to reduce racial concentration in schools of pupils, teachers and administrative personnel.

— Strengthening of federal sanctions against school segregation.

DR. HENDERSON SAYS the overriding mood of the conference was "urgency."

"We had people from Watts, from Gary, Ind., from the South side of Chicago, from Harlem, even from Vine City here in Atlanta. We had people there who time and time again just said —almost like throwing up their hands — you know, 'What do you expect me to do? I know the money's there, I know damn well I don't have to be in this situation; now doggone it, I can't just sit here and allow my children to grow up like this. Now, what are we going to do?' There was a tremendous sense of urgency about this."

He points out that the old technique of direct action protests probably won't work to solve such problems as unemployment, second-rate schools, rural poverty and the like.

"Until we get at the basic disadvantages, the emancipation of Negroes into the mainstream is going to be mighty minimal—and you cannot solve these with direct action protest . . . It may play a minor role, but direct action cannot solve the problems of technological change."

THE REPORT of the recommendations of the conference are expected to be made public around June 23. Not all the proposals listed above, nor the many others discussed, received majority approval. But all the ideas, discussed will be drifting around in Washington for some time to come, and the more workable ones may well find their way into further debate.

Another important figure at the conference, Vernon Jordan of the Southern Regional Council, said "There will be legislation coming out of this, but it won't be legislation dealing with civil rights per se. It will address itself to basic social problems."

Dr. Henderson agrees. "I don't think you'd ever get the Congress to pass legislation of this sort specifically for any racial group. Much of the impetus for the War on Poverty was the civil rights revolution, but the President couldn't have said, 'This is a War on Poverty for Negroes,' "

A $35-Billion Plan To Help the Negro Is Urged by Javits

FED. POLICY

Senator Jacob K. Javits proposed yesterday that the Federal Government spend $35-billion in the next decade as part of a "Marshall Plan" for Negroes and other minority groups.

The New York Republican said this figure was 10 per cent of the total that he said should be spent to start a domestic program for Americans "who have been the traditional target of discrimination."

The 90 per cent additional, he said, should come from state and local governments, supplemented by private sources such as business and foundations. Although he did not publicly mention the total, he said afterward that this over-all figure would be $350-billion in 10 years.

Mr. Javits included in his proposal a national minimum welfare allowance, doubled expenditures on education, more training programs for unemployed Negroes, more higher education and more and better public housing.

He said that 77 per cent of the current Federal budget was being spent for defense and foreign aid.

"Far reaching domestic programs to improve our way of life should receive support of the same magnitude lest we stand charged with helping all the world while neglecting our own brothers," he declared.

TheSenator addressed a luncheon gathering of 600 persons at the Commodore Hotel under the auspices of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York. He received the organization's John La Farge Award for Interracial Justice from Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York.

Among others paying tribute to Mr. Javits were Jackie Robinson, board charman of the Freedom National Bank; David Sarnoff, board chairman of the Radio Corporation of America, and Gerald L. Carroll, chairman of the council.

Admitted by Supreme Court

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20—The Supreme Court admitted to practice today Mortimer H. Tischler, Robert Gerard Tischler, Peter Leffert Wolff, Milton R. Friedman and Fred P. Rubin, all of New York.

CRACKDOWN UNDER TITLE VI

Griffin ROTC Funds Halted As U.S. Applies Pressure

FEDERAL POLICY

AC 8/23/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The federal government has started applying to the South a provision that has been referred to as the "atom bomb" of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as the Griffin, Ga., school system has discovered already.

The provision is the 1964 law's Title VI, which permits 20 federal agencies to withhold funds from state or local organizations accused of racial discrimination.

A new interagency report, which one recipient said still has some "bugs" in it, is circulated weekly to the federal agencies listing school systems and hospitals either reported not in compliance or suspected of not being in compliance with Title VI.

The Griffin-Spalding County school system up until last week had not been certified by the U.S. Office of Education for compliance with the 1966 desegregation guidelines.

As a result the Department of the Army cut off funds for the school system's Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC).

School Supt. G. W. Patrick said Third Army headquarters previously had approved the Griffin ROTC program, and that the Department of the Army action cost two employes half of a month's pay.

The Army restored the ROTC funds when the school system was judged last week by the Office of Education to be in compliance with the desegregation guidelines.

Patrick said the Army was asked by the Office of Education most daily, it was pointed out.

Civil rights organizations in the past have sharply criticized the federal government for not using Title VI more effectively in the South.

The Department of Justice, which calls the shots on administration of the compliance law, has leaned toward efforts to desegregate Southern schools and hospitals through negotiations whenever possible.

The compliance policy apparently has been stiffened to bring additional resources of the federal government to bear against schools and hospitals reluctant to comply with the latest guidelines.

FEDERAL POLICY

As U.S. Applies Pressure

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Patrick said the Army was asked by the Office of Education to cut off the ROTC funds to bring additional pressure on the school system to comply with the regulations.

However, the Army didn't necessarily have to be asked to withhold the federal money.

The Department of Defense is one of the agencies which receive part of approximately 2,000 reports telling the weekly status of Title VI compliance activities.

The status reports are issued through the Statistics and Reports Branch, Office of Equal Health Opportunity, U.S. Public Health Service.

The Office of Education's Equal Opportunity Office supplies information about school compliances.

40 SYSTEMS

For instance, this week's report listed 40 school systems and 23 hospitals in Georgia which have not been approved for compliance.

Federal education and Medicare funds already are being deferred for these schools and hospitals.

The other federal agencies supplying U.S. dollars to these schools and hospitals could check the interagency report to determine if the Georgia institutions are in compliance.

COULD WITHHOLD

If they have not complied, funds from the other agencies could be withheld from the local organizations.

One agency source said he doubted that the weekly report would be used as the sole basis of withholding all agency funds, but it would serve as a government-wide warning flag that these schools and hospitals are not certified for compliance.

It is anticipated that the agencies will investigate in detail the compliance status of a local organization before cutting off funds because the school and hospital lists change almost daily, it was pointed out.

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PRESIDENT NAMES RIGHTS STUDY UNIT

FEDERAL POLICY

Committee to Weigh Report of White House Meeting

NYT 8/26/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25 — President Johnson appointed an inter-departmental committee today to study the recommendations of the White House Conference on Civil Rights of June 1 and 2.

The committee is to make an interim report to the President within 30 days for possible legislative or departmental action.

The White House made it clear, however, that Mr. Johnson could not endorse all of the recommendations. And the action was interpreted by some as a downgrading of the proposals made by the conference.

About 2,500 delegates met in panels of 200 for two days, and discussed recommendations drawn up earlier by a 29-member planning council headed by Ben. W. Heineman, chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway.

These recommendations, most of which were approved or expanded on by the delegates, included a broad range of suggested action by Federal state and local governments and by private groups, for helping Negro Americans achieve rights promised them under Federal law and policy.

Projects Are Suggested

The suggestions include vast public works projects, an increased educational effort at every level and guaranteed employment and income.

No one has attempted to estimate the cost to the Federal Government of carrying out the suggestions, but it would run into many billions of dollars.

In its report to the President, the council repeated the recommendations and summarized the discussions of the delegates.

In announcing receipt of the report at a Cabinet meeting today, Mr. Johnson said:

"It is important that the recommendations of the council and the conference receive serious attention by local, state and Federal Government officials. And much more than official action is involved here."

He noted that many of the recommendations were directed at private groups—organized labor, business, foundations and religious and civic organizations.

A White House spokesman said Mr. Johnson disagreed with some of the recommendations but believed that most of them should be put into effect. The spokesman said the President did not specify which ones he could not accept.

In addition to reporting to the President, the new committee is to "reply to the report's criticisms of present programs, describe the efforts the departments will make to keep the report under consideration in the future and examine the full 5,000-page transcript of the conference for recommendations or suggestions made by the conferees."

Copies of the report released today will be sent to mayors in more than 500 cities.

There was no indication in today's action that any of the recommendations would ultimately result in legislative action, as many participants of the conference had wished.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., counsel for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an affiliation of organizations, said "The results have been disappointing as far as civil rights legislation is concerned."

He noted that all of the panels at the conference had urged enactment of a much stronger civil rights bill this year than the Administration had submitted and that the House of Representatives had watered down the section on open housing. The bill is now in the Senate.

The conference was proposed by President Johnson on June 5, 1965, to be held in the fall. Instead, a preliminary planning conference was held in November and this turned primarily into a forum for criticizing the Administration's enforcement of civil rights laws.

Mr. Johnson then appointed the council headed by Mr. Heineman and composed of a cross-section of civil rights, business, labor and civic leaders to draw an agenda for the conference.

Report to President

The report was formally submitted to the President today by Mr. Heineman and A. Philip Randolph, the Negro labor leader and honorary chairman of the conference.

Harry C. McPherson Jr., special counsel to the President, and Clifford Alexander, deputy special counsel, were named co-chairmen of the interdepartmental committee today.

Other members are: Lisle C. Carter Jr., Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; H. Ralph Taylor, Assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Stanley Ruttenberg, Assistant Secretary of Labor; William D. Carey, Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Buget; John Doar, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; Roger W. Wilkins, Director of the Community Relations Service; Bertrand M. Harding, Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Leroy Collins, Under Secretary of Commerce.

JOHNSON CONCEDES ERRORS ON RIGHTS

NYT 10/7/66

But Says U.S. Must Pursue Positive Enforcement Role

FED. POLICY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — President Johnson agreed with Southern critics today that there had been "some harassment and some mistakes" in enforcing civil rights laws.

But the President reiterated his commitment to racial equality and pledged to see that "all citizens of this country are treated equally without discrimination." And he said the Federal Government must pursue a positive role in this regard.

Many of the questions put to Mr. Johnson in his news conference concerned the racial question, which has assumed new political significance as white resistance to civil rights enforcement has spread to new areas outside the South.

Harassment Charged

Southern members of Congress, and some from the North, have charged that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has harassed Southern officials in enforcing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and has gone beyond the law in attempting to achieve racial balance in schools and other institutions.

Mr. Johnson was asked where he stood on the dispute "between those who feel the Federal Government should merely strike down legal barriers to equality and those who feel the Government should play a more positive role in encouraging integration."

"I think the Federal Government should be a leader in this field," Mr. Johnson said. He added he had tried to fully enforce the civil rights laws on the books.

"I realize," he said, "that in some instances there has been some harassment and some mistakes have been made. Some people have been enthusiastic and differences have developed.

"But where those mistakes have been made," he continued, "I think Mr. [John W.] Gardner [Health, Education and Welfare Secretary] and the Commissioner of Education [Harold Howe 3d] have been willing to always listen to any protest . . . and to carry out the law as Congress intended it."

He said that would continue to be the policy of his administration.

G.O.P. Poll Cited

Mr. Johnson was reminded that the Republican Coordinating Committee had found from a poll that public concern over crime and riots had surpassed concern over inflation and related economic matters, and that the Republicans were blaming the Administration for riots in many cities in recent weeks.

The President pointed out he had spoken out against violence and that the nation had "very serious problems" in urban areas.

"I hope that we can keep violence out of the picture," Mr. Johnson said. "I have done every thing that I know how in cooperation with the Mayors, the chief executives of the cities, and the chief executives of the states concerned."

He said the Administration was "very concerned" and "very determined to do everything within our prerogative to see that reason prevails over violence."

"We think that the protestors themselves have the most to lose by disapproval of some of the actions that have taken place. And while we are not oblivious to the problems that bring forth the protests, we are concerned that they be protests without violence and within law and within order."

FEDERAL POLICY

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, OCTOBER 1

U.S. Social Science Agency Proposed

By RICHARD EDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct 9 — Legislation to set up an independent Federal institution to finance social science research will be introduced tomorrow in the Senate.

The bill, which was drawn up by Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma and the staff of his Subcommittee on Government Research after informal consultation with the Administration, has strong support in the Senate.

Among its 20 co-sponsors are the majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana; the assistant minority leader, Thomas H. Kuchel of California; Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, and other influential Senators.

One main purpose of the bill, which would establish a National Foundation for the Social Sciences modeled on the National Science Foundation, is to devise a means for using Federal money to support research in politically and socially important fields without arousing a suspicion of academic impropriety.

Over the last two years, disclosures that social science research work was being financed by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Department have created a controversy that has jarred the academic community and, in one instance, has prompted Presidential intervention.

The most celebrated case involved Operation Camelot, a study of the causes of insurgency in Latin America and other developing areas that was conducted by an office connected with American University.

When the project came to light in Chile, and it was disclosed that the United States Army was paying for it, there was an explosion in Chilean political circles that resulted in acute embarrassment at the State Department. President Johnson ordered the Army to cancel the project.

Mr. Johnson also ordered the State Department to screen all Federally financed research projects abroad for propriety and potential political difficulties.

Another Army-backed study in Colombia, called Operation Simpatico, was disclosed. This was followed by reports of C.I.A. involvement in a South Vietnamese technical assistance project conducted by Michigan State University.

For the last year, the question has been discussed at a series of meetings of scholarly societies, in academic journals, at specially organized seminars, and in a series of hearings before Senator Harris's subcommittee.

The burden of the complaints voiced by leading social scientists was that research into subjects such as social change, when funded by "operational" agencies such as the Army and the C.I.A., was inevitably suspect as to its motives.

By accepting such support, especially if an attempt was made to conceal it, scholars were said to discredit themselves and to block the access of other scholars to their sources, especially abroad.

Shortage of Funds Cited

Other scholars and academic administrators cited an acute shortage of funds for social—as opposed to physical—science research. To ask the academic world to reject an important source of funds was perhaps to ask too much, they said.

The bill to create the social science foundation is designed to help solve this dilemma.

The foundation would be independent of all other Federal agencies, and it would be forbidden to allow interference with its personnel or policies from any other Federal official or department.

A 25-member board of trustees made up of leading figures in various areas of the social sciences would supervise its work. It would have a director and deputy director named by the President and approved by the Senate.

With an annual buget of $15-million to $20-million, it would finance research in political science, economics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, law, history, statistics, geography, demography, linguistics and international relations.

The foundation would be allowed to accept contracts for research from other Government agencies, including the Defense Department the C.I.A., but the connection would be announced and all research would be made available to the public.

The foundation would retain complete control of personnel selection and research strategy. Furthermore, it would not be allowed to accept contracts worth more than a quarter of its own reesarch budget from any agency.

All projects would be screened by the foundation's staff and consultants for scientific interest and possible political repercussions, especially abroad.

FEDERAL POLICY

Asia-Bound President Appeals to Bias Victims

AC 10/17/66

By WALTER R. MEARS

DOYLESTOWN, Pa. (AP) — On the eve of his departure on a peacemaking mission to Asia, President Lyndon B. Johnson appealed Sunday to people who have suffered discrimination to join in helping to wipe it out now.

The President came to this small Pennsylvania city after attending church in Washington, signing a batch of bills and receiving a report from his Treasury secretary that he leaves the nation's economy in robust shape as he departs Monday on a history-making, 17-day visit to six Far Eastern nations.

Johnson came to join in the dedication of a Roman Catholic shrine dedicated to peace and linked with the history of Poland, now a Communist-bloc nation.

Johnson lauded the spirit of Polish-Americans and told his audience: "We have not forgotten your friends and relatives in Poland. We have not forgotten the traditional bonds that have united our peoples since our earliest days as a nation.

"We intend to strengthen those bonds."

The occasion was the dedication of the national Shrine of

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Departing Johnson Presses Bias Fight

Continued from Page 1

Our Lady of Czestochowa, a shrine Johnson described as "a symbol of one thousand years of Polish civilization and Polish Christianity."

He said that to him, the shrine also symbolizes millions of men and women who came to America's shores as immigrants searching for a better way of life.

As he said to Italian-Americans in New York City last week, Johnson noted these people "were no strangers to discrimination." The President said that Thaddeus Kosciusko, typified the spirit of Polish-Americans when he fought in the Revolutionary War, and later put himself "at the forefront of the movement to abolish slavery and discrimination."

FEDERAL POLICY
11/17/66 NYT

Weaver Warns Against Creating A Monolith to Oversee Aid Plans

Tells Senate Unit He Opposes a Council to Direct the 170 Federal Projects in U.S.

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16—Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, cautioned a Senate subcommittee today against "a monolithic approach" to the problem of coordinating Federal aid to states and localities.

He suggested that such an approach was inherent in a proposal by Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, for creation of a coordinating council of Cabinet officers under the chairmanship of the President.

Mr. Weaver testified at the opening of hearings conducted by Senator Muskie on how to improve the management of what the Senator called "an incredible array" of 170 aid programs involving nearly $15-billion in annual Federal outlays.

Mr. Muskie presided as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, a unit of the Senate Government Operations Committee. He was the only member present for the first of four scheduled hearings.

The Senator said Federal aid to states and localities was expected to soar to $60-billion by 1975 compared with less than $1-billion in 1956.

State and Local Outlay Rises

Meanwhile, he reported, state and local expenditures have risen to $95-billion—a 517 per cent increase since 1966—and "may hit the $150-billion mark" by 1975.

"We are looking for recommendations for improving planning and program coordination at Federal, state and local levels," he said, "and we are looking for a mechanism for improving intergovernmental relations."

Secretary Weaver testified that progress toward coordinating his department's 60 programs with the frequently overlapping responsibilities of other Federal departments and agencies was being made under a Presidential Executive order issued last August.

Authority to Coordinate

The order gave him authority to convene meetings with representatives of the other Federal jurisdictions to iron out conflicts and develop coordinated approaches.

In an exchange with Senator Muskie, he asked for a fair trial of the new procedure rather than the early establishment of any Presidential-level council such as the Senator has proposed.

The New York Times
Robert C. Weaver

He said a monolithic approach "lacks the flexibility you have to have" in dealing with other Federal agencies and with state and local governments.

At the local level, he added, "there is also the problem of the Federal colossus coming in." He did not elaborate on that point.

Senator Muskie said he was "not wedded" to his own proposal but still saw a need for an effective coordinating mechanism at the Federal level.

"There is an almost total lack of coordination in the Federal grant-in-aid program," he maintained.

FED. POLICY

NOTRE DAME LAWYER

Notre Dame Conference on Federal Civil Rights Legislation and Administration: A Report

NOTES
LEGISLATION & ADMINISTRATION
RECENT DECISIONS
BOOK REVIEWS

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CHARGE OF DISCRIMINATION

(If you have a complaint, fill in this form and mail it to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Regional Office in your area as soon as possible. It must be mailed within 90 days after the discriminatory act took place. (See addresses on back page)

This form is to be used only to file a charge of discrimination based on RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, or NATIONAL ORIGIN.

Case File No. _____

(PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

1 Your Name _____ Phone Number _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

2 WAS THE DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF: (Please check one)

Race or Color ☐ Religious Creed ☐ National Origin ☐ Sex ☐

3 Who discriminated against you? Give the name and address of the employer, labor organization, employment agency and/or apprenticeship committee. If more than one, list all.

Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

AND (other parties if any) _____

4 Have you filed this charge with a state or local government agency? Yes ☐ No ☐

5 If your charge is against a company or a union, how many employees or members? _____ Number Do not know ☐

6 The most recent date on which this discrimination took place: Month _____ Day _____ Year _____

7 Explain what unfair thing was done to you:

8 I swear or affirm that I have read the above charge and that it is true to the best of my knowledge, information and belief.

Date _____ _____ (Sign your name)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____ 196_____

_____ (Name) _____ (Title)

If it is difficult for you to get a Notary Public to sign this, sign your own name and mail to the Regional Office. The Commission will help you to get the form sworn to.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966 O—223-512

YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO COMPLAIN IF:

Employer refuses to hire you when you are qualified for a job opening.

Employer refuses to let you file application but accepts others'.

Union or employment agency refuses to refer you to job opening.

Union refuses to accept you into membership.

You are fired or laid off without cause.

You are passed over for promotion for which you are qualified.

You are paid less than others for comparable work.

You are placed in segregated seniority line.

You are left out of training or apprenticeship programs.

AND . . .

The reason for any of these acts is your race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Also, if employer provides racially segregated lunchrooms, locker rooms, rest rooms, recreation facilities.

WE CANNOT HANDLE CERTAIN CHARGES:

The Commission can handle charges concerning discriminatory employment practices based only on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. We cannot handle charges of discrimination, for example, concerning employment of physically and mentally handicapped, or concerning age, housing or schools. Where appropriate, we refer such charges to other federal or state agencies. We cannot handle charges of employment discrimination by federal, state or local governments, except that we can handle charges involving state employment service offices.

AFTER A CHARGE IS FILED:

- The Commission will review your charge and contact you by mail or in person.
- The Commission investigates your charge and if it finds it is justified, the Commission tries by conciliation to end the discrimination.
- If the Commission fails you may take your complaint to court.
- In most states with Fair Employment Practices laws, Title VII requires the Commission to refer your charge to the state agency which has 60 days to try to settle your complaint. You will be notified if this is done, and of your right to come back to the Commission if you are not satisfied with the state action.

NOTE:

The law covers employers of 75 or more people; labor unions with 75 or more members; and employment agencies. On July 2, 1967, the law will cover employers and unions with 50 or more employees or members.

YOU CAN HELP END DISCRIMINATION

The Commission will determine what action can be taken based on your statements as presented in the charge form in this pamphlet.

Freedom from discrimination is not enough. There must be freedom from the disadvantage that 200 years of discrimination helped create. There must be freedom of opportunity, freedom to work.—President Lyndon B. Johnson, April 28, 1966

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
REGIONAL OFFICES

Area Director, E.E.O.C.
3200 North Los Angeles Street
Los Angeles, California 90012

Regional Director, E.E.O.C.
630 Sansome Street
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Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Austin, Texas

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
1800 G STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT AGAINST UNLAWFUL JOB DISCRIMINATION

EMPLOYMENT

DISCRIMINATION IS UNLAWFUL

Discrimination in employment because of *race, color, religion, sex,* or *national origin,* is prohibited under Title VII of the Civil Rights Law. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will act on charges of discrimination in employment committed by employers, labor organizations, state and private employment agencies and labor-management apprenticeship programs.

CHARGES MAY BE FILED BY:

Any person who believes he has been discriminated against in an employment situation.

A Commissioner who has reason to believe that an unlawful employment practice has been committed by a company, labor union, employment agency, or an apprenticeship or training program.

The company, union, or employment agency is forbidden by law to punish you for filing a charge, for acting as a witness, or for assisting the Commission to establish the cause for the charge.

EEOC

President Points to Actions For Calming Racial Unrest

FEDERAL POLICY

Special to The New York Times

JOHNSON CITY, Tex., July 5—President Johnson, confronted with what appears to be rising racial tension in many of the nation's cities, stressed today the steps being taken to alleviate the sources of the tension.

Although the President did not explicitly urge patience, he clearly indicated that he was sympathetic to Negro aspirations and wished that extremists on both sides of the racial issue would quiet down.

The President strongly indicated that he did not think that the new battle cry of militant Negroes—"black power"—would lead to constructive results. This phrase has been recurring with increased frequency in the pronouncements of leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

Stresses 'Democratic Power'

"We are not interested in black power and we are not interested in white power," the President declared. "But we are interested in American democratic power, with a small d."

The President said that his Administration was trying in every way it could to find jobs for the unemployed and to make people in the cities stop practicing discrimination.

"We are trying to meet the poverty situation as we find it with the limited resources at our command," he said.

Americans, regardless of race, he said, should have the right to vote, to a job at decent wages and a decent home.

The Administration, he said,

Continued on Page 17, Column 1

PRESIDENT POINTS TO RACIAL MOVES

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

is doing everything it can "to improve these terrible conditions that exist in the ghettos of this country."

"We can't do it all overnight," he told a news conference at his ranch near here. "We are much too late. But we have done more in the last 24 months than has been done in any similar 24-month period to face up to these conditions of health, education, poverty and discrimination."

"We are going to continue as long as I am President to do everything we can to see that all citizens are treated equally and have equal opportunities," Mr. Johnson went on.

"When we achieve that, I think we will find a good deal of the solution to the problem" of racial incidents, he said.

Administration officials were deeply relieved when the recent Negro marches in Mississippi went carried through with as little violence as there was.

One reason they were apprehensive was that they feared violence against the marchers would produce reprisals against whites in the racially tense slums of many of America's cities.

They hope that racial explosions can be avoided during the period it will take for new programs designed to ease the plight of poor and uneducated Negroes in the slums to become effective.

Kennedy Says War Is Used as Excuse

FED. POLICY

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15 (UPI) — Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y., accused the Johnson administration Monday of using the war in Viet Nam as an excuse for cutting back spending programs to combat the plight of the nation's cities.

Sen. Kennedy

Kennedy made the charge as a Senate subcommittee opened a two-year investigation of the use of federal funds by American cities and their problems, including underlying causes of racial violence.

Kennedy proposed that current federal programs be designed to employ slum dwellers in rebuilding cities. But he said additional money was needed.

"The demands of Viet Nam, purportedly responsible for cutbacks in vital education, housing and poverty programs, in fact still represent less than 3 per cent of our national product. All military expenditures, even with the expected supplemental appropriations bill after the elections, still take less than 10 per cent of our gross national product," the senator said.

"With the growth in revenues and even with the expenditures in Viet Nam, the federal government today is spending a smaller proportion of our gross national product than it did three years ago."

HE DECLARED that the government should add $6 billion to annual spending for the cities immediately.

"We'll spend $600 million for the economic development of 15 million people in South Viet Nam this year," Kennedy remarked.

Turn to Page 4, Column 4

KENNEDY CHARGES

Continued from Page 1

"But federal poverty and educational employment assistance to the same number of people in New York will be less than one-sixth that amount.

Another complaint at the opening session was that big business has blackmailed local governments into inaction.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., made the accusation as the Senate subcommittee on executive reorganization began its intensive look at the benefits cities may have reaped from the $96 billion in federal aid they have gotten over the past decade.

Clark, a onetime mayor of Philadelphia, said U.S. cities have been unable to finance programs to combat slums, sickness, ignorance, pollution, choking traffic and the turmoil that breeds racial violence.

He said that while the federal government has adopted the graduated income tax, cities have attempted to struggle along with regressive excise and property taxes.

"The sad fact is that competition among the states to get industry is so keen that states are reluctant to shift the burden to progressive taxes," Clark said.

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The New York Times Magazine
FEBRUARY 27, 1966

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

'To Produce a Creative Disorder'

The Grand Design Of the Poverty Program

By NATHAN GLAZER

THE antipoverty program is now a year and a half old. It is running at the rate of about $1.5-billion a year, with about two-fifths going to support the Community Action Programs—the most original and controversial part of the whole antipoverty campaign—and another two-fifths going for the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the College Work-Study programs. Of the remaining programs, the largest is the work-experience program (primarily for welfare clients)—10 per cent of the total—and the best known is the domestic peace corps or VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program, which is budgeted at only 1½ per cent of the total. The entire $1.5-billion for the antipoverty program is about 1½ per cent of the Federal budget, or a quarter of 1 per cent of the Gross National Product.

It is worth keeping these dimensions in mind when we talk about the antipoverty program. Whether the poverty-stricken are 15 per cent or 25 per cent of the American people may be argued. Certainly there are a good number of them. And whatever the causes of poverty—or the definition of poverty—it seems reasonable that a good deal more than the present sums might well be invested in overcoming it. The question the antipoverty program raises most sharply, however, is not the general one—"Shall we do something about poverty?"—but the very specific one: "What shall we do about poverty?" And what we are doing, it seems to me, is by no means the best way of attacking the problem.

THREE key decisions underlie the antipoverty program:

First, the framers of the antipoverty program decided that this was not to be a job-creation program, as were the great welfare programs of the New Deal—W.P.A., C.C.C., P.W.A., N.Y.A. Its major efforts are directed toward youth. The aim of these efforts is not so much the *employment* of young people as an end in itself, but rather their *training* for employment, by teaching them the required demeanor for holding any job, as in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the specific skills for holding certain jobs, as in the Job Corps. There is little emphasis on conservation of natural resources for its own sake, or on providing additional income to impoverished families through the work of youth, as in the C.C.C. Indeed, one hears remarkably little about conservation work in the publicity of the Job Corps, for it was early decided that saving trees and soil would not teach boys and girls the skills necessary to become productive in an urban society. The income earned is kept by the Job Corps recruit himself—though he can if he wishes have some of it sent back to his family.

The decision to emphasize youth was almost dictated by the nature of the poverty problem. Our poor consist in large measure of old people retired from the labor force on one hand, and young people not yet in it, living in families without adult male providers, on the other. Almost as high a proportion of children as of old people lives in poverty. The best recent study shows that 25 per cent of those under 18, and 30 per cent of those over 65, live in poverty. Among the 35 million poor are 15 million under 18, and 5 million over 65.

The emphasis on youth cannot be argued with. The emphasis on training, however, has been questioned. Does the young man out of school need training, or does he need a job? Is not the training on a real job more effective than the counseling and training attached to a job which is created especially for him, and in which he is under the authority of social workers much of the time?

Most job education in this country occurs on the job. A good deal occurs in public and private vocational schools. Is the special approach of the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps necessary to supplement these major forms of job education? Some who argued at the beginning that all that the unemployed, out-of-school youth needed was a job have been con- *(Continued on Page 64)*

NATHAN GLAZER, professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley, is the author of "The Social Basis of American Communism" and co-author of "The Lonely Crowd" and "Beyond the Melting Pot."

Eighteen months ago the President signed the Economic Opportunity Act into law, launching a massive Federal antipoverty campaign. What has it accomplished—or failed to accomplish—since? Above, scenes of a job-training program run by Mobilization for Youth.

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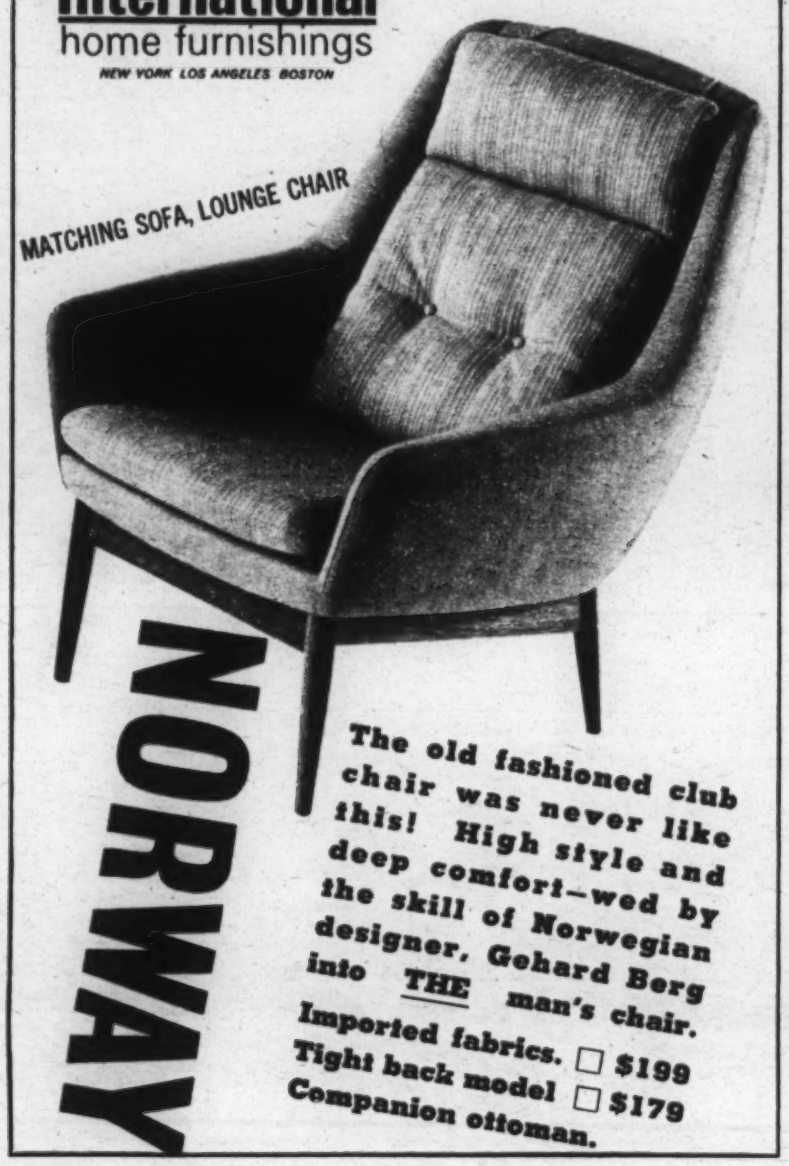

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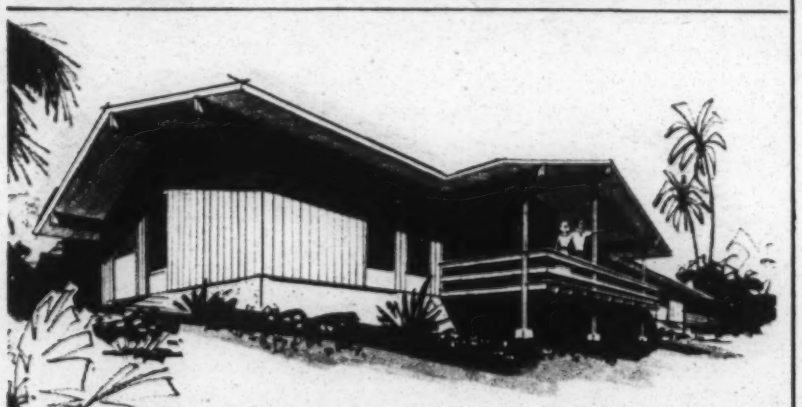

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TECHBUILT Vacation Homes

The Grand Design of the Poverty Program

(Continued from Page 21)

vinced by experience that he probably needs a good deal of work counseling, job training, and orientation in what we may call job demeanor as well. But one can still argue that all this might have been better provided by a full-employment economy in which employers would find it worthwhile to train less-skilled and less-motivated workers.

But, of course, the framers of the antipoverty program were not asked to propose policy for the American economy. Asked to handle the problem of poverty, they could, one assumes, have said: "This is a job for high economic policy makers. If we can reduce the unemployment rate to 2 per cent, private industry will undertake the task of job training for youth as it seeks new employes." But we are dealing with problems that are in any case not to be solved by an exclusive reliance on one approach as against another. There is enough evidence that the inability of youth to get jobs, at least in the economy we have, is based to some extent on weak job skills. If we can get some improvement in that, it is certainly worth investing $600-million a year. In addition, we should not forget the fact that this is not only a job-training program, but that the young people are also working. We get some benefit from their work in agencies of city government and in nonprofit institutions, and, in effect, through these programs we subsidize some parts of our affluent society which we know are starved, such as maintenance work in city parks.

THE second major decision of the antipoverty program was to set up a new agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, to direct some of the new programs—in particular, the Community Action Program—and to coordinate other programs that fell under such agencies as the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. One can well ask whether this agency was necessary. One could have envisaged a program which expanded existing agencies—the youth counseling and training services of the Department of Labor, the vocational education programs financed by the Office of Education, the programs to overcome dependency that are being undertaken by various welfare departments with the support of the Federal Welfare Administration.

One could even have proposed an antipoverty program that increased grants—through Social Security and old-age assistance and Medicare—to the aged, thus automatically raising five million out of the poverty group, and increased payments to mothers with dependent children, thus doing the same for the majority of those in poverty. Indeed, in the sharp debate between Irving Kristol on the one hand and on the other Michael Harrington and Paul Jacobs (the latter two participated as consultants in the framing of the antipoverty program) in the pages of The New Leader early in 1964, this was just the nub of the argument: Why the fuss about poverty while most poverty could be eliminated by raising payments under *existing* programs above what the Government defined as the poverty level?

The point, once made, is terribly persuasive. It eliminates the need for setting up a new agency with thousands of employes, it eliminates the need for new and complex and inevitably confusing systems of coordination, and it would not have led to the inflation in the salaries of social workers and other poverty fighters which is now becoming an issue in a number of antipoverty programs.

WHY then was this course not taken? As to the reasons for the fundamental political decisions, one can only speculate, and one assumes that it would have been something of a dud to implement a new war on poverty with increased Social Security and welfare payments. A war should be more active than that, and welfare payments are not particularly popular with Congress. Furthermore, we were interested in increasing productivity, not in simply raising levels of maintenance.

On the other hand, in view of the great concentration of children and old people in poverty, our only possible hope of improving life for many is simply to increase their level of material comfort. In addition, it may well be that the future productivity of children when they become adult workers can be enhanced by in-

(Continued on Page 69)

P.W.A.—A paving crew outside the White House in 1933. Unlike such New Deal programs, which made jobs, today's antipoverty campaign aims at training for taking jobs.

HEAD START—Because nearly half the nation's poor are under 18, the antipoverty program focuses on youth, right down to the age of these New York City preschoolers.

(Continued from Page 64)
creased money payments permitting better health, more expenditure for toys and magazines and books, trips to downtown and other broadening experiences.

But there were more than these considerations dictating the decision to set up a new agency: There was a good deal of dissatisfaction with old agencies. This dissatisfaction united right and left together against simply pumping money into old agencies, and when right and left are united, it is irresistibly attractive to propose something new both might unite on. Thus, conservatives do not like welfare agencies because they are expensive and encourage dependency; liberals and radicals dislike them because their requirements restrict freedom and their administration is careful, dull, unimaginative and bureaucratic. Big-city education departments — which to a management expert might seem to be ideal conduits for funds which now flow through the Office of Economic Opportunity under various names, such as Operation Head Start, but which all have education as a major component—are subject to the same criticism. In more muted form, one hears much the same about state employment offi-

The antipoverty program combined on a new agency because it was in revolt against professionalism — the professionalism of welfare agencies, of vocational education, of employment services, all of which had coexisted too comfortably with poverty. The revolt was signaled by such works as Michael Harrington's "The Other America" and Edgar May's "The Wasted Americans."

In addition to socialists and journalists, many social workers, too, were critical of the public agencies. For some years, progressive social workers had been attacking the public agencies for a number of faults—their inability to cooperate in handling a "multi-problem" family or individual, their emphasis on their specific function as against all the client's needs, their insistence on professional qualifications for workers (making it difficult for them to absorb new views from outsiders), their limited, middle-class orientation in dealing with the problems of lower-class people. The work of the Ford Foundation, which established public-private corporations in a number of cities in the early nineteen-sixties to develop multipronged attacks on social problems, reflected this criticism, as did the work of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

Under this attack by liberal and radical critics, the defense of the education and welfare agencies was that they were not given enough money and freedom by legislatures to do a good job. This sounded weak and unconvincing — though there was a good deal of truth in it—and the last thing a progressive critic could bring himself to do was to propose simply giving them more money. And so the Office of Economic Opportunity came into being, with new people and new programs.

But if there already exist —as there do in most communities—departments of education and vocational education, school counseling services and vocational counseling services, welfare departments and public-health departments, and many more public and private agencies, what are these new programs, created in dissatisfaction with the old ones, to do? Here we come to the third major decision of the antipoverty program, and the one that is most controversial. The new programs were to be Community Action Programs. And what is a Community Action Program or Community Action Agency (C.A.A.)? The fact is that no one is as yet very clear what it is, although some 700 are in existence.

LET us begin to approach the Community Action Program the way the blind men approached the elephant, and see if we can make some sense of it.

Historically, it grows out of those joint attacks on social problems financed by the Ford Foundation, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the National Institute of Mental Health in the early nineteen-sixties. The best-known example perhaps is still Mobilization for Youth on New York's Lower East Side. The idea was that the problems of low-income people are all interrelated; therefore, an integrated and interrelated program is needed to attack them. Some of these original agencies have now become the C.A.A.'s of their respective communities, or have become the action agencies to which the C.A.A.'s distribute funds.

Administratively, a C.A.A. can be almost anything: It

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

can be public, private or a mixture. It must include representatives of the people in the areas in which it will concentrate, the "target" areas, but these may or may not be poor. The poor people may be a majority of the board of the agency, as in San Francisco, or less than a majority, as in most places, or there may be hardly any of them at all. They may be chosen through elections in the target areas, through appointment by the Mayor—or someone else—or through negotiations among various organizations representing the poor. Administratively, the Community Action Program is the farthest thing possible from Federal uniformity.

Functionally, a C.A.A. may simply support programs proposed by social-work agencies, boards of education and job-counseling and placement agencies. But it can do a lot of other things, too. In particular, it can *organize* communities; indeed, one part of a Community Action Program is generally labeled "community organization."

Politically, the Community Action Program can be a feather in the Mayor's cap, as he demonstrates his vigorous attack on the community's problems—or it can provide political resources, in the form of paid organizers, offices, mimeograph machines and paper supplies, for a variety of groups, and thus frighten political leaders out of their wits. What will all those organizers be up to? Their activities may begin innocuously: They organize the people on a block to discuss their problems, but they may go on to organizing a rent strike against slumlords, or even to throwing garbage on the Mayor's lawn in protest against poor garbage collections. And they may go on to educating the poor to believe that the power structure is against them and will be moved only by militant organization and outrageous actions.

It depends, of course, on who the organizers are. The young men and women who would like to organize in the slums and who are hired as community organizers by these programs are often strongly influenced by the New Left criticism of American society as overstructured, overorganized, restrictive of freedom, hardly democratic and in need of a thorough shaking up. This may not be what the organizers of Community Action

Programs have in mind—but it is certainly what many people working in them have in mind.

Financially, the Community Action Program amounts to 1 per cent or 2 per cent of a city's budget, and is hardly enough to make any dent in its needs for schools, welfare, police, parks, public housing and a hundred other city services. And, by law, it cannot be used simply to supplement these budgets—into which it would disappear with hardly any effect. It is, however, supposed to do things which aid the poor—and most of these things bring it into conflict with the older agencies.

Socially, then, the Community Action Program is almost designed to increase conflict. It will organize the poor, and not under the auspices of the schools or the police or the public-housing authorities. It is not a means to create tame P.-T.A.'s, tame P.A.L.'s, tame tenants' councils. It will organize the poor to put pressure on the principals and teachers, the police and the welfare authorities, the public-housing managers and the housing inspectors.

Unquestionably, it is giving a new voice to the poor. From the point of view of city officials, it is a question whether they need that voice in addition to the vote. From the point of view of the organizers, it is changing the face of American society by redistributing power, and they fear the powerholders will find out and stamp out the community organization. From the point of view of the poor themselves, it is a great deal of sound and fury which has not as yet affected any of the basic circumstances of their lives—their jobs or lack of them, their housing, their welfare and Social Security payments—but which promises to do so.

Ideologically, the Community Action Program is based on an analysis of what ails the poor. The analysis asserts that it is not their obvious material lack which is the heart of their problem. It is their lack of power. The vote does not give them power, because it needs education and money and time and social and organizational skills to organize the vote, and the poor do not have these. The imbalance is to be redressed by community organization. The effect, it is hoped, will be to improve education, welfare service and housing inspection, to make the police more respectful, to open up new job opportunities and eventually, through the increase in power, to change the pattern of rewards and services distributed by the public agencies.

This is, then, the grand design of the Community Action Program. It is only in its initial stages and, by its very nature, one cannot predict where it is going or what it will do, for it is designed to evoke a distinctive response in each community. Ideally, it brings into the concert of city government new voices and new powers which will be able to affect city programs so that they operate more humanely and more effectively. In doing so, it must also give opportunities to more radical forces which do not have such limited meliorative ends in view.

It is a grand spectacle, not simply of democracy at work, but of democracy trying to stimulate the response that makes it work better. The danger is that the degree of order that any social system needs will be undermined. The hope is that a creative disorder will ensue, one that permits welfare agencies to work better, and with a larger participation from their clients.

IF we now step back and ask, as Congress will be asking soon, how the antipoverty

(Continued on Following Page)

OLD PROBLEM, NEW APPROACHES—The war on poverty manifests varied revolts against the traditional view of "welfare work." Among them are Mobilization for Youth, which seeks to train young people for jobs (left, an M.Y. service station in New York), and Community Action Programs, which, in general, organize the poor to give them a voice in local politics. Above, a Community Action meeting on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

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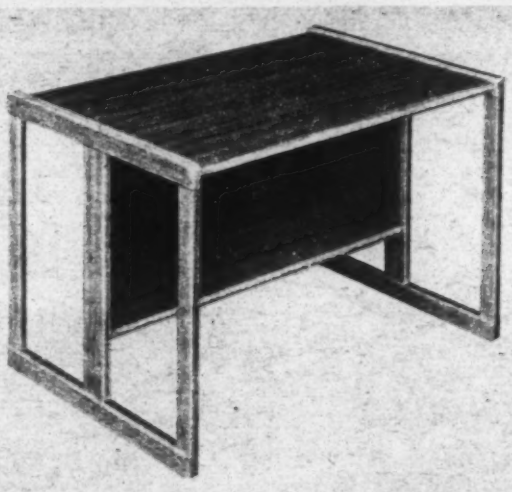

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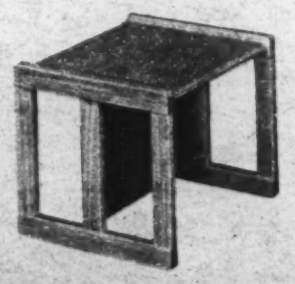

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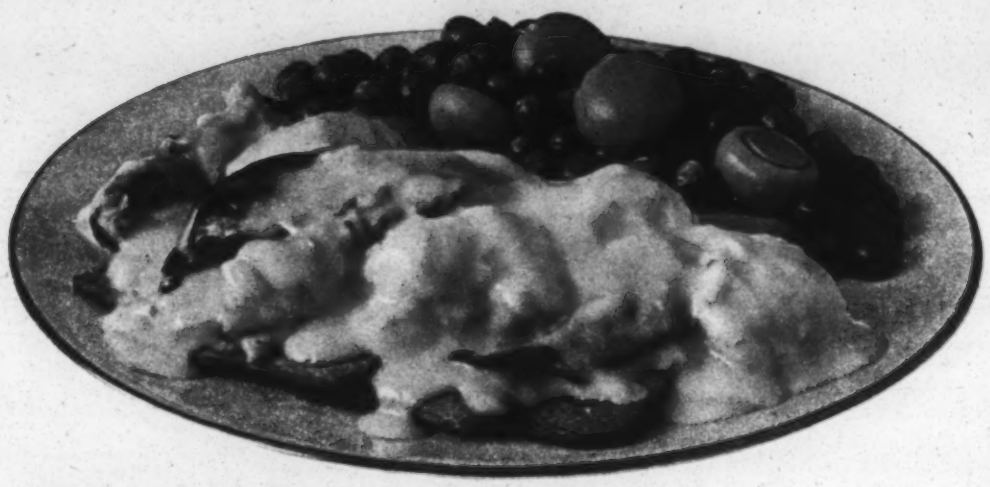

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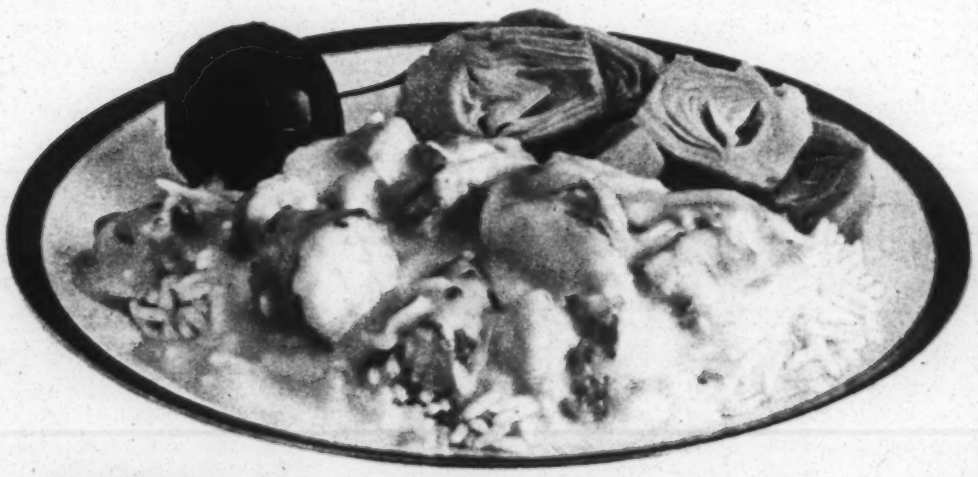

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program is working, I would say as well as permitted by the key decisions that were made when the program was set up—with the concurrence of Congress. But the antipoverty program has by no means as yet proved that those initial decisions were right. It was wrong, I think, to hinge so much of the program on work preparation and work training, and so little on those fundamental programs of social welfare and social insurance that every advanced nation finds it needs to combat deprivation and suffering.

Thus we should have given a much sharper look at our programs of social welfare and social insurance, which are many times larger than the antipoverty program. What revisions are necessary in their levels of support, the nature of Federal contributions to them, their varied requirements and regulations?

At the same time we should have devoted more effort to the creation of jobs, for no economically advanced nation today can tolerate the high unemployment rate with which—even after our five years of prosperity—we continue to live. There have been suggestions as to how we can simultaneously reduce unemployment and increase the level of public services—keeping museums and libraries open at night, doubling mail deliveries, providing attendants in playgrounds and parks. (It is because the Neighborhood Youth Corps provides so much clearly useful work that it may turn out to be one of the most successful and least expensive parts of the poverty program.)

We still have this course open to us, and there is no question that, if we follow it, we will still need at least as much job training and job counseling as is now provided through the poverty program. But training and counseling will become infinitely more effective if we have a tighter employment situation, so that the rewards of training and counseling become immediately evident.

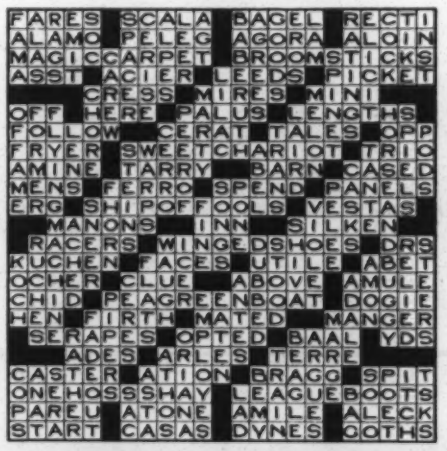
NOR am I sure that the second and third decisions—the creation of a separate agency and the emphasis on Community Action Programs—were correct. The two were closely linked, for while all the other programs in the poverty program could be placed under the Department of Labor or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, it was not easy to find a home in the established structure of government for Community Action—in part because, as we have seen, one of its main aims was to create conflicts with older, established agencies and programs.

I am convinced conflict can be healthy. I am less convinced that government can successfully support the healthy conflict with its own programs and agencies that produces change. The labor movement had help from the Federal Government in the nineteen-thirties, but it could scarcely have developed its distinctive role in the American economy and society if it had been financed by the Government.

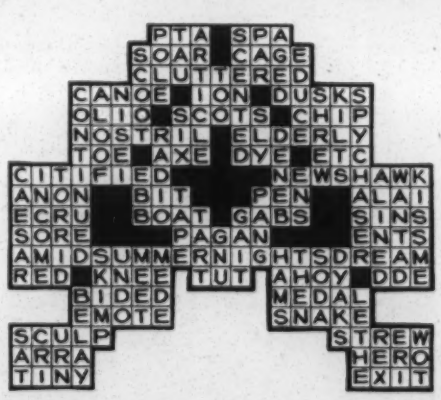
There is a wonderful naiveté about the Community Action Program—as if someone had been convinced by a sociologist that change and reform are spurred by conflict and decided that, since all good things can come from the American Government, it ought to provide conflict, too. But in trying to do so we enter on an incredibly difficult path, one which few administrators, I think, can successfully traverse.

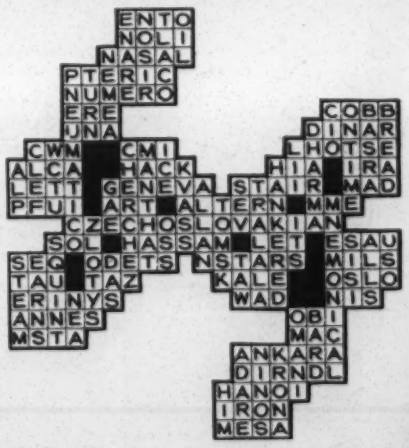
The decisions the administrators of these programs must

SOLUTION TO LAST WEEK'S TOPICAL PUZZLE



SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S DIAGRAMLESS PUZZLES





"I think the performance [of the anti-poverty program], in view of the difficulties of the script as I have outlined them, is better than we had a right to expect."

make are too difficult for almost any mortal. Does one offer jobs in the program to the newly aroused leaders of the poor—and, if so, is one strengthening the program or buying off the leaders of the poor and reducing the pressure? How much pressure does one put on the Mayor to include the representatives of the poor—and is one seeking easy demagogic victories by posing as the leader of the unfortunates against the soulless bureaucracies, or is one really trying to improve the workings of the bureaucracies? And what about the representatives of the poor one is trying to place on C.A.A.'s—is one simply aiding one faction in the Negro community or the civil-rights struggle as against another? Or is one truly changing the fundamental constitution of American local government?

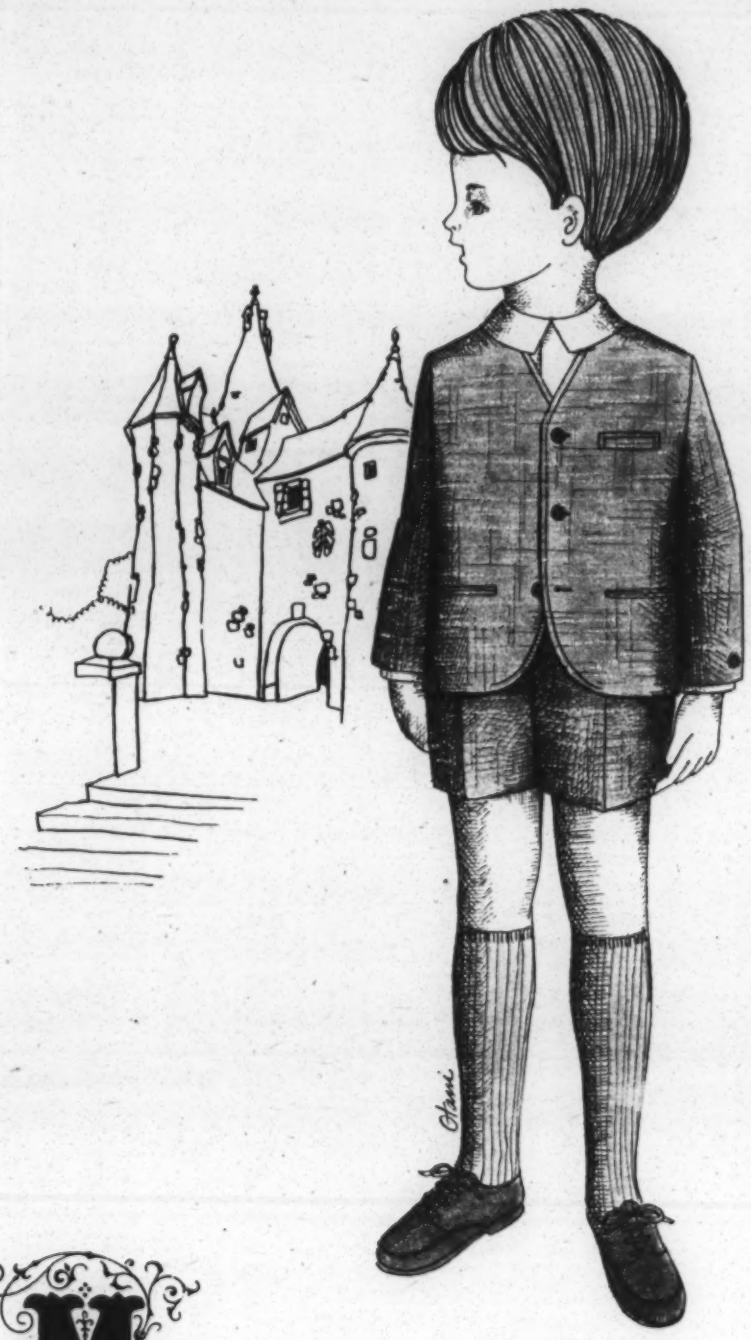
Perhaps the most troublesome aspect of the Community Action Programs is the conflict between the ideology of local control over local programs designed for local problems and the reality of strong Federal control. There is something disingenuous about a program which asserts that we are going to permit each community to design the antipoverty program it needs, and then says: "But hold on; you don't have enough representatives of the poor; they are not chosen in the right way; your program has too much Community Action and not enough Operation Head Start," and so on. In other words, there is a strain between the theoretical commitment to local independence and the reality of Federal control.

The accents may be those of the poor, but the contents of the programs are too often those proposed by Federal officials influenced by the latest wave of fashion among social critics and social workers. I am not yet convinced the Federal officials will uniformly have a better grasp of the local problems than the local elected officials; they may simply have more power because they control the Federal purse strings.

WHAT were the alternatives to the Community Action Program? Just as I believe we could have gotten—and can still get—more mileage in overcoming poverty through major revisions in Social Security and public welfare, so I believe we should at least consider the possibility of giving untied funds directly to city governments. City government today is too often restricted by insufficient tax resources, on the one hand, and by legal commitments and state and Federal requirements which limit how it can spend its money, on the other.

Freeing city government for a more creative role has its dangers, of course, and yet it might produce the kind of ferment the Community Action Program aims at—as city government becomes something worth fighting over, as new Federal funds expand its possibilities of action. And this conflict might be more creative in the end than the present fights over Community Action Program funds, with Federal referees in the background—and often in the foreground.

My reservations about the antipoverty program are much like those of the critic who says the subject of the play should have been a different one. We decided what the subject should be in passing the Economic Opportunity Act, and I think the performance, in view of the difficulties of the script as I have outlined them, is better than we had a right to expect. But I think we still have to take on the jobs which the antipoverty program, as set up under the act, did not address itself to—reducing the unemployment rate, increasing the number of jobs, expanding and revising the Social Security and social-welfare systems, improving the systems of job training, job counseling and job placement, attacking the failures of school systems and police systems. The antipoverty program will permit us to experiment with a good number of ways of undertaking these tasks. In the end, however, a democratic polity cannot take the position that the major way to improve its institutions of government and welfare is to finance guerrilla warfare against them. It must take up the job of directly improving and transforming them.



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JOHNSON OFFERS HIS HEALTH PLAN

NYT 3/2/66

Far-Reaching Program Asks Full Care and Education to the Nation's Capacity

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

By JOHN D. POMFRET

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 1—President Johnson sent to Congress today a potentially far-reaching program to improve the nation's health care services and recommendations to expand aid to education.

If Mr. Johnson gets everything he seeks in his message, it will affect a vast array of people—from pre-school children to alcoholics, from elementary, high school and college students to the elderly sick.

Two major cutbacks were also proposed by Mr. Johnson in his message on domestic health and education. These would revise drastically the Federal school milk and lunch program and reduce aid to so-called federally impacted areas—those where schools must educate large numbers of children of Federal employes because of the presence of military or other facilities. These proposals are expected to produce the most controversy on Capitol Hill.

Two 'Ambitious' Goals

In outlining his proposals, Mr. Johnson set these "ambitious" goals for the future:

¶Good health for every citizen to the limits of the country's capacity to provide it.

¶Full education for every citizen to the limits of his capacity to absorb it.

Mr. Johnson noted that his Federal Health budget request for the fiscal year beginning July 1 was $4.67-billion — up nearly $1-billion over the current fiscal year.

The new programs Mr. Johnson proposed account for only a relatively small part of this increase — $41-million — but this is only the first-year request for programs that would expand in future years.

One major new program is designed to encourage the modernization of obsolete hospitals in urban areas through Federal loans and grants. Under it, $5-million would be set aside in the year beginning July 1 to underwrite the costs of planning to update aging hospitals.

In the following year the Government would gurantee 90 per cent of the value of mortgages of up to $975-million for hospital renovation and, over 10 years, would pay 40 per cent of the amount guaranteed, or

Continued on Page 25, Column 3

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JOHNSON OFFERS NEW HEALTH PLAN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

$351-million. Again, in the following year, costs of additonal renovation programs to an as yet undecided amount would be underwritten on the same basis by the Government.

Declaring that "the need for modernization goes beyond the bricks and mortar of construction," Mr. Johnson also proposed a five-year program of grants for research and demonstration projects in the organization, financing, use and delivery of health services.

The purpose of these grants, which would cost $15-million in the coming fiscal year, would be to find new ways to lower the cost and raise the quality of health care; to organize health services more efficiently, and to develop better methods of sharing health information.

A third major new program recommended by the President is aimed at developing comprehensive public health planning and services in states and communities. Mr. Johnson voted that the Federal Goverment now offers grants to states for programs dealing with specific diseases.

"This leads to an unnecessarily rigid and compartmentalized approach to health problems," Mr. Johnson said.

Comprehensive Services

He proposed first that Federal grants be made to states to plan the better use of manpower, facilities and financial resources to provide comprehensive public health services. These would amount to $10-million in the year beginning July 1.

In the following fiscal year, Mr. Johnson recommended, there should be a program to begin a new system of matching grants for comprehensive public health services. At the same time, in recognition of the fact that some diseases pose important problems in some parts of the country and not in others, there would be further grants to states, communities, medical schools and hospitals to deal with these special health problems. The amounts of the grants for these two programs have not been specified.

Mr. Johnson's fourth recommendation for a new program was to provide grants for training in the allied health professions, which, he said, are "critically understaffed." These include medical technologists, biomedical engineers, dental hygienists and other college-trained health workers.

The grants, totaling $8-million in the coming fiscal year, would go to construction and improvement of training facilities. They would also provide student fellowships for advanced training and stimulate institutions to develop new types of health personnel.

Agency Reorganization

The president also said he intended to submit to Congress soon a proposed reorganization of the health functions of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. He said that the budget of the United States Public Health Service had grown from $250-million to $2.4-billion in the last 12 years, "yet major elements of the basic structure of the Public Health Service remain set by a law that is more than 20 years old."

Mr. Johnson said he had instructed that a center for research on the cause, prevention, control and treatment of alcoholism be set up in the Public Health Service.

"Even with the present limited state of our knowledge," the President said, "much can be done to reduce the untold suffering and uncounted waste caused by this affliction."

On the education front, Mr. Johnson proposed a new program to help communities plan school construction to encourage innovation in educational methods and to deal with obsolescence, overcrowding and special problems such as de facto school segregation.

Planning grants the first year would total $5-million. Such a grant would enable a school system faced with the problem of de facto school segregation to plan a science education center for high school students to which both Negro and white children would go for special studies.

Mr. Johnson proposed that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act be extended for four years, with increased funds for each section of the act as already indicated by his budget. He asked that the coverage of the act be enlarged by raising from $2,000 to $3,000 the family income ceiling for apportioning Federal aid under the act. The new formula would go into effect July 1, 1967.

Eliminating Districts

The President recommended several changes in the federally impacted area program, the net effect of which would be to eliminate aid to 1,200 of the 4,100 school districts that now get it and reduce the amount to the others. The cost would be reduced from $466-million to $206-million a year.

The Head Start program designed to give poor children training before they enter school should be nearly doubled to take care of 210,000 children in full-year programs and 500,000 in summer programs, Mr. Johnson said. This would raise the budget of this program from $170-million to $300-million in the next fiscal year.

Finally, the President said that he had instructed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to develop some new social statistics to chart such items as the state of the nation's health and the elimination of illiteracy so "we can better measure the distance we have come and plan for the way ahead."

Washington Proceedings

YESTERDAY
(March 1, 1966)

THE PRESIDENT

Participated in ceremony honoring fifth anniversary of the Peace Corps and swearing-in of its new director, Jack Hood Vaughn; met with regional commissioners of the Internal Revenue Service; sent his Message on Domestic Health and Education to Congress; made unannounced visit to the office of Secretary Gardner; gave a small White House dinner party honoring retired Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed on his 80th birthday.

THE SENATE

Approved Administration's $4.8-billion Vietnam authorization bill by vote of 93 to 2.

By a vote of 92 to 5, tabled a motion by Senator Morse to retract the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of 1964.

Adjourned at 6:32 P.M.

Finance Committee approved unanimously with several amendments the Administration's tax program.

Joint Atomic Energy Committee heard Disarmament's Chief Foster say the recent Geneva arms control talks had impressed him with the chances for a nuclear weapons treaty.

THE HOUSE

Passed Administration's $4.8 billion Vietnam authorization bill by vote of 392 to 2.

Adjourned at 5:55 P.M.

Foreign Affairs subcommittee heard Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams say U.S. must continue to seek ways to influence constructively our relations with South Africa.

Post Office subcommittee heard Postmaster General O'Brien request changes in the parcel post system.

Commerce Committee heard a railroad industry spokesman ask for relief from discriminatory state and local taxes.

DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES

Selective Service Director Hershey said his organization could show an unmatchable record of efficiency for the last five months.

SCHEDULED FOR TODAY
(March 2, 1966)

President sees officers of Investment Bankers Association, 11 A.M.; attends swearing-in of Lee White as Federal Power Commission chairman, 11:30 A.M.; presents National Security Medal to Frank B. Rowlett, noon; confers with Treasury Secretary Fowler, Budget Director Schultze, Gardner Ackley, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, 1 P.M.

Senate house meet at noon.

American Legion conference continues, Statler Hilton, 9 A.M.

United States and Soviet Union open negotiations on scientific, educational and cultural exchanges agreement.

Burglar Robs Security Chief

LONDON (UPI) — The man Prime Minister Harold Wilson has placed in charge of British security was the victim of a burglar one night recently. The burglar got two tape recorders, a pair of binoculars, one suitcase, two suits and $2.03 in cash, said Paymaster-General George Wigg, but "nothing of any security value."

$2.3 Billion for Slum Plan Inadequate, Capitol Fears

AC 3/1/66 FEDERAL PROGRAMS

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE JR.

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — There is growing concern here that the demonstration cities program, on which President Lyndon B. Johnson has pinned his hopes for clearing up city slums, cannot work unless substantially more money is poured into the plan itself or existing federal aid programs.

Key members of the housing subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee have reached this conclusion after a week of testimony on the much-publicized plan.

Under the President's plan, a city applying for federal aid would select one or possibly two blighted neighborhoods and submit an overall plan for their rejuvenation.

$2.3 BILLION FUND

Cities meeting broad federal criteria including need and administrative capability, would be eligible for a share of $2.3 billion in federal aid, spread over five years.

The President's message said that 60 to 70 cities would be chosen to participate in the demonstration program.

A survey of committee sentiment suggests that most members accept the administration view that the plan is an imaginative and long overdue approach to solving slum problems.

But they are afraid that $2.3 billion is not nearly enough to fulfill the program's promises.

COURSES OPEN

One course is to increase funds for the program, or, alternatively, decrease the multitude of programs that are expected to be used as part of the demonstration cities plan.

A second is to scale down the number of cities involved in the plan.

A third is to revise downward the expectations of the plan, by limiting the funds available to each participating city.

These largely unexpected dilemmas have arisen in the past week for three main reasons:

First, the committee has heard repeated testimony, especially from big-city mayors, that if the program, as Johnson promises, makes available to demonstration cities the "complete array of all available grants and aids" it will tend to divert these funds away from those communities that do not participate in the program.

FEAR NEW PRESSURE

Secondly, some committee members feel that the problem of diversion or discrimination could be aggravated by the inclusion, in the administration bill, of a financing mechanism that would tend to encourage cities competing for the demonstration funds to put still further pressure on existing federal programs.

Third, there is a growing feeling in the committee and among housing experts in the capital that the administration badly underestimated the cost of certain important "social" aspects of the program; and that, as a result, the $2.3 billion requested by the President is grossly inadequate to do the kind of job he set out to do.

POWELL PROPOSES A LITERACY DRIVE

FED PROGRAMS

His Plan Raises a Threat to James Farmer's Program

3/8/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7 — Representative Adam Clayton Powell advocated today a broad, new program to conquer adult illiteracy.

James Farmer, another Negro leader, has proposed a more modest antipoverty project along the same lines, but Mr. Powell's move appeared to dim Mr. Farmer's chances considerably.

Mr. Powell, a Manhattan Democrat, is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee that begins hearings tomorrow on the third-year needs of the antipoverty program. Today he said he would offer an amendment commanding the Health, Education and Welfare Department to mobilize the resources of all public and private agencies in the attack on adult illiteracy.

Mr. Powell brushed off a question about Mr. Farmer's project as a matter for "administrative decision." At the same time, he said that the war against illiteracy had been waged for a long time by the Health, Education and Welfare Department and it would be "a mistake to set up another group."

Funds Were Ready

The chairman's project would call for a large but unspecified sum. The Office of Economic Opportunity, the antipoverty agency, was about to grant Mr. Farmer $780,000.

Mr. Farmer had quit as national director of the Congress of Racial Equality and was about to buy a house in Washington when he caught the scent of adversity.

"I am delighted to see the Congressman join the war on illiteracy," Mr. Farmer said i New York when informed of Mr. Powell's project.

He insisted hewas not discouraged, and said he would withhold further comment until he had studied Mr. Powell's plan. He acknowledged that he had called off the house purchase.

Wide Program Planned

Mr. Farmer had proposed setting up a center frm which he would direct the literacy program in 18 communities in the first year. He proposed raising a million dollars in private fund to supplement the O.E.O. grant.

Associates of Mr. Farmer said that Mr. Powell's office had bee informed "from the inception" of the project and said they knew of no reason why he would try to pre-empt the entire field in the fight on illiteracy.

The White House has shown a continuing, though private, interest in Mr. Farmer's project.

Mr. Powell and other well-placed members of Congress have exercised almost day-by-day overview of the antipoverty program and have influenced many administrative decisions.

Sargent Shriver, the O.E.O. director, is inhibited more than most Government administrators because Congress has limited his authorization to a year at a time, although it is known that the Administration contemplates a longer range program.

That limitation has forced Mr. Shriver to march up the Hill every year not only to the Appropriations Committee but also to Mr. Powell's legislative committee, as well.

Meantime, two Republicans on the Education and Labor Committee introduced a bill calling for a complete overhaul of the program.

Representatives Albert H. Quie of Minnesota and Charles E. Goodell of upstate New York proposed the Opportunity Crusade Act of 1966 to "Mesh the combined efforts of Government at all levels with private endeavors to provide jobs and dignity for the poor."

Shriver Cuts Funds In Poverty Elections

FED. PROGRAMS

AJ 3/10/66

By EVE EDSTROM
Washington Post News Service

WASHINGTON, March 10 — Sargent Shriver has all but ordered a shut-off of federal funds to support elections of the poor to local antipoverty boards.

"We don't believe we received our money's worth in these elections," Shriver told a House subcommittee.

This was quite a shift from last year when Shriver's aides were closely watching local elections of the poor and hailing them as bold social experiments to obtain the antipoverty legislation's goal of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor.

But when Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) opened hearings this week on the administration's $1.75 billion antipoverty bill, Shriver said that the elections of the poor represented an untried weapon of the poverty war that had been tested and had proven to be "disappointing."

MOST RECENTLY, he said his Office of Economic Opportunity provided $61,000 to support an election of the poor in Los Angeles and less than 1 per cent of the eligible voters cast ballots. Only slightly better results came in Kansas City, Cleveland and Chester, Pa.

Shriver's prepared testimony then went on to say:

"The facts are that it is highly unlikely that we will provide federal funds to a local community for future poverty area elections."

In his delivery, Shriver changed that sentence to say, "We are prepared to consider looking into the possibility of discontinuing such elections at least at the expense of the federal government."

In recent months, the notion of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor by the election process has been under attack by city halls that do not want to lose control of antipoverty funds.

This issue figured prominently in Los Angeles where Shriver appeared to blame the apathy of the poor for the disappointing results. However, before Shriver testified, subcommittee member Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) said Los Angeles difficulties stemmed largely from the fact that federal antipoverty officials have "aided and abetted" self-seeking politicians.

HAWKINS, whose congressional district is in the Watts area that was torn by riots last summer, said Los Angeles' antipoverty effort is an "awful mess" because of the "great fight" that is going on between the poor and the politicians. Too often, he said Shriver's aides have encouraged local officials who have no concept of what it means to involve the poor.

Another Democrat on the subcommittee, Rep. James H. Scheuer (N.Y.), was highly critical of previous "disastrous" antipoverty efforts in New York City, where "not a single community progress center has opened up."

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

House Okays $2.5 Billion For Rent Aid, Teacher Corps

Ne 3/30/66

WASHINGTON (AP) — In a smashing victory for the Johnson administration, the House sent to the Senate Tuesday an omnibus $2.5 billion appropriation bill containing funds for rent subsidies and the Teacher Corps.

Republican efforts to eliminate money for the two new Great Society programs approved but not financed by Congress last year were beaten back. So was a GOP attempt to eliminate additional funds for impacted school districts.

The bill was sent to the Senate by roll-call vote after sharp partisan debate.

Republicans warned of inflation and tax increases and Democrats accused the GOP of being unmindful of the needs of the nation's poor people.

The rent subsidy money, kept in the bill earlier by a standing vote of 183 to 153, remained in on a later roll-call count of 198 to 190. There was no roll-call vote on the Teacher Corps fund.

The roll-call vote on final passage was 369 to 122. Voting to keep the rent supplements in the bill were 192 Democrats and six Republicans. Voting for the amendment to knock them out were 65 Democrats and 125 Republicans.

Most of the money, $240,679,600 less than President Lyndon B. Johnson requested, is for use during the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30. Additional financing for the programs involved will be included in later measures for the new fiscal year.

There was no controversy over some of the larger allotments, including: the cost of pay raises voted last year for military and civilian federal employes; aid for elementary and secondary education; advances to the fund for health insurance for the elderly; welfare grants

Continued on Page 9, Column 2

Rent, Teacher Aid Passed by House

Continued from Page 1

to states; and new veterans' benefit programs.

The bill provided the first outright test of what might be in store for the President's domestic programs during the remainder of the year, since it was the first non-defense money bill of 1966.

Republicans have called for cuts in all new programs and for curtailment of some older projects because of the rising cost of the war in Viet Nam.

The bill provides $10 million to start the Teacher Corps project and $12 million for the rent subsidy program, both amounts less than Johnson asked.

The rent program is designed to provide better housing for low income groups by paying part of the rent to non-profit organizations that construct the housing.

The Teachers Corps program would provide additional educational help for children of poor families by paying the salaries of persons who helped tutor the children outside their regular classes.

A restriction attached to the Teacher Corps allotment would require local communities to pay at least 10 per cent of the cost. Since the money provided is for use during the remaining months of the fiscal year ending June 30, the program hardly could be put into operation during the present school year.

A restriction on the rent subsidy money would limit its use to projects officially approved by local communities. Opponents of the restriction claimed it would keep minority groups from obtaining better housing in suburbs of large cities.

FED. POLICY

Mississippi

Over

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, APRIL 4, 1966.

Rights Hearing Focuses on Negro Ghetto in North

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, April 3 — The children of Hough walked through a spring snowfall today carrying small bags of groceries past garbage and debris into dark, cavernous buildings.

"That's the way it is this time of month," a corner grocer said. "You see, it's been more than three weeks since the last Mother's Day and they are buying on a meal-to-meal basis—even on Sunday."

The 10th of each month, when welfare checks for aid-to-dependent children are received, is celebrated in the ghetto as Mother's Day. The checks provide a major source of income for the people of Hough.

What distinguishes Hough from a host of other Northern ghettoes is that the United States Commission on Civil Rights is here investigating its decay.

The hearings, which opened Friday and will run for four more days, mark a shift of emphasis for the commission. Since 1957, when it was organized, the commission has been concerned largely with problems facing the Southern Negro.

'Increasing in Complexity'

Dr. John A. Hannah chairman and president of Michigan State University, said at the first public hearing yesterday in the Liberty Hill Baptist Church:

"This is the first of a new series of hearings the commission will hold to seek the facts concerning civil rights problems affecting Negro citizens and other minorities living in the inner city. Such problems are increasing in complexity in the urban centers of the North as well as the South."

Dr. Hannah pointed out that the commission was only looking for "problems that are representative of problems elsewhere in the nation." Nevertheless, Cleveland leaders have voiced some concern that the commission, as one put it, "would publicize our faults without pointing out all the good things we've done."

Mayor Ralph Locher

Mayor Ralph Locher took the occasion to point out some of the problems he was having.

A group of mayors, he said, were meeting with President Johnson a few days ago, and "the President said we should take another look at our expenditures" so as not to overheat the economy.

Paradox Is Seen

"On the one hand we're told to spend [to build a Great Society] and on the other hand we are told not to spend anything that is not essential because the economy can't quite stand it," he declared.

"We could be known," he continued, "as the generation which put a man on the moon while standing ankle-deep in garbage."

The first witnesses graphically described the day-to-day horrors of Hough. They said Federal programs such as urban renewal only seemed to be increasing the blight and that nothing done locally had been of much help.

Thirty-four per cent of Cleveland's 811,000 residents are Negroes and by 1970 the ratio is expected to reach 40 per cent. Almost half of Negroes now living here were born in the South.

All but 1 per cent live on the East Side, which is divided from the West Side by the central business district and the industrial complex in the Cuyahoga River Valley.

The commission said a preliminary investigation showed that even on the East Side "the population continues to be rigidly segregated" and that there was "strong evidence that the isolation of Negroes in urban ghettoes is on the increase."

Deterioration Is Cited

Morris Thorington Jr., a delicatessen owner, told the commission that as the demand for housing had grown, owners had divided and redivided living units to increase rentals, until deterioration reached the point where many buildings had either been abandoned or taken over by urban renewal.

He said that many businesses had closed and that his, in the center of the blight area, had declined rapidly.

The quality of the schools declined with the neighborhood, Mr. Thorington continued. He said he thought his children were receiving an adequate education until two years ago when two of them transferred to suburban schools.

"There was no comparison," he said. "My daughter was the brightest in her class in Hough but upon transfer she found it twice as difficult."

Mrs. Hattie Mae Dugan, a 30-year-old mother of one daughter who receives $118 a month in aid-to-dependent children and pays $60 a month for a tiny, cold-water flat, said she had not been able to find anyone to complain to, even when water ran through the rooms.

Mrs. Dugan was one of four civil rights demonstrators arrested last August when they put dead rats on the steps of City Hall. The rats came from Hough.

"They used to crawl into bed with me," Mrs. Dugan said.

Several other witnesses testified that vacant buildings, lots and uncollected garbage contributed to the rat problem, which had become severe in recent months.

Birch Society Denounced By G.O.P. in Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, April 2 (AP)—The executive council of the Minnesota Republican party voted Saturday to reject the "methods, tactics and organization of the John Birch Society," which it compared to the Communist party.

The vote was unanimous, according to the Republican state chairman, George Thiss. He added, "This is now the Minnesota Republican party position."

The council's resolution said that the ultraconservative Birch Society "is attempting to clothe itself with the respectability of both major political parties" and that its tactics, methods and organization "closely resemble those of the Communist party."

Soviet and Singapore in Pact

SINGAPORE, April 2 (AP).—The Soviet Union and Singapore signed a trade agreement Saturday. It provides for trade missions, most-favorite-trade status and an increase in trade between the two nations.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

$36 Million in U.S. Funds Aid State School Projects

AC 5/8/66

By TOM GREENE

Georgia's school systems have taken advantage of the new federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act to start new programs and expand old ones, to the tune of over $36 million.

Under Title I of the act, which provided Georgia an allocation of over $37 million during the current fiscal year, most of the state's school systems have set up an estimated 277 different projects which they did not have before, or expanded old programs.

The portion of the allocated money not used reverts back to the federal government. But one state school official said Georgia's record of approved Title I projects ranks better than most states.

The approved projects include such things as the establishment of kindergartens, remedial reading programs, expanded library services, school nurses, social workers, psychological services, extra teachers, counselors, reading and other specialists and audio visual and other special equipment, including television sets.

LAST TUESDAY was the deadline for applying for projects under Title I. R. C. Beemon, coordinator of Title I projects for the State Department of Education, said then that 251 projects had been approved for an allocation of $34,794,525, and 26 more were pending approval with requests for funds totaling $1,403,267.

These allocations are only for the current fiscal year, but many of the projects will extend into the summer months, with a deadline of Aug. 31. Their continuation after that depends upon further allocation of funds by Congress.

Apparently, refusal of some systems to sign the recently issued new federal desegregation guidelines will not affect their receiving these funds. The U.S. Office of Education has threatened to cut off federal funds for new projects to those systems which do not comply with the guidelines. But most of these projects were approved before the deadline for signing the guidelines compliance forms passed at midnight Friday.

But Mr. Beemon said that those systems operating summer programs under Title I still have to abide by the Civil Rights act.

THE AMERICUS system, which previously announced it would not sign the guidelines compliance forms, has an approved project under Title I totaling $146,220. The program, which will affect 1,019 children, includes addition of teachers and counselors for the system's schools and educational equipment.

But Mr. Beemon said that those systems operating summer programs under Title I still have to abide by the civil rights law, which prohibits racial discrimination.

The Atlanta system received the largest allocation for Title I projects — over $2.3 million.

The Atlanta programs, designed to help 31,180 children, include reading improvement projects, more teachers, librarians, counselors, instructional supervisors, tutorial services, teacher aides, psychological services, in-service training for teachers and new equipment.

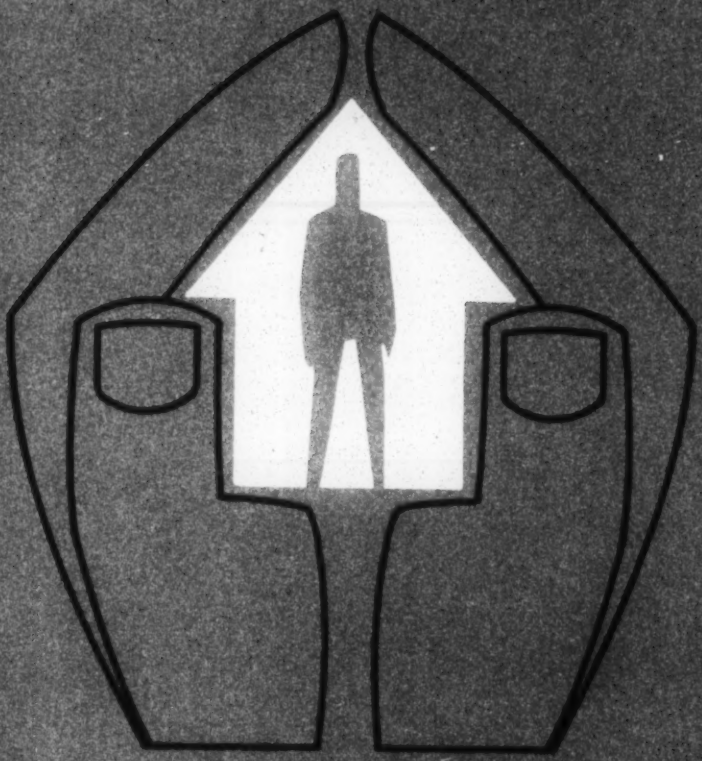
Some of the systems, such as Lowndes County, Houston County, Thomas County and DeKalb County, are starting or expanding programs for educable or trainable retarded children.

FEW SYSTEMS in the state now have public education facilities for retarded children, and only about three have public kindergarten programs. Several plan to start kindergartens under Title I.

Most of the emphasis, however, seems to be in remedial work to strengthen children in reading, mathmatics and other areas.

To qualify for Title I money, schools have to have a certain number of children whose families are considered in the low income brackets. However, most of the projects will benefit all the children in a particular school.

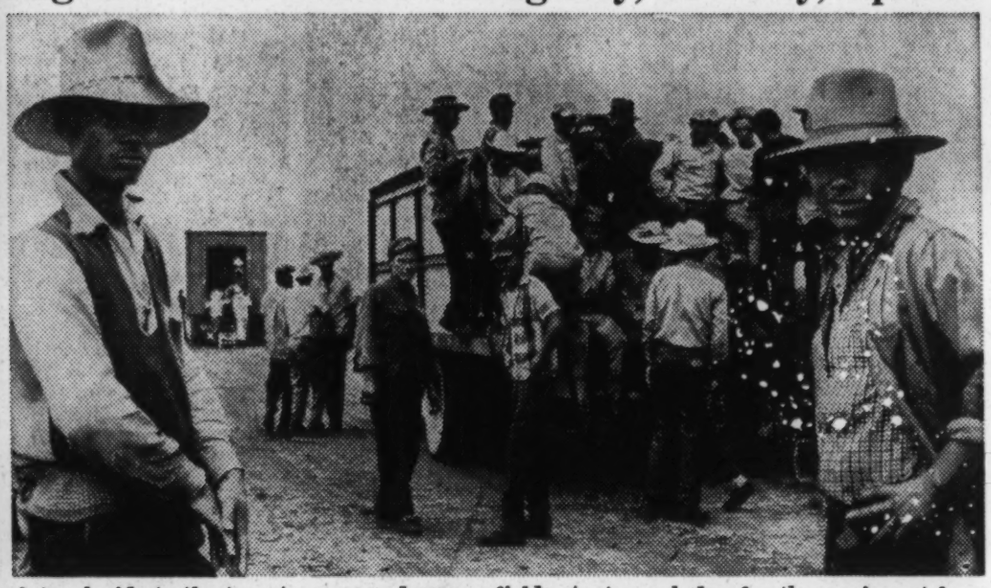
FEDERAL PROGRAMS



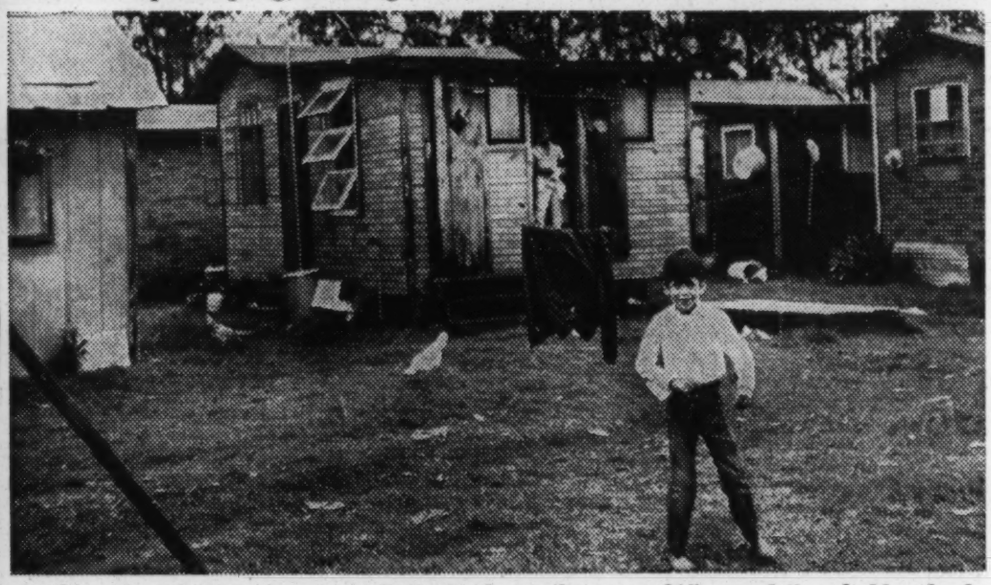
JACS
the job corps and you

ork Times. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1966. 27 M

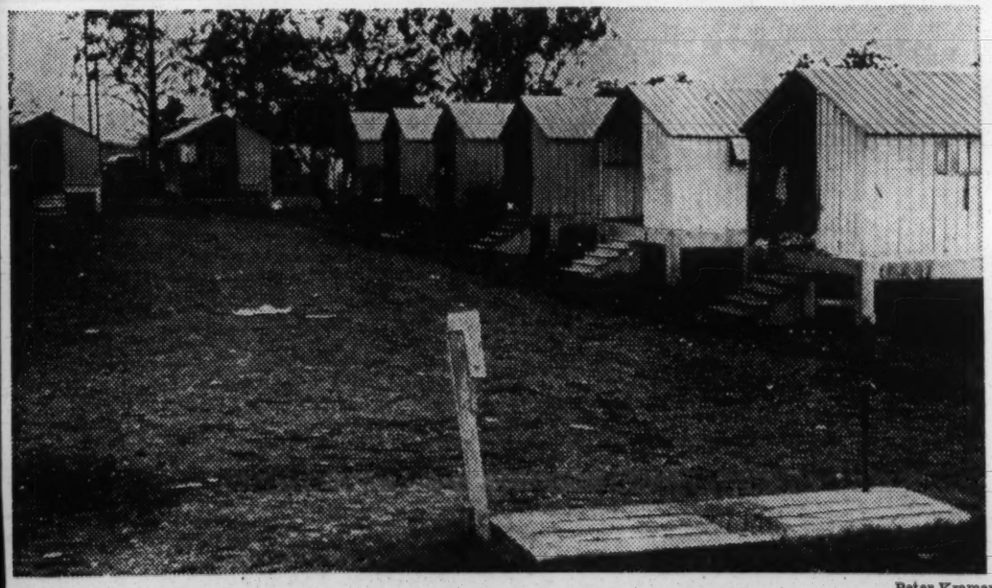
Migrant Farm Laborer: Long Day, Low Pay, Squalor



A truck ride to the tomato, corn and pepper fields starts work day for these migrant farm laborers at Delray Beach, Fla. Most migrant workers based in Florida (they move north with the crops in spring) are Negro. Others are Puerto Rican and Mexican-American.



At this privately owned camp at Belle Glade, workers pay $15 a week for shabby shacks near a stagnant creek that is filled with garbage and muck. Families must use outhouses.



Peter Kramer

Tin sheds on stilts, built 30 years ago by Federal Government, serve as homes of some workers at migrant camp run by Belle Glade Housing Authority. On whole, this camp is best run one in area, but these uninsulated sheds offer little protection from climate.

FLORIDA MIGRANTS GIVEN POVERTY AID

FLORIDA

Sanitation, Child Care and Education Are Stressed for the Farm Workers

NYT 2/26/66

WINTER CAMPS IMPROVED

But Many Families Still Live in Shacks With Neither Plumbing Nor Heat

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

SAND CUT, Fla. — From Route 15, the tarpaper shanties and the sign "Farm Labor Center, Canal Point" are almost invisible behind grass and sugar cane that stand taller than a man.

Across the road, a 30-foot-high hurricane dike conceals Lake Okeechobee, one of the country's biggest inland bodies of water.

It is a lonely place. Life among the migrant farm laborers here, as a social worker said recently, is "like being at the end of the earth." Thirty-nine east is Palm Beach.

The migrants of Sand Cut, like 100,000 others who winter every year in equally isolated rural ghettos throughout Florida, have been hidden from the outside world for decades.

Now, however, these unseen people at the bottom of the economic scale, unprotected by a minimum wage, workmen's compensation or unemployment insurance, are slowly becoming visible.

Growing Awareness

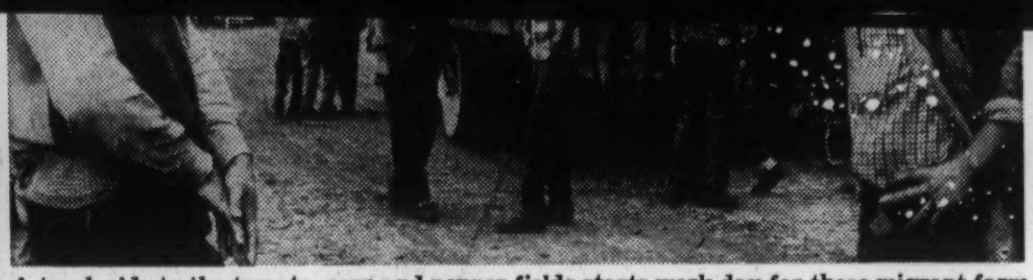
There is a growing awareness of their lot in communities here as there is of America's poor everywhere. The forces at work are these:

¶Large sums o fmoney from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the antipoverty agency, and other Government organizations.

¶The biggest concentration anywhere in the nation of Domestic Peace Corps workers, called "Vistas" for Volunteers in Service to America.

¶The effective use of aides recruited from the migrants and paid $292 a month to instruct their own people.

¶The increasing power of the civil rights movement and union organizers, although so far neither force has begun to mobilize the largely Negro migrants in Florida as they have done in California. "I wish CORE would come in here," sa



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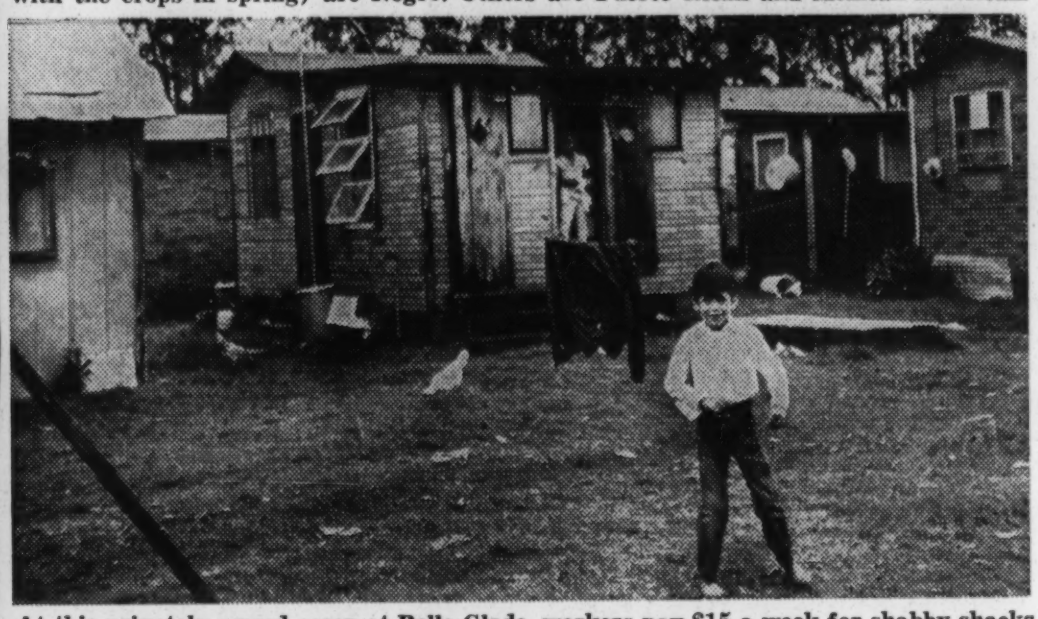

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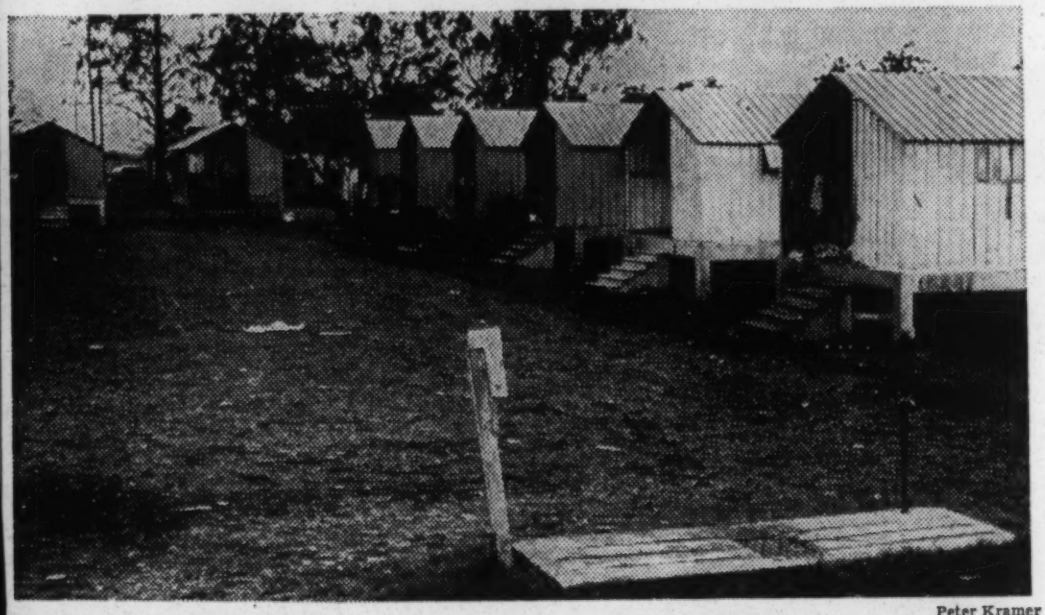

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¶As a result of all the above, the intensified work of local agencies, like the Florida Christian Migrant Ministry, and of active public health services, like the one in Palm Beach County, where migrants live just west of millionaires' homes.

Care for Children

At the Canal Point camp, where 100 families live, a day-care center for children is being operated by a professional social worker, two Domestic Peace Corps volunteers, a teacher and two teachers' aides recruited from migrant ranks.

Migrant women, who bear from six to nine children on the average, stoop and crawl along the endless rows of vegetables from dawn until dusk beside their men. Until the day-care center was established, mothers had to leave pre-school children to fend for themselves.

"It used to boil my blood to go from the kids each morning," one mother said, "and I was too tired at night to do for them."

Now she leaves her four youngest children at the center at 6 A.M. on her way to the fields and picks them up 12 hours later.

In a cheery redecorated building, an abandoned wreck until last fall, the children eat hot meals, play their first organized games and get their first regular health care from one of the volunteers, a licensed practical nurse.

A few mothers come in weekly for cooking and sewing lessons, and teen-agers use the center as a neighborhood club.

A common sight in the shacks that migrant home management aides have not yet reached is a corner piled with boxes of Government-issue powdered milk. It has not been used, because the migrants do not know how to prepare it.

In a camp at Belle Glade, a migrant "capital" not far from Sand Cut, Mrs. Annie Gray told what a migrant aide's visits meant in showing her how to cook surplus foods.

"She's teaching me a whole

Continued on Page 42, Column 4

FLORIDA MIGRANTS GIVEN POVERTY AID

Continued From First Page, Second Part

lot of things I didn't know, like fixing the food," she said. "Now I fix it so it tastes a whole lot better."

Flora Soto, who came to the mainland from Puerto Rico, spends her winter months at the farm labor camp in coastal Pompano Beach, on the other side of the railroad tracks from what Floridians call their "Fabulous Gold Coast."

Mrs. Soto, who is learning English from a volunteer in her camp, said in Spanish:

"We're learning to be cleaner and how to live better. And best of all, we're being taught how to live so we don't have to move around the country so much."

She was referring to programs that teach migrants new skills enabling them to settle year-round in Florida.

Of migrants based in Florida, 80 per cent are Negro. Most of the rest are Puerto Rican or Mexican-American. In May, they start moving north with the crops. "We're going up the road," they say. Some go as far as the apple orchards of upstate New York or the potato fields of eastern Long Island, in rickety buses or asthmatic cars.

When the crops are harvested up north in October, they return to Florida, the source of the East Coast "migrant stream," to bring in the winter crops. On the average-to-good day, a migrant or seasonal farm worker may make $7 in the fields. If it rains, he cannot work and is paid nothing.

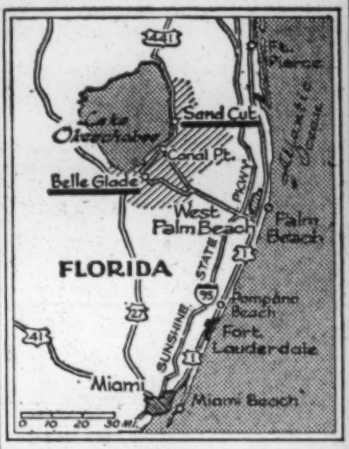
While the antipoverty program reaches all areas where migrants work, more can be done and more Federal money is made available for them in states where they spend more time each year, such as Florida, California and Texas.

Aid for Women and Children

The conditions in which they live vary from decent to unspeakable. The worst migrant camps are on private land and consist of rent-free shacks infested by vermin, without heat or electricity. As many as 15 big families share centrally placed teoilets and showers.

The main targets of the aid program are women and children. Antipoverty officials agree that little can be done to salvage adult male migrants.

"How can we reach them?" one said. "They're out in the fields by sun-up. They don't



The New York Times Feb. 26, 1966

FARM LABOR CAMPS: Migrants of Belle Glade and Sand Cut work in vegetable and cane fields (shading).

come back until dusk. By then they're too stunned with fatigue to do anything but eat dinner, get drunk on cheap wine, sleep and make a kid once a year."

The Florida migrant aides invariably get new ideas across to their fellow-migrants faster than any outsider. At the same time, their modest salaries have liberated them from the worst aspects of their migrant conditions.

"Think about the days it rains and the days it doesn't and you'll know about the change the steady salary has made," said Myrtle Walker, a large warm-hearted woman. "It's steady income because it's something that's not rained on."

Florida 3/13/66

Hearings start in Congress this month which could result in breaking up the DuPont empire of financier Ed Ball in Florida. The DuPonts could be asked to sell their 31 banks on their in- dustrial enterprises which include the Florida East C[illegible] the giant St. Joe Paper Co. . . . The 2[illegible]

[illegible] Seeds American Legion Post in Miami s[illegible] [illegible]ly theater in the tourist city which shows closed circuit television of the Cassius Clay-Ernie Terrell heavyweight fight from Canada. . . . Undersecretary of Commerce Alan Boyd, former member of the Florida Railroad and Public Service Commission, is said to be the leading candidate to head President Johnson's proposed Cabinet-level department of transportation. . . . Florida Sen. George Smathers, a member of the Senate Finance Committee, predicted at Miami that an income tax increase to support U.S. commitments in South Viet Nam is inevitable.

Nine-Day Special Session Approves Reapportionment

3/13/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Journal-Constitution

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 12 — A special session of the Florida Legislature apparently has accomplished in nine days what past assemblies had failed to do in 10 years—enact a valid plan of reapportionment.

But, the legislature knew it was under the gun. The U.S. Supreme Court had only days earlier thrown out a reapportionment plan, prepared last summer, and ordered that an acceptable apportionment be prepared in time for this year's elections.

In addition, midway of its special session deliberations, federal district court at Miami, again took jurisdiction in the dispute.

The new apportionment formula approved by the special session calls for a Senate of 48 members and a House of

FLORIDA

117 representatives. Gains in membership go to the populous areas.

Dade County (Miami) for instance, the state's most populous, will get eight senators and 22 representatives. Previously, it had two senators and 14 representatives.

THE FLORIDA attorney general's office is confident the plan will pass the U.S. Supreme Court's one man, one vote test. Only one Senate district varies more than 15 per cent of the population normal and only two House districts.

But, just to be on the safe side, Gov. Haydon Burns called on all litigants in pending reapportionment cases before state and federal courts to withdraw their suits and urge district court at Miami to accept the apportioning until the next session.

"I have no reservations on this plan," said Burns, "as it will meet all court tests, but there is still a legal battle as to which has jurisdiction—the Florida Supreme Court or the federal courts — in the reapportionment matter."

Qualifying for the Florida legislature actually ended a day before the special session started. But, the qualifying period has been extended until March 18.

BURNS SAID this will give the candidates ample time to file and run in the regularly scheduled May 3 primary, thus "saving the state and the taxpayers the cost of a special election later on."

Political observer generally agree that Burns' chances for reelection have been greatly enhanced because of the apparently successful legislative reapportionment.

His opponents in the May 3 primary — Robert King High and Scott Kelly — had been critical of Burns calling the reapportionment session, and had accused him of lack of leadership in last summer's meeting which enacted the plan thrown out recently by the nation's highest court.

But, during this special meeting, Burns supplied the leadership he was accused of failing to proivide in last summer's reapportionment session, meeting almost hourly with groups of legislators. Many of Burns' top appointees also worked with the lawmakers.

AT THE TIME Burns called the special session it was agreed that he was taking a gamble. If the legislature failed, this would have given Burns' gubernatorial opponents new ammunition and, perhaps, generated taxpayer resentment, as the special meeting was costing about $12,000 a day.

But, Burns said he acted only after being advised by the cabinet and legislative leaders that the state should make one last effort to reapportion before turning the task over to the federal courts.

While Burns was pleased with the new apportioning, he said he hopes the 1967 session will make some improvements.

Manpower Shortage Eased By Refugees From Castro

By CHARLES F. HESSER

MIAMI, Fla., April 2 —Employers across the U.S. are looking to the Cuban refugees to help solve a manpower shortage.

And the news is welcome indeed as nearly 14,000 refugees have been airlifted to Florida since the new program started Dec. 1. Requests have been made for more than 1 million Cubans —a seventh of the flown to the U.S.

S. M. Fran, placement officer of the Federal Cuban Refugee Center at Miami, said, "I don't think there is a Cuban who could go to a community of any size anywhere in the country right now and fail to find a job, no matter what his skills."

Lowest unemployment in more than a decade, a booming economy, and effects of the war in Viet Nam, plus a generally favorable acceptance of Cuban exiles already employed, are contributing to the rosy work outlook for the refugees.

FRANK ESTIMATES that at least 10,000 job offers have been received from nearly every state in the union, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Washington, D.C.

Jobs are open for garment workers, machinists, carpenters, electricians and foundry workers. Small communities are looking for doctors, but these requests are almost impossible to fill as Cuban doctors don't generally meet requirements to practice in this country.

Most of the employment offers have come from Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and the New England states.

"There are enough job opportunities existing that there should be no problem for a long time," said Frank, although Cubans are arriving in Miami at about the rate of almost 1,000 a week.

EXILES in the U.S. have

FLORIDA

applied for 950,000 relatives to be brought over; another 150,000 to 200,000 Cubans have applied in Havana for seats on the flights.

At the current rate of transportation it would take about 25 years to bring over that many.

In Washington, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of a subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, expressed concern over the lack of cooperation from Latin nations in accepting some of the refugees. Except for 106, who went to Costa Rica in February, all have come to the U.S. Kennedy has called on the State Department to win more support from the Latin countries in the resettlement program.

BEFORE A Cuban is put on the flight list to the U.S., his record is checked out by the FBI, CIA, the State Department and the Immigration Service. This screening is designed to weed out subversives and criminals. So far, 385 Cubans have been denied admission to the U.S.

John E. McCarthy, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference's Department of Immigration, is urging that Cuban refugees be given the status of permanent residents.

Exiles from the Castro government are presently in a temporary category known as "parole." McCarthy said Cubans on "parole" who are doctors cannot practice their profession, and skilled workers can't get security clearance for defense work.

Cuban students must pay higher college tuition because they can't be classified as state residents.

Teachers Applying Pressure For Education Improvements

AC 5/1/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., April 30—Florida teachers are asking the state and its 67 counties to provide an additional $390 million for public schools in the 1967-69 period.

Almost half of the state's $1.1 billion general appropriations budget already is being expended for education.

Teacher delegates to the annual Florida Education Association Convention at Miami Beach proposed that most of the new money—$227 million—be used to increase teacher pay.

The remainder would provide a reduced pupil-teacher ratio in the classrooms, free periods for teachers for lunch and planning and new textbooks and instructional material.

It was said by the FEA that a suggested one-cent increase in the 3-per-cent sales tax—all the proceeds of which would go to education — would not raise the additional revenue requested.

THE DELEGATES urged the Legislature to eliminate loopholes in present tax laws, require equitable property tax assessment throughout the

FLORIDA

state, provide new tax sources not now authorized, and refrain from reducing local taxes when new state funds are provided.

Also called for by the delegates was a minimum starting salary of $6,000 for teachers.

Other priority demands of the 40,000-member FEA included a law authorizing negotiations between school boards and teacher groups, a strengthening of the continuing contract law and elimination of voting by the public on school tax millage.

STATE SCHOOL Superintendent Floyd Christian called for "an injection of new state support, in an amount, never before contemplated."

He said that Florida citizens are aware of educational needs, but warned:

"If we are to have the full understanding and support of the people of Florida, the lines of communications must be opened wide. Frankly, a little more old-fashioned selling and salesmanship are in order."

He stressed that educators cannot achieve their goals alone and told the FEA delegates, "Let us be careful that we don't run so hard that we lose our following."

School wants have become one of the hottest issues in the governor's race.

GOV. HAYDON BURNS told the delegates he is committed to the "major ideas of FEA legislative proposals. But, without public understanding, sympathy and support, your programs are in peril. With it you can accomplish anything."

Burns got in dutch with the teachers during the 1965 Legislature, when his hold-the-line tax stand knocked out any possibility of a $100 million state school teacher pay raise. Most counties since, however, have raised teacher wages.

While the governor says he will be hard to convince new taxes are needed, he said he would go along with a proposal to increase the sales tax one cent, with the proceeds going to education, if such is the recommendation of a tax reform commission and property taxes are reduced.

Burns' main opponents — Scott Kelly and Robert King High—also have endorsed a stepped up educational program for the state.

Florida Run-Off a Repeat of '64: Burns vs. High for Governorship

FLORIDA

Gov. W. Haydon Burns

Associated Press

Mayor Robert King High

By MARTIN WALDRON 5/5/66

Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 4—Miami's Mayor Robert King High, who adopted the speaking style of Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York and hired a Kennedy assistant as a campaign aide, won a run-off position against Gov. W. Haydon Burns in yesterday's Democratic primary in Florida. The second election will be held May 24.

Almost complete unofficial returns showed Governor Burns leading in yesterday's voting with 359,000 to 331,000 for Mayor High. A third major candidate in the race, former State Senator Scott Kelly, had 319,000 votes, and a fourth candidate, Samuel Foor, had 12,000 votes. A runoff is required when no candidate receives a majority in the first balloting.

Mayor High, a 42-year-old lawyer, is considered one of the most liberal politicians in the South and was one of the first Southern political figures to support Federal civil rights legislation.

This will be the second time Mr. High has been in a runoff with Mr. Burns for the Democratic nomination as Governor of Florida. In 1964, Mr. Burns defeated him by over 200,000 votes.

Governor Confers

Governor Burns, who was Mayor of Jacksonville for 16 years before being elected Governor, held a meeting in the Governor's mansion in Tallahassee with top state officials tonight to enlist their support against Mayor High.

Mayor High, who attacked Mr. Burns's administration during the first primary as one of "cronyism," asked Mr. Kelly to support him in the runoff.

But the former State Senator withheld a commitment. Mr. Kelly, who lives in Lakeland in the state citrus center, also ran third in 1964 and thus was not in the runoff. He said today he wanted to wait for an official count of the ballots before making a statement.

Governor Burns told a campaign rally last night that he would "take the gloves off" in the runoff against Mr. High, whom he referred to as an "ultra-liberal" and an "integrationist."

Yesterday's primary was the first in Florida devoid of a racial issue in about 10 years. But last night the Governor said he would win the runoff no matter which candidate he faced.

An 'Ultra-Liberal'

"One is an arch-segregationist, and the other an ultra-liberal, and their supporters cannot go behind the other," the Governor said.

Mr. Burns ran on the record of his first 16 months in office, but spent most of the time defending himself against charges that he channeled state business to campaign contributors who had given more than $2-million for his races for Governor.

Mayor High, who spent $125,000 this year while Governor Burns spent almost $1-million, said he would continue as the "poor man's" candidate and would step up his attacks on the Governor.

Mr. Kelly campaigned on a platform of better education and a large teacher pay raise, and was endorsed by several major education associations.

Claude R. Kirk Jr., an investment banker from Jacksonville, won the Republican nomination with a clear majority and will meet the winner of the Democratic runoff in November.

Mayor High is expected to receive continued support in his runoff campaign from William Haddad of New York City, who helped manage Senator Kennedy's campaign in New York.

Florida Governor Faces Stiffer Test; 3d Man Backs 2d

NYT 5/7/62

MIAMI, May 6 (UPI)—State Senator Scott Kelly, who ran a close third in Florida's Democratic gubernatorial primary, swung his support today to Miami's Mayor Robert High in the runoff, a move that could seriously threaten Gov. Haydon Burns's re-election.

Mr. Burns met the Kelly-High alliance with a charge that Mr. Kelly had first tried to sell him his support for $500,000. Mr. Kelly called the statement "absolutely false."

Senator Kelly's move altered what was expected to be a dull runoff on May 24 with Governor Burns pitted against the man he beat in 1964. Mr. Kelly also ran third in the first 1964 primary but he made no endorsement in the final race, which Mr. Burns won handily.

Governor Burns led the primary on Tuesday with 361,716 votes. Mayor High was second with 332,803 and Mr. Kelly polled 321,592 votes.

The primary this year was a lackluster campaign without strong issues. Governor Burns's charge today changed all that for the runoff.

"If I had any interest in reference to money, certainly I would have gone to the man who spent one-million dollars in the first primary," said Senator Kelly, referring to Mr. Burns.

"I wouldn't have gone to the man who has only spent $140,000."

Mayor High was the smallest spender by far in the first primary.

Governor Burns charged that a $500,000 price tag had been put on Mr. Kelly's support in the runoff. The Governor said that the price dropped over a two-day period to $200,000, then to $150,000, "but we said no deal." He did not say who approached him.

Burns, High Resume Battle They Waged in '64 Runoff

5/8/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

FLORIDA

MIAMI, Fla., May 9—Gov. Haydon Burns and Miami Mayor Robert King High picked up where they left off two years ago — they are again battling for the Florida governorship in a runoff primary.

In the 1964 first primary, Burns racked up a 105,173 vote lead over High and went on to win in the runoff by by 182,546 votes. Burns takes into the current second primary campaign a lead of less than one-third of his total two years ago.

Both candidates are predicting victory in the May 24 runoff. Claude Kirk, Jacksonville banker-merchant, won the GOP nomination for governor and will face the winner of the Burns-High contest in the November general election.

BUT, THE Democratic gubernatorial nomination has been tantamount to election in Florida since Reconstruction days.

The runoff campaign promises to be a spirited contest.

Burns said the biggest difference between the first primary campaign and the runoff "is that I've had to run with kid gloves until now. I didn't want to tap at either High or Kelly (Scott Kelly, third place finisher in the primary) and offend their supporters. Now I will take off my gloves."

High promised to renew his primary campaign attack upon Burns. High called integrity in government the one big overriding issue and accused Burns of paying political debts by giving fat contracts to his friends without competitive bids.

A certain issue will be campaign expenses.

DURING THE first primary campaign, Burns spent in excess of $800,000 compared to about $127,000 for High. The Miami mayor has said repeatedly he would not accept big money that would send him into the governor's office obligated to special interests.

Burns describes himself as the All-Florida governor, claiming credit for the state's current prosperity, for reapportionment of the Legislature, for a record flood of tourists, and for bringing a second Disneyland to the state.

High has won statewide attention for his battles for lower power, telephone and insurance rates and to force the DuPont - controlled Florida East Coast Railway to pay back taxes and resume passenger service on its strike-bound line.

To win back the education forces he had lost with his 1965 hold-the-line tax policy, Burns promises more money for schools in the fuure, including fatter pay checks for teachers.

HIGH SAYS he can raise an additional $500 million for education without a general tax increase by taxing "special interests" and placing all state purchases on a bid basis to bring huge savings.

High was hoping to attract Kelly's endorsement and inherit much of his organization for the second primary fight, while Burns sought to prevent such an alliance.

Education Committee Offers Plea for Sweeping Changes

5/15/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

FLORIDA

MIAMI, Fla., May 14 — A citizens committee, composed of educators and laymen, has upped the demands of the Florida Education Association that Florida catch up on scholastic needs through the expenditure of additional hundreds of millions of dollars.

The committee went so far as to make a plea for carpeted classrooms.

Recommendations of the group — The Governor's Conference on Education — followed a meeting which drew some 1,400 delegates. In a nutshell, the conference said Florida's school system must be lifted from below-average status and geared to meet the needs of the state's space-age industry and commerce.

Said one delegate in a message aimed at Florida's Legislature:

"If you think Florida has lived up to the average among the states in expenditures in proportion to its ability, the facts do not support you."

THE REPORT by the committee urged knocking down the traditional barriers to educational development — restrictions on spending — and proceeding on a progressive, expensive plan to improve public schools.

Throughout the report there were calls for new programs, new foundations, new government agencies and committees — most for the purpose of pouring volumes of new information and tools for teaching into the classroom.

Specific proposals included:

—Increasing the Minimum Foundation Program to assure accreditation of all public schools—kindergarten through junior college.

—A $5,000 minimum salary for teachers, with pay raises coming big enough and often enough to keep education competitive with other professions in pay.

—More specialists in varied educational fields at local and state administrative levels.

—Coordination and expansion of educational television stations across Florida.

—Major expansion of library service.

—Reduction of the pupil-teacher ratio to 20 to 1.

—Establishment of full kindergarten facilities.

—Increasing the number and value of teacher scholarships.

—Building schools first for consideration for the individual, rather than the group.

SAID THE report:

"Because we can now talk about comfort in a school building without feeling guilty of extravagance, we must study the possibility of carpeting for new schools. We must rediscover the floor."

No price-tag was placed on the massive new program, but committee members had a number of ideas where additional funds might come from.

There is a prohibition in Florida's constitution against a state income tax. There was considerable interest among the delegates for an income tax.

There is now a provision for a $5,000 homestead exemption in Florida's constitution. There was support to modify the exemption.

Other ideas included a proposal to "revamp or increase" the limited three per cent sales tax with benefits going to education, a transaction tax, a fee for school attendance, a tax on pollution, and a severance tax.

Powell Endorses Miami Mayor, But the Mayor Cries It's No Fair

FLORIDA 5/17/66

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 16 — Mayor Robert King High of Miami rejected today an endorsement given him in the Florida Governor's race by Representative Adam Clayton Powell.

Mr. High called the endorsement a "set-up," adding: "I don't know Adam Clayton Powell, and he doesn't know me. I have never even talked to him. I do not want his endorsement. It is not welcomed and was not soliciated."

The Manhattan Democratic Representative flew into Miami late yesterday. He told reporters that he had come to meet with labor leaders. Then he volunterred his endorsement of Mr. High.

"If I were a Florida citizen, black or white, I would be behind High to show the nation and the world that Florida is not just another Wallace domain," Mr. Powell said.

The comment about the "Wallace domain" was a reference to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, a segregationist.

No Labor Meeting

Mr. Powell's endorsement of Mayor High came during routine questioning about civil rights.

After the news conference, Mr. Powell left Miami for Washington without meeting with labor leaders and without leaving the airport.

The Representative's office had called Miami newspapers and radio and television stations to say that Mr. Powell was coming to Miami late Sunday to meet with labor leaders to discuss a picketing bill now pending in Congress.

Gov. Haydon Burns, run-off opponent for Mr. High for the Democratic nomination, said in Jacksonville, where he campaigned today, that he had had nothing to do with Mr. Powell's endorsement of Mayor High.

"The Congressman was just following the lead of the Senator from New York," said Gov. Burns.

The Governor has repeatedly charged that Mayor High's campaign is being directed by Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York.

Last week, Governor Burns brought the race issue into the campaign for the fisst time, urging Florida voters to "follow the lead of Alabama and defeat the bloc votes."

Mayor High said his staff was attempting to learn exactly how Mr. Powell's trip to Miami came about.

A 'Strange' Incident

"Isn't it strange that this man came all the way to Florida to endorse me when I have had no contact with him?" asked Mayor High. "Powell knows that his endorsement will be harmful to any candidate. I am sure that every Floridian knows that this endorsement was calculated to hurt me. I know it and Powell knows it."

In Washington, Mr. Powell's office called the endorsement "a very casual thing."

Charles Stone, an assistant who was with the Representative, said Mr. Powell did not consider the Florida Governor's race of "too much importance."

"He did not go down there to endorse anybody," said Mr. Stone. "He went down to discuss the situs picketing bill because he has had a lot of mail from Miami about it.

"Nobody asked him to endorse Mayor High. Somebody at the press conference asked him about civil rights, and the Congressman said what he did then. How could he endorse Governor Burns when the Governor had said what he did last week.

Mayor High Says Florida Voter Will Reject the 'Spoils System'

FLORIDA 5/21/66

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 20—Winding up his second campaign for Governor, Miami Mayor Robert King High said Florida voters next Tuesday would disavow Gov. Haydon Burns "and his spoils system."

Mayor High, a 42-year-old lawyer, is in a run-off with Governor Burns for the Democratic nomination.

While Governor Burns continued to campaign against "the paid Negro bloc vote and outside influences," Mayor High said the real issue was whether Florida voters "are tired of having their state run for the benefit of the Burns campaign machine."

Millions of dollars in state business, he said, have gone to Burns campaign contributors.

"A revolution in conscience and character is going on in Florida," he said this week as he campaigned in the vote-heavy East Coast section of Florida.

Although he has been strongest in south Florida and in the Tampa-St. Petersburg area, Mayor High has found a favorable reception in almost every part of Florida as he has promised to "get rid of the hog-pen morality brought into the Governor's office by Haydon Burns."

'Get Him, Red'

"Go get him, Red," his audiences have shouted.

Mr. High, 5 feet 6 inches tall, has red hair as does his wife, Faith.

For the last two weeks, Mr. High has ignored the Governor's charge that the High campaign has been directed by Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York. Mr. High said earlier that he had been a friend of President Kennedy, but he denied that Senator Kennedy had taken any part in this campaign.

Governor Burns has said the presence of William F. Haddad and Robert Clampitt, two former Kennedy campaign workers, in the High campaign is proof of the Kennedy influence.

Mr. Haddad, a former reporter, was associate director of the Peace Corps. Mr. Clampitt also was in the Peace Corps.

"The issue in this race is integrity," Mayor High said.

In central and north Florida, Mayor High has taken a back seat to former State Senator Scott Kelly of Lakeland, who was eliminated in the primary of May 3 and subsequently endorsed Mr. High.

Governor Burns had charged that Mr. Kelly sought $500,000 from him in return for his support in a second primary. The Governor later withdrew the charge but Mr. Kelly has continued to attack him on it.

In the first primary, Governor Burns got 35 per cent of the vote, Mayor High, 33 per cent, and Mr. Kelly, 32 per cent.

Backers of Governor Burns have been referring to Mr. Kelly and Mr. High as "Batman and Robin."

Pledges Almost Lost

Almost lost in the campaign have been pledges by Mayor High to clean up air and water pollution in Florida, to raise teachers' salaries, and to tax phosphates and other minerals.

Although he suffered a heart attack about four years ago, Mayor High has kept a whirlwind pace during the campaign. He has traveled as much as 18 hours a day, frequently missing several meals in a row.

He and Mr. Kelly travel in a caravan of small airplanes and helicopters as they speed from town to town.

Guards were placed around their planes last week after a Kelly aide reported he caught someone "tampering" with Mr. Kelly's plane.

Mayor High said the traising of a Negro issue in the campaign was a "desperation move" by Governor Burns.

In 1964, Governor Burns defeated Mayor High easily in a campaign in which the race issue was the only thing discussed. In 1964, Mr. High supported Federal civil rights legislation.

"The race issue won't work again," Mr. High said. "Florida has had excellent racial relations, and the people will not be fooled."

Mayor High was endorsed last Sunday by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, an endorsement that Mayor High repudiated as "unwanted."

Mr. Kelly, who said he investigated the "endorsement," charged that Mr. Powell"s trip to Miami and the endorsement had been arranged by a Miami Negro lawyer, Henry Arrington, a supporter of Governor Burns.

As Miami's Mayor, Mr. High had only limited power because the city government is operated by a city manager.

Mr. High used the largely ceremonial position as Mayor to influence public opinion to accept 100,000 Cuban refugees into Miami, and to create a peaceful racial climate.

Universities Ready Change To Quarter System in '67

5/22/64

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Staff Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., May 21 — Florida's state universities will change from the trimester to the quarter system in September 1967.

Dr. J. Broward Culpepper, chancellor of the university system, says there are yet two major factors to be worked out. They are:

Developing the dates for the summer quarter, which is heavily attended by public school teachers.

Arranging budgets for paying faculty members on the basis of the quarter system.

This will be the universities' second major calendar change in five years. They changed from the semester system to the trimester arrangement in the fall of 1962.

Under the new plan, there will be 10 weeks of instruction in each quarter, not including registration or final examinations. All-year operation will consist of 46 weeks of instruction and instruction-related activity.

THE UNIVERSITIES will admit students each quarter, and enough courses will be of-

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fered each term "to permit students to progress normally toward a degree, regardless of when they are admitted," Dr. Culpepper said.

He said there will be "optimum faculty involvement" in the calendar changes and in reconsidering the content and arrangement of couress.

Dr. John S. Allen, president of the University of South Florida at Tampa, said the change "gives us an opportunity to review our curricula and course offerings, as we recast them into the quarter plan of operation."

The educator said neither the quarter nor the trimester system works well for public schoolteachers, "who have only two months off duty for summer school attendance."

HE SAID a possible solution would be for departments with offerings that would be of interest to public schoolteachers, to arrange three-week institutes from mid-June to mid-August. Teachers could register for one course in each institute.

Throughout the nation, 24 universities and three branches of the State University of New York operate on the quarter system; 67 and other branches of the New York institution operate on the semester plan.

In 1959, the Florida university presidents began studying the problem of providing higher education to the fast-growing numbers of students who wanted to attend college.

THE PRESIDENTS and the old Board of Control decided the semester system could not meet the needs and that a year-round plan of operation was necessary.

Then the 1961 Legislature became interested in year-round operation. It appropriated additional money to the universities for year-round operation but provided they could not less either the trimester or quarter system went into operation by September 1962.

Dr. Culpepper said that under the trimester system students and faculty felt some pressure because the shorter calendar made it more difficult to cover the academic material. Transfers from high schools and junior colleges also were difficult, he said.

Gov. Burns Upset By High in Florida

FLORIDA

5/25/66 AC

MIAMI, Fla. (AP)—Miami's Mayor Robert King High—making political history in Florida—smashed Tuesday night to an upset victory over Gov. Haydon Burns in the bitter runoff battle for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

With 2,510 of Florida's 2,561 precincts in, the mayor had piled up a commanding lead of 570,740 votes to 488,745 for Burns.

The red-haired, 42-year-old High, who campaigned on a promise of "integrity in government," now goes into the general election heavily favored to become the first governor ever elected from the southeast Florida "Gold Coast."

FACES GOP KIRK

He faces Republican Claude R. Kirk Jr., a Jacksonville investment broker, in November. The GOP has gained strength in Florida but the party has not won the governorship in modern times.

Storming back from a lopsided defeat by the 54-year-old Burns in the 1964 runoff, the moderate High overcame the racial issue suddenly resurrected by Burns when the governor found himself in a fight for his political life after the May 3 first primary.

On the eve of the runoff, Burns also had relit the old fires of sectionalism in Florida, charging that if High was elected to work with a legislature now in urban control, Dade County (Miami) would rule the state.

REFUSES TO CONCEDE

At 9:30 p.m. Burns said the returns were inconclusive and he refused to concede.

Burns had clobbered High by 180,000 votes in 1964, calling him "the NAACP candidate" in a battle with strong racial overtones.

In 1966, many thought the racial issue was dead. Burns wooed the Negro vote in the first primary and cut into High's strength there. But the governor revived the issue in the bare-knuckled brawl of the runoff.

In a sampling of predominantly Negro precincts around the state, High piled up leads as high as 8 to 1.

High, five-term mayor of Miami who won statewide attention for his battles to lower

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

High Upsets Gov. Burns In Florida

Continued from Page 1

utility and insurance rates, shared credit for his momentus victory with a co-campaigner, Scott Kelly.

Kelly, handsome ex-senator from Lakeland who lost a runoff spot to High by only 6,000 votes in a three-way first primary race, campaigned shoulder-to-shoulder with him in the runoff.

It was in the heavily populated Tampa bay area, "Kelly Country" in the first round, where High reaped the richest crop of new votes.

Through Hillsborough, Pinellas, Sarasota and Manatee counties, High piled up an over-all margin of better than 2 to 1. He added a big haul of votes on the metropolitan lower east coast.

Elsewhere in the state where Burns boasted his greatest strength, High with Kelly's aid cut deeply into the governor's totals.

High, Florida Winner, Faces a Serious G.O.P. Bid

By MARTIN WALDRON
Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 25—Mayor Robert King High of Miami faced today a serious Republican challenge in November in the Florida governnorship race after defeating Gov. Haydon Burns for the Democratic nomination yesterday.

Florida has not elected a Republican Governor since Ossian B. Hart in 1872, but the party has made substantial gains in the state in recent years.

Claude R. Kirk Jr., the Republican candidate, began "an all-out, 170-day campaign" today.

Democrats did not endorse Mr. High when they nominated him, Mr. Kirk said.

"They just showed who they didn't want," he said.

Mayor High's runoff victory was substantial. A final, unofficial count of the votes showed Mr. High with 585,000 and Governor Burns with 498,000.

A Spilt Develops

A split developed in the Democratic party today when Governor Burns denied a statement by the State Democratic Chairman, Warren Goodrich, that the Governor had agreed to endorse Mayor High.

"I have made no such statement," the Governor said, adding that he had not decided what he would do.

Governor Burns returned to Tallahassee late today. He said he would continue to push his program during the remaining seven months of his term, after which he would enter private businesses.

"I hope to set a pattern and a prestige course from which no one dare veer," the Governor said.

In opening his campaign, Mr. Kirk, a 40-year-old investment banker from Jacksonville, said he expected to spend about $500 000. He called it a "reasonable" amount, which would insure him of victory.

In the three-month Democratic primary, Governor Burns spent about $1.3-million and Mayor High about $300,000.

Florida has 440,000 registered Republicans and 1.9-million registered Democrats, but Republican candidates have traditionally received the votes of many Democrats in the general election.

In the governorship race of 1964, Charles Helley of St. Petersburg, the Republican nominee, got 686,000 votes to 933,000 for Governor Burns.

Senate Bid Fails

Mr. Kirk, a graduate of the University of Alabama Law School, worked in the Presidential campaigns of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard M. Nixon as a Democrat. After the Nixon campaign, he became a Republican and lost to Spessard L. Holland in 1964 in a bid for the Senate.

Appearing with Mr. Kirk at a news conference today was the state Republican Chairman, Tom Fairfield Brown, who said the "full resources" of the state Republican party would be made available to Mr. Kirk. Mr. Brown said that only $30,000 was available now but that there were pledges of more money.

Mr. Kirk said his campaign against Senator Holland had made him known to Florida voters "so I can be free to discuss the issues without having to make myself known."

He said:

"I am the only candidate who knows the main streets of Florida when it is not election time. I will tour every main street in the state."

He said he would announce a platform tomorrow.

Mayor High, who is 42, stayed in seclusion today and rested.

His triumph was interpreted as a sign that Florida voters no longer would respond to a racist campaign. Governor Burns had called on Florida's white voters to join with him in defeating "the paid Negro bloc vote."

The Mayor's nomination also raised stock of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Former aides of the New York Senator worked in the High campaign, and Governor Burns said a vote for Mr. High was a vote for Mr. Kennedy.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Mayor John King High and his wife with friends after he won Democratic nomination for Governor in Florida.

FLORIDA

6/23/68 THE NEW YORK TIMES,

RIOT SITE BLOCKED IN POMPANO BEACH

Police in Florida City Fear New Rioting by Negroes

POMPANO BEACH, Fla., June 22 (AP)—Hundreds of Negroes milled in the streets of this city of 16,000 today and the police girded for a possible renewal of rioting.

In the same section where trouble erupted last night, nearly 150 state, county and city policemen wre on patrol. The area was blocked off to all but residents.

Negro leaders moved in the noisy crowd, pleading for peace. One, Harold Cooper, asked teenagers to attend a night meeting at the Calvary Baptist Church.

Last night's outbreak was precipitated by a report that a white man had struck a Negro boy.

Today city officials and civic leaders met in an attempt to ease the situation. Officials left the meeting and begged the unruly crowd to disperse. The reply was angry jeers.

Occasionally, small groups peeled off from the mob, broke windows and ripped boards from the front of a market where the trouble first began last night.

At this store Arthur Marks, the owner, allegedly slapped a 10-year-old Negro boy yesterday. He has been charged with assault and battery.

'It's Started Again'

"It's started again," a police dispatcher said when the crowd returned to the streets.

A group of Negro teen-agers staged a sitdown in the middle aof Hammondville Road, the main street, but broke it up when a patrol car approached.

At 4 P.M. a heavy rain struck the city, and demonstrators sought shelter.

Riot policemen had cleared the streets with billy clubs and a threat of tear gas early today.

Municipal Court was convened at 3:30 A.M. and Judge Harry Fischer placed 23 Negroes under bond on charges of unlawful assembly and disorderly conduct. He released another, a part-time preacher, on his own recognizance.

The police said damage during the night had not been heavy and that there had been no looting. Windows were broken, including all of those in Mr. Marks's store, and Negroes overturned one car and tried to set it afire.

Violence A Surprise

Two policemen were treated for cuts from thrown stones and bottles.

The sudden outbreak came as a surprise in a city where the only racial troubles in the past have been peaceful wade-ins and a few stone throwings. Because of huge vegetable farms in the area. Negro laborers make up a large percentage of the population of Pompano Beach, which is eight miles north of Fort Lauderdale.

About 150 policemen cleared the debris-littered streets shortly after midnight.

The outbreak had begun after the Negro boy complained to his parents about 7 P.M. that he had been slapped in the face by Mr. Marks.

A crowd of Negroes gathered at the store, brandishing sticks and shouting. Policemen escorted Mr. Marks and his wife through the threatening mob and booked Mr. Marks at the jail.

Then two Negroes were arrested on charges of loitering and, as the crowd grew to 600, young Negroes began to throw bottles at passing cars. By midnight a six-block section of Hammondville Road was blocked off by police and highway patrol cars.

The police were ordered to break up the crowd. As they moved in, the Negroes retreated into the shadows and unleashed a shower of rocks and bottles.

Taylor Williams, president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that when he heard of the alleged slapping, he went to the store and begged Mrs. Marks to have her husband apologize "and smooth things over." But no apology was made, he said.

Liquor stores and bars were not allowed to open today.

Associated Press

QUELLING A DISTURBANCE: Policemen in Pompano Beach, Fla., leading away one of the men arrested after Tuesday night's riot. Nearly 30 persons were taken to jail.

PHOTOGRAPHY PHOTOGRAPHY

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NEGROES HOPEFUL IN POMPANO BEACH

6/24/66

A 'Beneficial Effect' Is Seen From Tuesday's Rioting

By ALFRED FRIENDLY Jr.
Special to The New York Times

POMPANO BEACH, Fla., June 23—Thundershowers and conversation cooled tempers in this East Coast resort city today, easing the threat of resumed violence of the kind that flared in the Negro section the last two days.

City authorities asked detachments of the Florida Highway Patrol and squads from neighboring towns who helped patrol during the violence to come back for stand-by duty tonight. But the city officials and Negro civic leaders who visited and telephoned them today seemed to agree the danger of violence had temporarily passed.

During the day only three policemen stood guard outside the Russ Supermarket, the target of Tuesday night's brief rioting. The store's windows, broken by the bricks and bottles that Negroes had also hurled at the police, were boarded over again late today with sheets of plywood. At midday yesterday, trouble flared briefly when a small group of Negroes tore away the boards that had been placed over the windows after Tuesday's riot.

'Beneficial Effect'

Across the street today, in front of rows of churning washing machines, Negro women gossiped about their families and friends, seemingly unconcerned by the presence of the police.

Dr. Robert Talmadge Irving, a Negro chiropractor with a small office opposite the grocery on Hammondville Road, choose his words carefully as he said the week's troubles could have "some beneficial effect."

City officials, Dr. Irving said, "will lend a sympathetic ear to our demands; but what they do afterwards is another matter." He said the rioting, which began after the store proprietor, Arthur Marks, allegedly slapped a 10-year-old Negro boy, was not touched off "just by a simple incident."

"At times, things just build to a certain point and then, any little thing can be the straw that broke the camel's back," he maintained.

William H. Johnson, the Negro regional director of the federally financed Community Action Fund, a migrant program, was drawing up a list of grievances today.

"This was out and out rebellion, primarily against the store owner, secondarily against the attitude of the police," he said. "This again points up the fact that things were not as well as the people across the tracks like to think." The tracks of the Seaboard Airline Railroad Company split the northwest section of town and its six or seven thousand Negro inhabitants from the estimated total of 21,000 permanent white residents who live on palm tree shaded streets nearer the ocean.

The gulf between the two communities, however, appears wider than any physical divider formed by the rails. "This is no peaceful little Negro community, despite what anybody thinks," Mr. Johnson said. "We're going around with chips on our shoulders."

Capt. Max Coleman, who is second in command of the 40-man police force that has only two Negroes, echoed a common white sentiment when he said that "frankly this whole thing is surprising to us — our relations, we thought, were always good here."

City Manager Ellsworth Hoppe, pointing to five recently paved streets in the negro sections, said there was "ten times" as much sidewalk in the Negro areas as in the rest of the city.

Tax Equality Crackdown Brings Cries of Anguish

7/17/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., July 16 — Florida Comptroller Fred O. Dickinson, following a State Supreme Court directive, is cracking down on county tax assessors.

"The Supreme Court has spoken," said Dickinson. "We must move forward this year to accomplish the 100 per cent just valuation of property tax assessment rolls."

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Dickinson gave the state's 67 county tax assessors until Sept. 15 to complete their reassessments. He appointed a field task force of five special assistants to aid the assessors.

The comptroller called all the tax assessors to Tallahassee to lay down the law.

Following a meeting of the assessors with Dickinson's special assistants, reports were the county officials would cooperate, but some did not like the crash program. Some felt Dickinson's directive forced them into a hodge-podge job.

IN ITS order to Dickinson, the State Supreme Court noted that less than a dozen Florida counties had completed reassessment the high tribunal ordered months ago to bring property values up to the 100 per cent level. In some counties assessment is at less than 50 per cent, with Flagler low at 17.54.

The court said that assessment "should be fixed by applying the classic formula for establishing fair market value, namely, the amount a purchaser under no stress to buy a given piece of property would pay a nonnecessitious (one without need) seller."

STUDIES BY Dickinson's office show that about half of the 67 counties either are at 100 per cent valuation or have professional reassessment appraisers at work.

In the other counties, said Dickinson, reassessment has been done by the assessors or no reassessment has been done at all.

Dickinson's division on tax assessment has compiled "adjustment ratios" for each county based on study of county tax records over a five-year period. The present assessment level will have to be multiplied by the adjustment ratio to get 100 per cent.

Hamilton County, for instance, now assessing at a little over 50 per cent, would multiply its present assessments by 1.986 to bring its rolls up to 100 per cent.

But, long-time observers of the Florida political scene are certain that Dickinson's deadline on reassessment will mean that the 1967 legislature will provide some relief for homeowners.

Miami's 'Season' Is Complete Bust

8/21/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER

Miami News Staff Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., Aug. 20—It will take the Greater Miami area longer than overnight to get back to a normal economic level when the struck airlines are flying again.

Amos Martin, executive director of the Miami - Dade Chamber of Commerce, estimated it would take from several weeks to a month to return "to business as usual" on tourists and conventions.

Chamber officials placed the cost of the strike at about $80 million, including airline salaries, airline purchases and tourist spending that didn't take place.

Herbert Robbins, president

FLORIDA

of the South Florida Hotel and Motel Association, said the summer season, which was expected to set a record, "is a bust."

"It's a complete wipeout, nothing can be salvaged now," said Robbins. "All we can do now is work to restore the pattern of reservations and hope they begin coming in on time (for the winter season) by mid-October."

THE STRIKE occasioned some strange happenings.

A New York tourist, for instance, flew into a rage at Miami International Airport when he learned that one of the operatnig airlines had cancelled reservations for himself, his wife and three children because he had made his reservations only 23 hours ahead of time instead of 24.

He threatened fisticuffs and gave his wife bail money before the airline suddenly discovered five "no shows" just before take-off and let the tourist and his family board the plane.

The Florida Development Commission paid $2,615 for a full-page advertisement in a Washington newspaper, signed by Gov. Haydon Burns, thanking President Johnson for "settling" the strike. The ad, however, turned out to be premature. The strikers rejected the "settlement."

And in a mass action against Eastern Airlines, 64 striking machinists filed to collect workmen's compensation. They suddenly decided their hearing had been impaired by roaring jet engines.

THE PICTURE on Miami Beach has been one of empty hotel rooms, of hundreds of waitresses, bellboys, chamber maids and cabana boys out of work, of merchants on the Beach's world famous Lincoln Road Mall, standing in front of their stores wringing their hands and awaiting customers who never came.

State Sweepstakes Proposal Picking Up Strong Support

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

FLORIDA

MIAMI, Fla., Sept. 3—Support for a state sweepstakes in Florida appears to be growing. The state already has legalized horse, dog and trotting racing and jai-alai.

Several influential Florida newspapers have come out for a state lottery; a member of the State Racing Commission is boosting a sweepstakes; and an influential committee of legislators and laymen is studying this new means of gambling revenue.

The Lakeland Ledger says, in effect, if it is proper for the well-to-do to bet on racing and jai-alai, it would be all right for a working man to buy a sweepstakes ticket. The Orlando Sentinel saying about the same, suggested that the people of Florida be allowed to vote on whether they want a lottery.

LOUIE BANDEL, of Miami, a member of the State Racing Commission and its former chairman, estimates a sweepstakes would produce up to $50 million a year in gambling taxes.

"If New Hampshire can tolerate a sweepstakes, then Florida should welcome one," Bandel observed.

The State Tax Reform Commission, the group of legislators and laymen, charged with revamping Florida tax laws, is studying New Hampshire's sweepstakes which is funneling more than $2.5 million annually into that state's school fund.

THIS WOULD be peanuts where school wants in Florida are concerned — it is estimated the education system will need more than $100 million annually in new money come 1967—but Bandel's $50 million figure might prove tempting.

During fiscal 1964-65, racing and jai-alai produced only $35.9 million in taxes.

A proposed sweepstakes bill is already being circulated in Florida. The sweepstakes would be controlled by a three-member commission. Two sweepstakes races a year would be held at a Florida race track. Tickets would be available at the race tracks as well as at automobile tag agencies.

Tax returns would be allocated to each county on the basis of a flat grant per resident student.

But, as attractive as a sweepstakes may be—it is being described by backers as a "painless" way to raise new money—it is certain to run into heated opposition. Florida Methodist circles are already warning of a "powerful" move to legalize a lottery.

SOME INTERESTS think Florida already has too much gambling.

Legalized gambling in Florida goes back to 1931, when the legislature of that year, hard-pressed for funds, legalized pari-mutuel gambling, overriding the veto of then Gov. Doyle Carlton Sr.

Carlton observed at that time, "It is unsound and unwise from an economic, political or moral standpoint to commit the state to a partnership in legalized gambling in any form. If we start with pari-mutuels, where shall we stop?"

And Florida didn't stop with horse racing. Added as the years went by were dog and harness racing, and jai-alai. The state in 1935, still in the throes of an economic depression, legalized slot machines. But, by 1937, the state had enough of the "one - armed bandits," and repealed the law which had authorized their operation.

Gambling legislation has tied up many a Florida Legislature and resulted in a scandal in the 1949 session.

What Is the Cost Of Big Campaign?

9/11/66

By JOE HATCHER

Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 10—The cost of running for high office in Tennessee has grown to astronomical proportions, but the candidates go right ahead swearing that they expend less than the $25,000 limit set by law, a Ford Foundation survey of the state reveals.

A minimum of $150,000 would be required to run a U.S. Senate campaign, but several times that amount is expended from time to time the report shows.

The issue of truthful reporting of campaign expenses arose in the August primaries, but candidate John J. Hooker, Jr. lost despite his pledge to "tell the truth."

The Ford survey, based in 1948-1964 campaigns, bore out the Hooker charges of high spending.

Hooker filed his campaign

TENNESSEE

expense report almost simultaneously with the survey. He listed his losing cause as costing $591,297.27. Winner Buford Ellington filed a sworn statement of $24,809.12. It is generally conceded that the Ellington campaign cost far in excess of the Hooker campaign. Most estimates place the Ellington figure at near $1 million.

ELLINGTON agreed, during the controversy, that the figures filed were unrealistic, but said only the expenses known to him personally were included.

Gov. Frank Clement listed his expenses for the Senate at $24,089.98. Sen. Ross Bass listed also less than the $25,000 limit.

The Ford survey, made by William Buchanan of Washington and Lee University, and Mrs. Agnes Bird of the University of Tennessee, found no major campaigns under $75,000 since 1948 and most averaging $200,000.

Sen. Estes Kefauver spent $325,000 in 1960 to beat Judge A. T. Taylor who spent $200,000. Kefauver was the only big spender to win in the period studied.

HOOKER'S REPORT gives the first realistic accounting of what a campaign actually cost.

He listed office expenses at $103,500, advertising at $305,400, travel at $62,841 and printing and literature $119,516.61.

Whether the legislature will do anything about making the costs realistic and enforcing limitations is an issue that will likely come before the 1967 legislature.

The Ford Foundation report advances the idea that most of the money spent is wasted, and does not actually influence the elections, as evidenced by lower cost campaigns often getting the big percentage of votes. The candidate's personality, appeal to the voters, and support from forces seeking to or receiving favors, provide more powerful influences over the voters.

COLLINS TO SEEK SMATHERS'S SEAT

FLORIDA

Ex-Governor Plans to Run for Senate in Florida in '68

9/16/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 — LeRoy Collins plans to run in 1968 for the Senate seat now held by George A. Smathers.

Mr. Smathers, a Democrat, announced earlier this year that he would retire at the end of his present term because of ill health.

President Johnson announced yesterday that he had "reluctantly agreed" to accept Mr. Collins's resignation as Under Secretary of Commerce, effective Oct. 1.

Mr. Collins, former Democratic Governor of Florida, will join the Tampa law firm of Fowler, White, Gillen, Humkey and Treman. In addition to practicing law, he will spend the next two years laying the groundwork for his Senate campaign.

Representative Claude D. Pepper, Democrat of Miami, said today that he was also considering seeking Mr. Smather's Senate post.

"That's the seat I held for 14 years," Mr. Pepper said. "I have been encouraged all over the state to run again I'm exploring the matter."

The 66-year-old representative made two unsuccessful races to return to the Senate —one in 1950, the other in 1958. He was first elected to it in 1936.

Mr. Collins, who is 55, has said on several occasions that he would be a candidate for the Senate. He served as Governor from 1955 to 1960 and was subsequently president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Two years ago, the President appointed him the first director of Community Relations Service, an agency established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to conciliate racial disputes. After serving in that post for a year, Mr. Collins was appointed Under Secretary of Commerce, the No. 2 post in the Commerce Department.

Mr. Johnson said in a letter accepting the resignation that "you have my very good wish in the private practice of law, and you have earned the right to return to your home state."

The President said he was "particularly mindful of the skillful job you did for your country" in Selma, Ala., in 1965. Mr. Collins had gone there during a crisis between civil rights workers and Alabama law enforcement authorities and had helped to work out an agreement that resulted in restoring peace to the community.

THE

VICTOR IN FLORIDA VOWS CRIME FIGHT

11/10/66

Kirk, New G.O.P. Governor, Says He Will Start Now

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Nov. 9 —Claude R. Kirk Jr., the 40-year-old Republican who confounded Florida political experts by being elected Governor yesterday, said today he would begin to clean up crime in Miami without waiting to take office in January.

Mr. Kirk, who won over favored Miami Mayor Robert King High the Democratic nominee, said he would personally direct the clean-up.

During the gubernatorial race, Mr. Kirk referred to Miami — the favorite vacation spot of several million tourists each year — as a "cesspool of crime." A grand jury reported in Miami yesterday that police officials had made no effort to clean up a situation that included organized rackets.

Mr. Kirk did not explain what steps he would take in his anti-crime fight in South Florida.

The Republican rode into office on a wave of white backlash and sentiment against the Great Society in Florida and sent Mayor High, a racial liberal, to a smashing defeat. With more than 95 per cent of the vote counted, Mr. Kirk had 795,000 votes, Mayor High 645,000.

First Victory Since 1872

He is the first Republican to be elected Governor of Florida since 1872.

Gov. Haydon Burns, a Democrat, acknowledged today that he had supported Mr. Kirk during the campaign.

The Governor, defeated in last May's Democratic primary by Mr. High, said "my friends throughout the state took an active part in Mr. Kirk's campaign."

"I am pleased that he will be the new Governor," he added.

There has been bad feeling between Governor Burns and Mayor High, who cast doubt on the honesty of the Burns administration, Mr. Burns said he considered the Republican victory a "vindication."

Mr. Kirk, a former investment banker and insurance executive, said today that he foresaw no difficulty in working with Demcrats who dominate other state offices and the Florida Legislature.

The strong race run by Mr. Kirk greatly increased the number of Republican state legislators in Florida. The number of Republican State Senators was increased from two to 11 and the number of Republican House members from seven to 24. This will mean that Republicans will have about 20 per cent of the seats in the Legislature.

Sees Kennedy Defeat

Governor Burns said the defeat of Mr. High was a defeat for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York. Kennedy forces helped Mr. High in the May primaries, but were not on hand during the general election campaign.

Governor Burns said the Kirk victory demonstrated that Florida voters would not accept "giveaway programs, riots in the streets and civil disobedience."

Mr. Kirk appealed for the

NEGRO GAINS CITED BY JACKSONVILLE

FLORIDA

City Awaits N.A.A.C.P. Reply To Its Progress Report

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., July 22 (UPI)—A meeting that could hold the key to Jacksonville's racial peace ended today with Negro leaders giving no indication whether they were content with the city's integration progress report.

Negroes had submitted a list of eight demands and said they expected action on at least two of them.

Otherwise, they threatened to resume massive street demonstrations. Such a protest triggered three nights of fire-bombings and disorders earlier in the week.

"We've had both good and bad experiences with the meetings with the mayor and commissioners," said Rutledge Pearson, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Statement Planned

A statement is to be issued tomorrow morning by the N.A.A.C.P. executive committee on whether the Negroes were satisfied with the city's progress report.

Mayor Louis Ritter told Mr. Pearson that action would be taken on each of the eight demands, including complete integration of the police force, slum clearance and training of neighborhood Youth Corp personnel in City Hall.

The Mayor urged the Negro leaders to use their influence in preventing further racial unrest in a Negro district during the weekend.

Mayor Ritter said white segregationists who identified themselves as members of the Ku Klux Klan had sent telegrams to City Hall advising officials they had planned to come to Jacksonville.

"We don't want these people and these people won't come in here as long as I'm chief," Mayor Ritter said.

Cooperation Urged

The Mayor urged the Negro leaders to work with Negro youths believed responsible for the earlier violence.

Mr. Ritter said a program would be implemented in the field of recreation immediately, to provide an outlet for tensions built up among the Negro teenagers.

The mayor said it had been decided to utilize Federal funds in building two swimming pools instead of reopening the two demanded by the Negroes.

He said insufficient funds to install filters at the outdated pools made it more feasible to use Federal money to build new facilities at different locations, both of which were to be fully integrated.

He also assured the Negroes that members of their race would be upgraded immediately in five departments under City Hall jurisdiction.

Hurricane Season Starts; 'Seeding' Planes Ready

By CHARLES F. HESSER

Staff Writer, The Miami News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

FLORIDA

MIAMI, Fla., June 4—The "hurricane season" started last Wednesday, but weather observers point out this isn't as alarming as it sounds. The season, which runs through November, is selected for the convenience of the weather bureau as a time when its warning service is in operation.

Years can go by without a hurricane showing up during the "hurricane season." But, Atlantic hurricanes have occurred every month except April.

Weather bureau research planes which had been used on other projects returned to Miami Wednesday. The bureau maintains two DC-6s, a C-54 and a high altitude jet WB-57, and is assisted in its research on hurricanes by other weather phenomena and by planes from the Air Force and Navy.

EXPERIMENTS with seeding hurricanes will be continued this year if a suitable storm comes along. The proper hurricane for such an experiment must be one which does not threaten an inhabited place but is close enough to an airbase to permit planes to spend considerable time in it and return with a safe margin of fuel.

No seeding was attempted last season because no hurricane fit Miami Weather Bureau specifications.

Planes used for the experiments are fitted with a device which burns silver iodide and releases the particles into clouds around the storm center. The idea is to change the pattern of the hurricane, which could cause a change in course.

Along with moving its planes here, the weather bureau put into operation its teletype network for the rapid distribution of information on storms. The network extends from Brownsville, Tex., along the coast to North Carolina.

PROBABILITY of a tropical storm appearing somewhere in the Atlantic "hurricane belt" is worked out by the weather bureau on a percentage basis — for instance, June 34 per cent, July 39, August 75, September 92, October 83 and November 36.

Better and quicker information will help forecasters and the public this season.

New this year are direct readings from two satellites, instead of a relay system used last year, and twice-a-day outlooks instead of one will be distributed to all news media at 6 a.m. and at 11:45 a.m.

THERE WERE six tropical storms last year, four of them reaching hurricane force. This was the smallest number since 1962. The average is 10 storms a year.

Of last year's four, only Betsy did any land damage. Anna, Carol and Elena chose ocean paths to oblivion.

But Betsy will be long remembered. She did more property damage than any storm in the nation's hurricane history as she raked South Florida and plastered New Orleans.

Betsy, pushing flood tides ahead of her did $1.4 billion in damage mostly in the New Orleans area. The buxom storm cost South Florida $140 million in damages.

FOUNDATIONS

THE AMERICAN WAY OF GIVING

A few years ago some officers of the Ford Foundation were discussing various ways Ford's millions could generate social reform. As the brainstormers saw it, the existing power structure of business, labor and government was too firmly entrenched to make really significant changes. Finally one officer offered a simple suggestion: "Let's just buy Rhode Island" and make a fresh start.

Though Rhode Island wasn't for sale, the Ford Foundation, which this year will spend at least $250 million around the world, would have had little trouble paying operating costs for the state. Gov. John H. Chafee plans to get by on $188 million in 1966. And the notion of such ambition by U.S. foundations is not as farfetched as it may sound. Each year Ford and the nation's 15,000 other foundations dispense some $1.1 billion through a system of organized private giving for public purposes so potent that some social historians have called it the Fifth Estate. Indeed, the dollars they have poured out have exerted a strong influence in shaping the quality of twentieth-century life.

Foundation money helped eradicate hookworm, yellow fever and malaria in many areas of the world (the Rockefeller Foundation); built 2,509 libraries in the U.S. and other English-speaking countries (Carnegie Corp.); supported Robert H. Goddard's rocket research when the military could not see a need for it (Smithsonian Institution and the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation); modernized Mexican agriculture (Rockefeller) and sustained U.S. educational television (Ford); developed the new math for U.S. schools (Carnegie), brought new contraceptive techniques to villages in India (Ford and Rockefeller) and supported almost 7,000 artists and scholars (John Simon Guggenheim). Even such everyday items as Pyrex glass and the outer white lines on highways are the result of efforts by the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the Dorr Foundation.

Warpath: Despite these successes, foundations have often had to fight to protect their sovereign status. Congressional committees, which once suspected that foundations were nothing more than shrewd schemes for holding on to great fortunes, later worried that they were serving international Communism. Today certain foundations are under attack from liberals who decry the right-wing pamphleteering that masks itself as educational activity. Some critics claim that large foundations are a benevolent-aid society for the Eastern Establishment: Dean Rusk went from the State Department to Rockefeller to State, John W. Gardner from Carnegie to HEW and last week McGeorge Bundy went from the White House to Ford. And the occasional abuses of the tax-exempt status of foundations for private gain has Wright Patman of Texas on the warpath again.

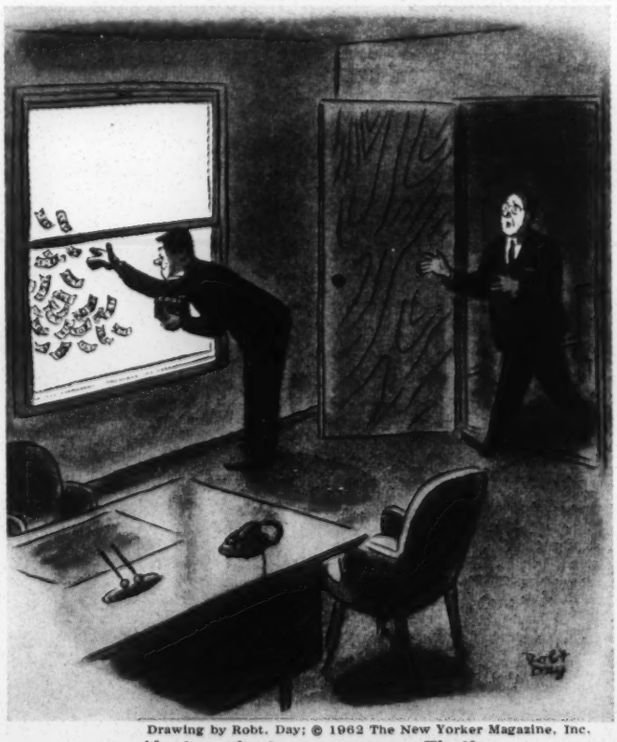
"We still suffer from the old John D. Rockefeller kerosene trust," the 72-year-old congressman said last week. "Foundations are perpetuating themselves in office. It's like feudal Europe." He proposes limiting the lives of foundations to 25 years, a remedy already rejected by the Treasury Department. But in a 1965 report on foundation tax exemption, the department recommended tighter restrictions on foundation finances, including a law barring them from owning more than 20 per cent of a business.

Slow Beat: Significantly, philanthropoids themselves are re-examining the foundations. "Philanthropy generally is not attuned to the tempo of the times," John D. Rockefeller III said recently. "We are prone to be too complacent." One reason for the discontent is the fact that foundations no longer enjoy a benevolent monopoly.

The Ford Foundation was once described as "a large body of money surrounded by a lot of people who want some." Foundations in the Great Society are large bodies of money surrounded by even more money—that of the Federal government. In nearly all the traditional foundation fields—education, health, international aid and research—the government is now spending more than the private foundations. And, significantly, much of the money is going for research and development of new ideas.

Turnabout: The government's National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities promises to be one particularly adventurous agency and may even reverse traditional roles. Arts council chairman, Roger Stevens, has authority to finance pilot projects and then ask private foundations to put up matching funds or take over the projects. While foundations claim that they are the venture capital in a pluralistic economy, examples like this have prompted critics to say that government has captured the lead in innovation as well. Foundations, in short, are being forced to search for new purposes for their billions.

One critic on record that the Federal government often makes better grants than private foundations is the Ford's new president, 46-year-old McGeorge Bundy, who once sought grants when he was a Harvard dean. "Bundy arrives," says a top Ford officer, "when a congruence of forces both within and outside the foundation make it a critical time to have a younger man in charge of the foundation's fortune."



Drawing by Robt. Day; © 1962 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

'Just a minute, young man. That's not quite the way we do things here at the Ford Foundation'

"When McGeorge Bundy was announced," cracked one staffer, "a lot of people ran to the windows to jump." But so far Bundy, who can be ruthlessly efficient when he must, has been rather genial. At a meeting with the foundation's officers on his first day in office last week he managed, says one impressed staffer, "to give everybody the idea we were going places. I've seen people take over organizations before, but never with a tour de force like this." Then Bundy made a tour of the cramped Ford offices on New York's Madison Avenue (the foundation will move to new twelve-story headquarters near the United Nations Building next March), introducing him-

Newsweek—Phil MacMullan

Ford's Bundy: 'Applied intelligence'

self to everyone including secretaries.

Nevertheless, some of the jumpiness among the 147-man professional staff is justified. Bundy probably will trim Ford's administrative pyramid to achieve greater flexibility. One prospective appointment: the State Department's David Bell may come in July to be international vice president.

Lollipops: Foundations can be called trusts, funds, societies or endowments, and they can support anything the IRS will allow as charitable, social, religious or educational. The purpose can be as lofty as Rockefeller's ("to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world") or as circumscribed as that of The Lollipop Foundation of America which distributes 300,000 all-day suckers each year to hospitalized children. The Benefit Shoe Foundation offers persons with one foot single shoes, the Mount Everest Foundation will assist U.S. mountain climbers, two foundations stand ready to help preserve the prairie chicken and the Headache Research Foundation has an obvious mission. And "until the end of the world," schoolchildren in Scotch Plains and Fanwood, N.J., are promised a scoop of ice cream a year by the Dr. Coles Trust Fund.

The most influential contributions, however, have not been made by such scattered hands. By near unanimous opinion three foundations stand out above all. "It would be awfully hard to find any money in the U.S.," claims University of California president Clark Kerr, "as well spent as that spent by Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller."

Andrew Carnegie preached a gospel of wealth to his fellow millionaires which held that their "surplus wealth" should be treated as a "public trust." Before income tax was a problem, the immigrant Scot argued that wealthy people had an obligation to help those who had the talent and will to follow.

For his part, John D. Rockefeller felt a religious obligation to give, but he, Carnegie and other industrial captains soon found their wealth outstripped their capacity to disperse it. Concerned that their philanthropy be capricious, they seized on the foundation as a way to spend money as efficiently as their corporations made it. Carnegie, after establishing numerous specialized funds, founded the first general-research foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, with $25 million in 1911. The Rockefeller Foundation was incorporated in 1913 with $35 million, later received $148 million more from its founder.

Exodus: Ford, the third member of the Big Three in foundations, was a product of post-World War II taxes. "The man who dies rich," Carnegie had argued, "dies disgraced." The IRS also made sure the rich couldn't leave very much anyway, causing a mass exodus of wealth into foundation havens. For Henry and Edsel Ford, the foundation device offered a convenient way "to advance human welfare" and at the same time keep the Ford company in the family—it would have had to sell most of the stock to pay estate taxes when they died. The foundation inherited 88 per cent of the Fords' stock (non-voting), creating what may remain the world's largest foundation.

The major foundations, and the best of the smaller funds, still "advance human welfare," but selectively. Foundations account for only 8 per cent of private giving, but their influence has come from their ability to use money to get at the causes of problems and encourage more money to follow. "Big foundations like Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie," says John W. Gardner, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare on leave from the presidency of Carnegie Corporation, "have an extraordinary opportunity to look beyond crises of the day, dig deeper and arrive at independent judgments they can make available to the people."

If the ends of philanthropy remain

Newsweek—Robert R. McElroy

Carnegie's Pifer: Small and bright

Newsweek—Phil MacMullan

Rockefeller's Harrar: Broad mission

basically the same, the means have changed considerably from the days when a John D. Rockefeller could hear about the evils of hookworm and decide to eradicate it. Now, the money is dispensed by philanthropoids (a term coined by former Carnegie Corporation president Frederick P. Keppel). In major foundations, these men are polished specialists operating under defined programs. Typically, the philanthropoid is an ex-academic or government bureaucrat who travels widely looking for new ideas and talent.

Money Men: "The philanthropoid is not particularly imaginative," says one former foundation man who has returned to teaching. "He might have become a dean or vice provost—he's happier in administration." But many are extraordinarily able men drawn by the foundations' power to effect change, and Harvard's David Riesman claims that "some of the most reflective men I know are in foundations."

A problem for philanthropoids is the awe and obeisance of some of the people they deal with. James W. Armsey, who administers Ford's lucrative ($277 million thus far) matching-grant program for colleges, ruefully notes that "every phrase I write is scrutinized and dissected for meaning." So strong is Armsey's word that one college president admits "there are a lot of us who would run down Fifth Avenue naked if Jim Armsey said it would help get one of his grants." Peter Caws, a former officer at Carnegie, observed that "wherever you go you are welcome, every suggestion you make is regarded as a special kind of illumination from above. When I went to Carnegie, a friend told me, 'You'll never have another honest conversation again in your life'."

Bishoprics: Hovering around the major foundations are a variety of specialists, usually in the academic world, who consult or informally advise the philanthropoid. "Each foundation has its

bishopric," explains one of Ford's academic bishops. "If you look at the professors on the senior level of any university you can distinguish to what bishopric each belongs." Serving the foundations this way can be lucrative in more ways than prestige and access to grant money. Foundation executives, says Carnegie acting president Alan Pifer, frequently make recommendations for college presidents and deans, and they tend to nominate those they know.

Each foundation has a distinct style. Although it is one of the youngest large foundations, Ford is already one of the most highly bureaucratized. Graced with a larger endowment than ever before imagined in philanthropy, Ford has struggled to find a sensible way to manage its fortune. But while critics fault Ford for being "bureaucratized," Ford has managed to move effectively. Last year, for example, it allocated $85 million for orchestras, and it has created "satellite" organizations such as Educational Facilities Laboratories, which tests ideas in school construction.

In the early years when Paul Hoffman and Robert M. Hutchins ran the foundation, Ford was a whirling picture of innovation, liberalism and occasionally zany grants. "Every now and then the newspapers would pick up some wild grant," recalls a staffer at the time, "and Henry [Ford II] would come in and roar 'Jesus Christ, why can't we be a nice foundation like Rockefeller?' "

Eventually the trustees found a man more to their tastes, Henry T. Heald, who, with a background in engineering, had proven himself an able administrator at Illinois Institute of Technology and New York University. Under Heald, Ford gained coherency, pioneered in the U.S. and abroad in poverty, education and birth control, but, say some, failed to use all its resources imaginatively.

The Way Up: Ford grants usually carry a long internal history (page 90). Every grant must work its way through a "discussion paper" prepared for the staff officers in a particular program, such as education. The next step takes it to all the officers and, finally, through the president to the trustees. Trustee approval of programs or projects is far from automatic. The trustees are bankers like Eugene R. Black, publishers like John Cowles and academic administrators like new chairman Julius A. Stratton. "Given this world," says one Ford staffer, "they are liberal men among conservatives." "In presenting proposals," he adds, "we don't make a grant seem like a breaking-down-the-barricades proposition."

To skeptics, the system hasn't worked very well. "It's a contradiction in terms," scoffs Hutchins, "to say a mammoth organization is going to be adventurous. Picture the Ford board at a meeting —it's almost a drain on the intelligence just to imagine all those weighty responsibilities they have taken on in so many places." And to insiders, the foundation has not always been a happy place in recent years. Even some admirers of Heald felt his stewardship had grown heavy-handed. Heald, who maintained that a foundation should be a "cutting edge," indirectly answered charges that the foundation hadn't been cutting enough by noting in his last annual report that "a vast amount of social change consists of skillful, painstaking introduction and perfection of ideas already articulated—processes that do not attract brilliant spotlights." And despite the fact that the foundation has sold a large part of its Ford stock, Heald says that "people at the Ford Motor Co. were at times just as unhappy as they could be over some of our actions."

Talent Scouts: Before the rise of the Ford superfoundation, the biggest spender was the Rockefeller Foundation. An early supporter of basic research, the foundation has had enviable success in picking talent: about one-third of the winners of Nobel Prizes for science or medicine received, some time before the award, Rockefeller money for their research. Fittingly, the foundation commands a 42-story-high view of New York, but in organization it resembles a graduate school. For a long time the staff was divided into various academic disciplines, and recently the foundation reorganized into inter-disciplinary areas, just as the most up-to-date campuses have. Even the board of trustees has a strong academic orientation—nine of its nineteen members hold positions in colleges or universities.

With at least half of its $33 million annual budget going to overseas projects, Rockefeller has often led the way for U.S. Government foreign aid. A significant example of the foundation's ability to move years before the government was Rockefeller's project in Mexico, which increased corn, wheat and bean production threefold in twenty years. But when Washington is willing, Rockefeller president J. George Harrar says he is eager "to collaborate with the [U.S.] government."

Rockefeller is also willing to join with other foundations. The International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, which may revolutionize agriculture in the Far East, is staffed by Rockefeller, but the $7.5 million starting cost was paid by Ford.

The Carnegie Corporation, which has an annual budget of $12 million, takes pride in its unbureaucratic ways. It makes a point of congeniality and invention. The doors at its Fifth Avenue offices are open to grant-seekers. "Carnegie," says corporation secretary Florence Anderson, "likes to be a cutting

THE BIG SPENDERS

Foundations with more than $100 million in assets in 1964 (latest year available):

	in millions of dollars
1. **FORD** Big money for all fields except religion and health	3,871
2. **ROCKEFELLER** Health, welfare work, much of it abroad	862
3. **DUKE** Aid to North and South Carolina hospitals, churches, colleges	596
4. **KELLOGG** Medical training, adult education, agriculture	492
5. **MOTT** Benefactor of an entire city—Flint, Michigan	418
6. **HARTFORD (JOHN A.)** Medical research, kidney transplants, lasers	397
7. **CARNEGIE CORP.** Studies and experiments in education	344
8. **SLOAN** Stanford, MIT, cancer research, Negro scholarships	298
9. **BISHOP (BERNICE P.)** Hawaiian education	287
10. **PEW** Religious, patriotic causes; Pennsylvania charities	264
11. **LONGWOOD** Du Pont's gardens, hospital and college construction	251
12. **MOODY** All to Texas — churches, hospitals, colleges	242
13. **LILLY** Indiana colleges, Christian and patriotic groups	234
14. **ROCKEFELLER BROS.** Family charities, studies of U.S. policy	210
15. **COMMONWEALTH** Medical education and fellowships	156
16. **DANFORTH** Fellowships for graduates, chaplains, professors	146
17. **AVALON** Performing arts, colleges, medical schools	138
18. **WATERMAN** Philadelphia youth groups, hospitals, schools	134
19. **KETTERING (CHARLES F.)** Cancer, photosynthesis research; education	121
20. **CARNEGIE INSTITUTION** Basic scientific research by staff	113
21. **OLD DOMINION** Fine arts, mental health, conservation	103
22. **FLEISCHMANN (MAX C.)** Mostly Nevada charities	103
23. **CLEVELAND** First and largest of "community" foundations	102

edge for other foundations. We're smaller, so we have to be brighter."

Under the leadership of John Gardner, whose influence far exceeded the grants he approved, Carnegie was among the most imaginative of foundations. Shortly after World War II, Carnegie funded the Russian Research Center at Harvard, setting an example for area-study centers at universities. Other foundations, notably Ford and Rockefeller, have since put their greater resources behind the idea. Carnegie began supporting new mathematics curriculums a year before Sputnik I and paid for James Bryant Conant's influential studies of American schools.

The foundation's flexibility has allowed it to react more quickly to small, individual requests for funds than some of the larger foundations. John Kenneth Galbraith reports he had little trouble

Newsweek—Jeff Lowenthal

Chicago's O'Brien: How to succeed

persuading Carnegie in 1950 to give him a modest grant to allow him time for developing one of the first courses on the economics of developing countries.

Full Harvest: Traditionally, universities and colleges have been a favorite planting ground for foundation money. Rockefeller's General Education Board spent $95 million to help make American medical schools among the best in the world. Carnegie pioneered in establishing music and art as part of the college curriculum. Ford granted $260 million to raise teachers' salaries across the nation and sponsors the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, which gives scholarships to top high-school graduates. It also pioneered in teacher education. Danforth and Wilson fellowships have encouraged some of the best students to continue on in graduate school to become college teachers. And individual foundation programs in various disciplines have prodded universities into new areas of study and, in many ways, prepared the ground for the multiversity built with Federal funds.

But foundation dollars can be a mixed blessing. Foundations, reports Wisconsin historian Merle Curti, have made universities become "places where talented scholars hang their hats while pursuing the answers to problems of advanced research." These "executive professors" with foundation connections can fly around the world on consulting or research missions almost at will. "The amount of money you can get for research," says Columbia's Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "is practically infinite." Projectitis, the disease of obsessive group research, is growing. Economist Galbraith, who is a trustee of the Twentieth Century Fund, is "struck with how scarce good projects are," particularly since the fund gets so many requests from "people who want to be great entrepreneurs of research, sitting on top of a project pyramid. The failure rate," he reports, "is pretty high." An important side effect of projectitis, of course, is that teaching is downgraded and Berkeley fever begins to spread among students.

Name Game: Nonetheless, grantsmanship remains among the most popular of academic activities. Like speaking a foreign language, grant-seeking is easy and enjoyable for those who know how, but rather difficult for the uninitiated. A lot depends on whom you know.

A grant, says master fund-raiser Richard F. O'Brien, who lured $113 million to Stanford before taking over the University of Chicago's $160 million drive, often begins informally. "A faculty member has an idea, and when he's in New York he drops in at a foundation where there are people he knows. If they think the idea sounds good, the faculty member comes back and draws up a formal proposal." For a neophyte who thinks in modest terms, O'Brien stands ready to "help him shape the proposals, making sure, for example, he has anticipated all costs, reminding him that he can get aid for assistants and equipment."

"What it boils down to in the end," says David C. McClelland, professor of psychology at Harvard, "is that if someone on the inside has confidence in you, you get the grant. Once you get above a certain level of visibility, the opportunities are fantastic."

Though most major universities and colleges keep a constant check on foundation interests and such friendly contacts as alumni on boards of trustees, when a school embarks on a major hunt for capital, foundation-watching and wooing becomes a major administration preoccupation. At the University of Southern California, where a twenty-year master-plan drive for $106.7 million may be achieved this spring, only five

STOREFRONT LAW: ANATOMY OF A GRANT

Mrs. Aubrey Potts, 31, of New Haven, Conn., was having her troubles. Her rent was unpaid and her landlord ordered eviction when he suspected that one of her five children had set a fire in the apartment building. She lost her driver's license after an accident, and she wanted to divorce her husband, claiming desertion. On a nurse's aide's salary of $62 a week, Mrs. Potts could hardly afford the cost of a lawyer to straighten out the mess. But following a friend's advice, Mrs. Potts found one lawyer, who helped her recover her apartment and is trying to recover her license. Another is handling the divorce. This battery of legal talent has cost her nothing. In effect, the Ford Foundation paid the bills by way of a sizable grant to the Legal Assistance Association, Inc., (LAA) of New Haven, a group of lawyers who have established storefront law offices in poor neighborhoods.

The dollars that helped Mrs. Potts were part of a much larger effort to remedy a serious defect in the administration of U.S. justice. Though the poor are more apt to get arrested, they often have no adequate counsel; though they often suffer from the depredations of loan sharks, slumlords and finance companies, they have the least access to legal advice.

Step One: Few of the legal applications submitted to the Ford Foundation were concerned with this widespread and depressing situation when William Pincus joined the foundation's public-affairs program in 1957. Most grant proposals came from law schools, and the academic mind tended to look down on the problems of criminal law as being intellectually uninteresting. And the foundation itself, Pincus recalls, "had a tendency to take for granted that research and education were good. Rarely was the test from a social point of view—how to give more benefits to more people." So Pincus, a former government lawyer with the born reformer's drive to help the underdog, began a campaign to convince both the legal profession and the foundation of the need for change. In 1959, the first step toward a broader effort was taken with an $800,000 Ford grant to the National Legal Aid and Defender Association —an organization that encourages le-

Newsweek—Bernard Gotfryd

Legal Aid office in New Haven: Rebalancing justice

gal assistance to persons unable to afford a lawyer. Ford asked NLADA to set up clinics to interest law students in the problems of the poor.

Working closely with NLADA, Ford then developed the National Defender Project to provide more direct legal assistance. By constitutional right, defendants are entitled to representation in a criminal case; but in many states, the poor and the powerless were being denied their rights. Just three months after the Ford trustees approved the $2.3 million Defender Project appropriation, the Supreme Court extended this constitutional right to the states in the Gideon v. Wainwright decision.

The money allowed NLADA to devise several experiments to demonstrate what an adequate defense ought to be like; it also channeled money into existing legal programs. In New Haven, paid lawyers set up shop first in two community schools, later in storefront law offices. In Philadelphia, a "circuit-riding" lawyer visited jails and investigated prisoner complaints of unfair trials (15 per cent had a case valid enough for the lawyer to help them file writs of habeas corpus). In Boston, a team of lawyers and students represented the poor in misdemeanor cases, and in Houston a NLADA project may lead to a state law requiring every lawyer to take on some impoverished clients.

Full Defense: Many of these cities were given priority for the Defender Project money because they were part of Ford's "gray areas" program, another imaginative foundation venture with profound social implications (it later became the prototype for the Federal poverty war).

In New Haven, for example, Ford workers and city officials developed a comprehensive anti-poverty program which included neighborhood centers in the schools, job retraining, and one of the first big pre-school programs. This direct involvement in community action in turn led to the inclusion of LAA. Its lawyers provide help for defendants in criminal cases and also advise people coming to the offices on all kinds of legal problems and initiate civil suits when necessary. Pincus was able to get this started by combining the Defender and gray-areas funds. Showing the poor how to initiate their own suits stirs up opponents most. "This is swaying the balance between two litigants," complains a New Haven lawyer, also a landlord. "The cards are stacked against the man of average means.

Insurance: But those on the other side pass a considerably better judgment. "I don't know what I would have done without it," says Mrs. Potts. Most of the 625 persons helped during the last eight months of 1965 had never had legal advice before. Says Frederick Danforth, director of the project: "We want to teach people the usefulness of a lawyer."

Another mark of success is imitation. The Office of Economic Opportunity has already started similar projects in 23 cities and hopes to spend $20 million this year. Predictably, mossback elements in the legal profession have charged the OEO program is "fomenting social unrest" and leading to "socialization" of lawyers.

The Ford men are delighted to see the government financing what they started, and they are now thinking ahead to other innovations, such as a legal-insurance plan patterned after Blue Cross. Because of the recent Supreme Court decision and programs like Ford's, Pincus notes, "communities now have a new category to think about—justice."

years after its commencement, a blackboard in the office of vice president Thomas P. Nickell Jr. gives a daily bulletin on the school's progress in matching a $7.5 million Ford grant on a basis of $3 for every $1 of Ford's. "A Ford grant," says Nickell, "is viewed as an international stamp of approval."

The Shadow: But foundations are finding it is harder than ever to make a real difference. Money doesn't buy as much as it used to, and foundations are a relatively smaller source of money in the society than they used to be. "Foundations," predicts Cornell president James A. Perkins, "are not going to have the visibility they used to have. Ford is the only one left with enough money to go into an area and create a real change in institutions. But ten years from now even Ford won't be big enough to change institutions."

The Federal government casts the major shadow over the foundation's path, and staying ahead of Washington's public philanthropy, admits Ford vice president W. McNeil Lowry, "is a far more acute and difficult job in 1966 than ever before." Foundation ideas are being pirated before foundations have had a chance to work them out. Some of the cutting-edge thinking behind Ford's gray-areas program was quickly adopted by the War on Poverty. The government has moved in so quickly, in fact, that foundation officers often fly to Washington for briefings on what's new.

As politically daring as the Great Society appears to be, there still remain many areas where government fears to tread or lacks the necessary dexterity. And even though government may spend more, foundations can make a considerable case for not deserting their former pastures. "Counter-cyclical giving" is the foundation phrase for it, meaning that private money can be used to correct distortions or fill in the gaps of government programs. "I'm becoming a great believer in competition in the public interest," says Paul N. Ylvisaker, director of Ford's public-affairs program.

Appraiser: Another option for foundations is the job of public investigator and appraiser—both of what is happening with Washington's money and in other areas of society. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund demonstrated the possibilities of foundation appraisals in a series of six reports on public policy in 1958-60, and top Carnegie officials feel one of Carnegie's most important roles in the future may be in evaluations of government and other institutions.

Of the various outlets for foundation money and imagination, however, the problems of civil rights, and the poverty and disintegration in the cities may offer the greatest opportunities, even if most foundations have been slow in seizing them. The inability of the government

to assure civil rights by law and the still inconclusive battles being fought in the poverty war have left plenty of room for "risk capital" to maneuver, but foundations as a group have hesitated to act.

It is ironic that most foundations should have been so myopic about civil rights. The first substantial foundation in the United States, the Peabody Education Fund, spent much of its money on Negro education in the Reconstruction South, and Carnegie initiated and supported Gunnar Myrdal's study of the Negro in America which produced his epochal book, "An American Dilemma." But it took the Civil Rights Act to pry loose much money for Negro aid outside schools. In 1964 all foundations spent $2.3 million on race relations. The figure jumped to a still modest $27 million last year. An official of the Urban League, which has received some support, feels foundations "have just been piddling. They still retain the stereotypes. They ask, what does the Negro want?"

Small Voices: Getting out of the universities and into the streets involves real risk. "We don't need to do all that much more thinking," declares Harvard's McClelland, "we need some people acting. And we need some new types of institutions to allow us to bring the know-how we already have to bear on the actual problem." On the whole only small foundations have been willing to try. The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation has used some of its small resources to aid SNCC workers, and the $43 million Field Foundation, in civil rights since 1944, last year aided a program of voter-registration education for Southern Negroes and supported a program to help communities adjust when Negroes move into white Chicago suburbs. Taconic and New World are two other small foundations with imaginative social-action programs. Unfortunately, these have been only small voices, usually speaking without major foundation assistance.

There are hopes that Ford, which has supported education and now the arts so lavishly, will soon accelerate its work on social problems. It has recently been active in planning projects for the Watts section of Los Angeles. And McGeorge Bundy is not a man with patience for overextended studies. He has said he appreciates "applied intelligence"—knowledge that reflects "a sense of political responsibility, with an awareness that action has consequences." He is likely to seek the same sort of consequential thought at Ford.

The foundation has already started to "think about what schools will be like in the 21st century," a project which involves thinking about what the cities of that time will be like. Says Bundy, "I don't think there's any shortage of problems and opportunities for foundations."

Peggy at 17

Neophyte skater Peggy Fleming was 12 years old when the jet airliner carrying the entire U.S. figure-skating team crashed in Brussels in 1961. All eighteen American skaters and most of their trainers and officials were killed, including three close friends of Peggy's and her coach, Bill Kipp. "I was still young," she recalls, "and it was too hard to believe. It took time to get over it."

It took U.S. figure-skating fortunes time to recover, too. "To become an expert skater," said Pierre Brunet, who coached America's Carol Heiss to an Olympic championship in 1960, "takes from six to ten years, depending on the individual."

Brunet was partly right. From 1961 to last week's finals for the 1966 championship at Davos, Switzerland, no American skater had come close to a world or Olympic title. Then petite Peggy Fleming showed how one determined individual could go beyond expert status to perfection in just five years.

Not long after the crash, shy Peggy began a grueling schedule which gradually escalated to her present six-day-a-week agenda: she rises daily at 5 a.m., practices from 6 to 10:30, goes to high school or, on Saturdays, rests and practices again at 5:30 p.m. for two hours. The family makes the required sacrifices, too. It costs the Flemings about $5,000 annually for Peggy's lessons, ice time, travel and costumes. To pay the bills, her father, Albert Fleming, works overtime as a newspaper pressman.

Altitude: In 1964, Peggy won the first of her three national titles, following it up with a sixth-place in the 1964 Winter Olympics and third in last year's international meet in Colorado Springs, Colo. But Peggy, who learned to skate in Cleveland at 9, might have done better at Colorado Springs if she hadn't been fatigued by the high-altitude competition. Her father, who can work anywhere, and whose family has lived in 40 states, thought of the 1966 meet at 5,164-foot-high Davos and remedied that. He moved his wife and four daughters from California to Colorado Springs. His new house is a half-mile from the Broadmoor Hotel's excellent facilities and his daughter now has the benefit of Italian-born Carlo Fassi's coaching. "Peggy is built to be a good dancer," Fassi said of his 108-pound protégé. "We have been building up her stamina."

Peggy, now 17 years old, went to Davos brimming with confidence. The auburn-haired high-school senior wore a 10-gallon hat off the ice to show people she was a Westerner. And on the rink, in her lavender-colored costume, she coolly went into each move as if she never made a mistake in her life. "There are lots of disappointments," she says of her errors, then adds: "Sometimes I fight against being human."

UPI — Birnback — Associated Press

Peggy Fleming's winning form at Davos: 'Built . . .

Matched against 1965 winner Petra Burka of Canada (only four defending champions have lost in 60 years) and Gabriele Seyfert of East Germany for the title, Peggy all but clinched the women's championship on the first day. Her compulsory figures, which count for 60 per cent of the total score, were nearly flawless. But instead of protecting a solid 49-point lead over Miss Burka with careful routines, Peggy decided on an all-out exhibition in free-skating. "I have to leave her alone when the big day comes," Fassi says. "She knows exactly what she's doing and always chooses the best part of the ice."

Leaping through double axels and pirouetting in a bright winter sun, Peggy gracefully skated away with the title. After her four-minute routine, she squinted to catch the nine judges' score cards. Smiling wryly, she counted off nine 1's—for perfect.

Peggy's family and trainer expected

FOUNDATIONS FS
Administration file

REPORT TO THE SRC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
From Josephine Wilkins, Chairman
April 29, 1966

Since this is the first meeting of the Committee under the new appointments, let me begin with a brief review of it to date.

You will recall that the Development Committee was created by the Executive Committee and held its organizational meeting shortly before the 1964 Annual Meeting of SRC. Its assignment was three-fold: to plan for the long-range funding of SRC, to advise with the staff on it, and to assist as it could with the funding.

You will further recall that the Committee grew out of pressure from two sources, pressure from some of SRC's major foundation support, and pressure from the state Councils on Human Relations. The foundations felt that the time had come when SRC should begin looking to the South itself for support to meet the cost of its general operation, and to foundations for special-project support only. The state Councils were vocal in their feeling that they were not participating proportionately in the financial growth of SRC, pointing out that SRC grants to them had remained approximately the same since 1957 when they were made independent bodies.

Meanwhile, as a result of the large special-project grant from the Ford Foundation and the agreement as to the per cent that will go to general operation for administration, SRC's financial situation has eased markedly for the next three years. And the $300,000 three-year grant to SRC from Ford for support of the state Councils has eased their situation for that time as well. Still, we nonetheless have before us the long-range planning for the funding of SRC.

I would like to summarize what seems to me to be the results thus far from the establishment of the Committee.

One, SRC has always been a staff operation, and an excellent one. It has had ad hoc committees appointed from policy for specific tasks, such as selecting a speaker, a new director, making nominations; and had standing committees from policy that serve actually as review boards for staff recommendations. But in creating the Development Committee, SRC has for the first time in its history set up a standing committee composed of policy members for involvement in the funding of the organization.

Two, for the first time an attempt has been made to involve the entire membership in the problems of SRC's funding, done through the letter you each sent last fall with the approval of the Executive Committee, to those Council members in your state.

Three, in structuring the Committee with one member from each state, SRC seems to have hit upon a vehicle that can be used at times to bring the entire Council membership closer to SRC, i.e., by each committee member assuming responsibility for contacting the other SRC members in his state, as illustrated by your letters last fall.

Four, reports from the Committee members indicate that dialogue has been started in each of the states that should in time result in some financial support, for either the state Councils or SRC.

Five, there has been an increase in the number of SRC members giving financial support to the Council, a sort of symbolic evidence of involvement. The letters sent by you last fall resulted in an increase from four member contributors in '64, to eighteen last year, for

the amount of $3,545. This included two $1,000 contributions which unlocked an equal amount of Stern's matching grant, making the yet modest total of $5,545.

Six, lastly, and the most important, the Committee has worked its way through numerous funding ideas, and in the process a far clearer picture of SRC's funding situation and its potentials comes into focus.

The costs of the Committee have thus far been slight, $547 up to the end of the year. To this should now be added $190, expense of a recent trip made by the Executive Assistant to talk with certain of those with whom he was associated when he was executive director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. This brings the total cost to date to $746.

Obviously, to fill in any sense the assignment given us has required thought in depth on SRC. And one naturally has begun with a fresh look at what we have here.

We have an organization operating in an area caught up in social revolution, and itself a significant part of that revolution.

An organization dependent upon the public for financial support. And one now grown to a million-dollar operation -- nothing comparable has ever before been made available for such work in the South!

We have an operation carried on in the name of one hundred people over the South, who meet once a year and who place their confidence in fifteen people, the Executive Committee, who in turn meet quarterly and place their confidence, in the final analysis, in one person, the Executive Director.

We have an operation grown at such a pace these past years that it has raced, so to speak, to keep up with itself. I am close enough to the office to

know what this has meant for the staff. For Les, and particularly for Paul, confronted as he was with administration of the large special-projects grant from Ford almost immediately on taking office last October.

We have an organization that has always been foundation oriented, supported mainly by national foundations. Because of this we have been able to build a major organization in the South and carry on work counter to the prevailing mores of the South.

We are now in the process of long-range planning to broaden the base of SRC's support to the South itself. And make no mistake about it, the decisions made and the pattern set will affect markedly the future of SRC.

Let me point up some of our groping for a right pattern for this broader funding.

It seems already clear that promotion of bequests, a source of unrestricted funds, should be included in any plan for future support. And as a general policy, that as potential contributors, individuals over the South should be left to the state Councils.

We have found southern foundations to be numerous, but with few exceptions small, their purposes not only quite limited but restricted mostly to paliatives, and all committed even more so than the national foundations to the general policy of making grants to projects only. Hardly without exception their trustees are from that sector frequently termed "the establishment."

I have had several conferences with two of the larger Atlanta foundations, their executive friends of longstanding. On my last visit to one of them, undoubtedly in a gesture of cooperation, he talked frankly about the making of grants. "Foundation trustees are on the whole conservative," he said, "and they are disturbed by changes taking place. Consciously or

unconsciously, this influences their decisions. In considering an application they invariably look down the roster of board members for those in whom they have confidence. SRC needs," he said, "to bring onto its board some people like....," naming several of Atlanta's most conservative financial leaders.

Over the years, SRC has worked on quietly in the South. By and large, the southern status quo, so to speak, does not know that the Council exists. But foundation officials call for records, as they should, and make a thorough study of an organization applying for a grant. One is left with the question as to whether SRC could have become the organization it now is, or year after year could have continued as the constructive force it has been in the South, had some of those so influential as the usual southern foundation official quietly expressed concern over the work. We will doubtless need careful selectivity here in the future funding of SRC.

Still, the enlightened self-interest of the great national business corporations may yet prove to be the most potential source of unrestricted future support for the Council. Certainly we should be able to make a telling case of SRC's role thus far in the growth of the South and the organization's potential in that future growth. Numerous advisory conferences along this line have taken place, and it is in this field that my own interest and committee work has been mainly centered. But here we need to think large, and not proceed without well thought-out plans and supportive data.

The Executive Director feels that SRC might possibly be able to provide for its general operation costs in still another way. Continue to seek and rely on the national foundations for special-project funds, but

with their approval increase to 20% the amount regularly assigned to general operation for administration. Then try to build up our sale of materials to where the amount from that source, together with the 20%, the interest from funds held and invested, and such other foundation funds as we might receive, would collectively meet the cost of general operation.

I lay these thoughts before you for whatever help they may be as we continue our effort to meet the Committee's assignment.

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FORD FINDS PERIL IN SOCIAL UNREST

FOUNDATIONS

Asserts Nation Must Erase Conditions That Lead to 'Anger and Frustration'

NYT 5/4/66

Excerpts from Ford's speech will be found on Page 26.

By WALTER RUGABER
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 3—Henry Ford 2d suggested today that the nation "must move more rapidly to solve its social problems and thereby eliminate the conditions that breed anger and frustration and blind rebellion."

Mr. Ford, in a speech prepared for delivery tonight, traced a gloomy "common thread" in contemporary American life and found "a strong element of antagonism and mistrust" that he said threatened "order and responsibility and tradition."

Mr. Ford, board chairman of the Ford Motor Company, warned:

"The greatest danger to a civilized nation is the man who has no stake in it, and nothing to lose by rejecting all that civilization stands for."

"Those who are more fortunate," Mr. Ford asserted, "including the leaders of the business world, have a duty to their country and themselves to join the war on poverty, on discrimination, on ignorance, on unemployment."

Cites Social Ills

The industrialist, who assumed direction of the world's third-largest manufacturing complex in 1945 and now holds $70-million worth of company stock, noted that there were "too many people in poverty, too many unemployed, too many living in slums, too many victims of prejudice and discrimination."

"The economic and technological triumphs of the past few years have not solved as many problems as we thought they would," Mr. Ford said, "and, in fact, have brought us new problems we did not foresee."

Mr. Ford was to deliver his remarks at a dinner session of the annual convention of the National Association of Purchasing Agents in Cobo Hall. He cited a series of social ills, among them the following:

¶The growth of violence in our national life, including urban crime, juvenile vandalism, and "irresponsible and lawless protests and demonstrations by young people in the name of peace or free speech or civil rights or white supremacy."

¶The excessive power of labor unions "under the law," which leads to "senseless strikes that do great harm to the public."

¶The evident growth of the far right and ultraliberals in

Continued on Page 26, Column 2

Excerpts From Ford's Talk in Detroit

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 3—Following are excerpts from the prepared text of a speech today by Henry Ford 2d to the 51st annual convention of the National Association of Purchasing Agents:

The economic and technological triumphs of the past few years have not solved as many problems as we thought they would and, in fact, have brought us new problems we did not foresee.

What really counts, when we measure social progress, is not the ingenuity of technology or the growth of national product, but the quality of our society and our individual lives. The basic measures of social achievement are such things as human satisfaction and fulfillment and the growth of harmony, goodwill and respect among men.

Our progress in these essentials has, I fear, been far less than our technological and economic progress. Of course, it's impossible to put a yardstick to the essentials of the good life. We can compute the gross national product; we cannot compute gross national satisfaction for good will.

The material and technical and scientific progress we have been making in recent years has not yielded, to my way of thinking, the satisfactions we had hoped for.

I'm troubled by the growth of violence in our national life—by the riots in Watts and Chicago and New York and other cities — by the growth of urban crime — the juvenile vandalism — by violent resistance to the laws guaranteeing the civil rights of all citizens — by the slaughter resulting from the crime of drunken driving.

I am troubled also by irresponsible and lawless protests and demonstrations by young people in the name of peace or free speech or civil rights or white supremacy. I am troubled by the tendency toward rebellion for its own sake.

I am disturbed that year after year nothing is done to moderate the excessive powers of labor unions under the law. Irresponsible unions indulge in senseless strikes that do great harm to the public, in order to enforce demands that limit productivity, increase inflationary pressure and reduce employment. It seems to me that we could find ways to correct the abuses committed by some unions without impairing the ability of unions to carry out their important, legitimate functions in our economy.

On the national political scene, I am troubled most by the evident growth of the far right and by the extreme stands of the ultra-liberals on the other side. When political strength settles at the extremes, compromise becomes impossible and moderation disappears. The only alternatives are deadlock—if the parties are equal in strength — or crushing defeat for the weaker side. In either case, the byproducts are bitterness and frustration.

With the hardening of extreme political positions, there is a growing tendency to assume that the function of politics is to induce everyone to fall in line behind some particular set of policies. I have always thought that the function of the political process was to provide a forum for the accommodatio n of conflicting views — rather than to convert everyone to the true faith.

Our nation always needs the strong opposition party, but this does not mean that the parties must be diametrically opposed on major issues. On the contrary, it means that both parties must be sufficiently within the mainstream of public opinion to have a real chance at the polls and therefore a real opportunity to influence policy.

I am concerned about the persistence within some elements in our national political life of the idea that business is the enemy of the people. Now, I don't expect that everybody will love the businessman, I don't expect business to be immune from investigation, criticism and regulation. Like everyone else, businessmen are often selfish, short-sighted and irresponsible and need to be called to account. Nevertheless after the experience of the past few years I should have thought that the connection between the pursuit of profit and the public welfare would be somewhat better recognized than it often seems to be. And I should have thought that fewer people would still be building careers by casting themselves as St. George slaying the business dragon.

The current traffic safety controversy is a good example of what I mean. I think it is fair to say that until very recently, most of the initiative for the improvement of traffic safety came from the automobile industry rather than from the public or from Government. Nevertheless, with the benefit of hindsight, I wish that we in the industry had done even more even sooner. Like everyone else who shares the responsibility for traffic safety—and this includes the general public and Government at all levels—we did not act soon enough and vigorously enough to help combat the rising toll of highway accidents.

On the other hand, the progress of traffic safety would have been served better by a more moderate and rational discussion. Automobiles have been subjected to much irresponsible and uninformed criticism. Too much effort has been devoted to assessing guilt, too little to the rational search for constructive solutions. The potential for improving safety through changes in vehicle design has been exaggerated, and the potential for major change through improvements in highways, drivers and law enforcement have been played down.

Before I end this catalogue of complaints, I should like to comment on one more very disturbing aspect of the political scene. As inflation picks up speed, the Government is putting more and more emphasis on the guideposts for prices and wages.

I have no quarrel with the idea that Government has a duty to remind private citizens of their responsibilities to the nation. But the Government has moved on from reminders to a considerable amount of pressure, applied mainly to business, and in a very few cases to labor. In effect, we are moving toward a kind of informal and very spotty price and wage control.

We are most fortunate, at this difficult time, to have the benefit of President Johnson's wise leadership. If we face our problems realistically, we can solve them and move on to new ones as we always have.

It seems to me that almost all of the specific problems I have mentioned have a common thread. The common thread is a strong element of antagonism and mistrust — antagonism between the young and their elders, between whites and Negroes, between people and their government, between conservatives and liberals, between many people — especially young people — and everything that stands for order and responsibility and tradition.

Perhaps the most important part of the answer is that our nation must move rapidly to solve its social problems and thereby eliminate the conditions that breed anger and frustration and blind rebellion. The greatest danger to a civilized nation is the man who has no stake in it, and nothing to lose by rejecting all that civilization stands for.

Those who are more fortunate, including the leaders of the business world, have a duty to their country and themselves to join the war on poverty, on discrimination, on ignorance, on unemployment. As long as these evils persist, our society will be diminished by crime and violence and demogoguery. In a country where business plays so important a role, it will always be a prime target for the demagogue who thrives in a climate of frustration and rebellion. The free enterprise system will not gain the respect and the acceptance it needs until all men share in the abundance that system provides.

Ford Finds Danger in Unrest, Bids Nation Erase Social Ills

national politics. He warned that the byproducts of political extremism were "bitterness and frustration."

¶More and more emphasis on the Federal Government's wage-price guideposts that supposedly restrain inflation by urging business and labor to hold wage and price increases within specified limits. Mr. Ford said the country was moving "toward a kind of informal and very spotty price and wage control."

¶The idea that business is the enemy of the people. He said he did not expect business to be immune from investigation, criticism and regulation, but "I should have thought that few people would still be building careers by casting themselves as Saine George slaying the business dragon."

Associated Press

Henry Ford 2d

Defense Auto Safety

The last point led Mr. Ford into another appraisal of the safety controversy.

"I think it is fair to say that until very recently, most of the initiative for the improvement of traffic safety came from the automobile industry rather than from the public or from government. Nevertheless, with the benefit of hindsight, I wish that we in the industry had done even more even sooner. Like everyone else who shares the responsibility for traffic safety—and this includes the general public and government at all levels—we did not act soon enough and vigorously enough to help combat the rising toll of highway accidents."

Mr. Ford asserted that the automobile had been "subjected to much irresponsible and uninformed criticism. He deplored that fact that the safety controversy had not been marked by "a more moderate and rational discussion." The potential for improvement through vehicle design changes, Mr. Ford said, is "exaggerated."

RALPH McGILL

FOUNDATIONS

Books That Are 'Fun to Read'

AC 5/12/66

An early childhood memory is of moving from a farm on the Tennessee River to the city of Chattanooga and of discovering the public library with its seeming acres of books. It was an excitement of considerable intensity. To be able to go every day and get a new book (if one could read that fast) was a never-ending wonder and delight.

An even greater pleasure was to have books that one owned. Most of us remember the first book read. Mine was read at about six years of age. It was about a missionary's small son in Africa and the experiences he and his playmates had with animals.

To have books that were one's very own was a pleasure not easily described. To be able to read and to like to read and to have books is a gift beyond compare.

All this is a preamble to one of today's problems and the beginning of doing something about it. The problem is that hundreds of thousands of children are learning to be able to read. But for many of them books are not easily come by—especially the adventure of looking over books and choosing one just for the pleasure of reading. A shocking number of homes have no books in them.

Book Grants

The Fund for the Advancement of Education, established by the Ford Foundation, has made grants totaling $486,500 for a series of experiments designed to encourage the reading and ownership of pleasurable books by disadvantaged children and adults. The books involved are not textbooks. They are the kind one reads for pleasure.

Volunteers in Service to

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Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) will be one of the organizations using funds for the grants. These volunteers work in urban slums, in areas of rural poverty, on Indian reservations, and in migrant worker camps. They work with persons of all ages.

The Fund grant will enable VISTA to equip its workers with lightweight portable libraries that will double as display racks. Titles in each "library" will vary according to the needs and capacities of the people at hand. Consultants from the National Book Committee will prepare advisory lists, but there will be maximum participation by the volunteers themselves.

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools is another agency participating in the grant. It will establish small libraries of high quality paperback books at predominantly Negro colleges and universities.

More than a hundred institutions will have a part in this experiment. A 12-member committee of faculty members, librarians and student leaders from these institutions has prepared a list of some 1,800 titles from which selections may be made.

Honor System

These will not be "library" books. They will be made readily available to students and will be loaned on the honor system. On many campuses the student government will be responsible for operating the experiment.

Smaller grants will finance experiments in other areas. North Carolina's statewide comprehensive school improvement project will enable about 17,000 children in 192 schools to select books for reading pleasure.

Some 800 small, isolated rural schools in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico and Utah will receive special "libraries" of children's books. Most of the near 20,000 youngsters in these schools do not have access to books that are "fun to read."

Similar experiments in other regions will enable the Fund to provide books for many thousands of adults and children. The experiment is designed to encourage the reading and ownership of books. It is a good experiment that can hardly fail.

Church and Lay Groups Join in Housing Drive

FOUNDATIONS

AC 6/27/66

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK — Several large Protestant denominations and secular groups have agreed to pool their resources in a multi-million dollar effort to stimulate the construction of low-rent housing throughout the country.

The new project is the first of its scope to involve both religious and secular agencies. It was announced by Urban America, Inc., a private nonprofit urban planning group here that will administer the program. It will be supported by several major churches, individuals and foundations, including the Ford Foundation.

The project will seek to encourage the formation of nonprofit corporations to sponsor low-rent housing throughout the country and to offer such groups enabling funds and technical assistance.

The United Church of Christ is already committed to the program, and approval is expected soon from the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Methodist church. The American Baptist Convention is considering participation.

Stephen R. Currier, president of Urban America, said the program will use an annual operating budget of approximately $1 million to release "hundreds of millions more" in federally insured mortgages and interest and rent subsidies under Federal Housing Legislation.

65.

file
FOUNDATIONS

July 25, 1966

Miss Brooke G. Harris
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Brooke:

Remarkably, we had just completed the information requested on receipt of your letter of July 18.

Enclosed is a narrative report of the school desegregation conferences, an accounting by state of the funds expended and our check for $3,686.13 representing the unexpended balance.

This was a good program and we are grateful to the New World Foundation for having made it possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

FOUNDATIONS

THE FORD FOUNDATION

Action For Equal Opportunity

by McGEORGE BUNDY

FORD FUND URGES F.C.C. TO CONSIDER NEW TV SATELLITE

FOUNDATIONS

Bundy Suggests Commercial Relay Income Be Used to Aid Educational Video

PROPOSAL CHALLENGED

Comsat and A.T.&T. Say Agency Lacks Authority to Approve System

The text of Bundy's letter will be found on Page 18.

By JACK GOULD

A revolutionary nationwide satellite television system that would use profits from the relay of commercial TV shows to finance noncommercial video was proposed yesterday by the Ford Foundation.

The country's largest philanthropic organization, through its new president, McGeorge Bundy, asked the Federal Communications Commission to consider creation of a nonprofit corporation to distribute TV programs across the county by satellite.

The step brought the foundation into immediate conflict with the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Both declared the commercial carriers should operate domestic satellites.

Social Usefulness Stressed

The Ford Foundation plan envisaged using the income derived from the national distribution of such shows as "Batman" and "Bonanza" to support a coast-to-coast live network of information and culture for home viewers, at least four channels of instructional TV for colleges and schools and six commercial channels.

Four satellites—one in each time zone—could each carry the 11 channels.

Mr. Bundy, president of the foundation since March 1, said the long-range social usefulness of the home screen should take priority over the possible loss of a "microscopic portion" of the total profitability of commercial communication carriers.

Mr. Bundy urged the F.C.C. to delay any thought of making an exclusive award of TV satellites to commercial carriers until the regulatory agency could explore other systems.

Authority Is Challenged

The basic idea of tapping program relay income to expand national educational TV originated chiefly with Fred W. Friendly, former president of the news division of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Mr. Friendly is now television adviser to Mr. Bundy.

The foundation contended that the F.C.C. already has the power to authorize such a satellite system and that the act creating Comsat anticipated additional systems to meet unique national needs.

Comsat, in a brief that did not refer to the Ford plan, told the F.C.C. that it was sole chosen instrument of Congress to operate satellite systems and that the commission lacked authority to authorize a rival.

A.T.&T. submitted a brief arguing that it would be against

Continued on Page 18, Column 1

Ford Fund Proposes a New Commercial Satellite to Finance Educational TV

BUNDY ASKS F.C.C. TO CONSIDER PLAN

But Authority of Agency to Create the Nationwide System Is Challenged

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

"expressed national policy" to authorize satellite systems outside the framework of the commercial communications carriers. A.T.&T. added that licensing of private satellite systems would throw added economic burdens on other customers of communications circuits.

The American Broadcasting Company, the National Broadcasting Company and C.B.S., on the other hand, expressed immediate approval, in principle, of the Ford concept, but reserved comment on the plan's details.

The commercial networks said that the Ford idea held the promise of providing financial stability for educational TV while reducing the networks' costs in delivering shows to affiliated stations.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare vigorously supported recommendations that the F.C.C. carefully study satellite systems that might offer major advantages to education.

N.E.T. Hails Plan

The Carnegie Commission for Educational Television, a private citizens' group organized with the encouragement of President Johnson, warned against precipitous decisions in resolving assignment of satellites.

John F. White, president of National Educational Television, which now supplies taped programs to 104 educational TV stations, said the Ford plan would represent "a giant stride forward" for noncommercial video.

The heart of the Ford plan is the assumption, shared by virtually all communications economists and engineers, that the future of television networks lies in satellites placed in fixed positions over the four different time zones of the United States.

At present, television programs are relayed over facilities on the ground, either microwave towers or coaxial cables. Such circuits interconnecting hundreds of cities are necessary because a TV signal does not travel on its own momentum beyond the line of sight.

With a satellite system, TV programs would be beamed skyward a distance of 22,300 miles to an electronic sphere in synchronous orbit with the earth's

Bundy's Letter to F.C.C. on a TV Satellite System

Following is a letter from McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, to Rosel H. Hyde, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the foundation's proposals to the F.C.C. for the construction and operation of a domestic communications satellite system:

Aug. 1, 1966

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have the honor to submit herewith a statement from the Ford Foundation which responds to the invitation of the Federal Communications Commission for "the views and comments of interested parties" on "proposals for the construction and operation of communications satellite facilities" by others than recognized common carriers. I am also addressing this same letter to each of the other Commissioners.

In this covering letter I want to summarize our conclusions—and also to explain informally the deep concern which moved us to make the studies which have led to this submission.

First, I note that the Ford Foundation has no commercial interest and no operating interest in this matter. We exist for the purpose of giving money away—as wisely and constructively as we can. This is the source of our deep interest in the present question.

We have a wider and longer experience of the effort to establish effective noncommercial television than any other single institution in the country. We have been by far the largest single source of funds for this effort. We have fifteen years of experience. We have made grants, directly and indirectly, of more than a hundred million dollars a year; currently we are making additional grants at the rate of more than ten million dollars a year.

From this experience we have learned three lessons:

(1) The first and most important lesson is that noncommercial television has unlimited potential, for human welfare and for the quality of American life. The best achievements of the best existing stations are proof enough—but there is still more powerful evidence in the best achievements of the best services abroad. And the most powerful evidence of all is in the all-but-unanimous conviction of the ablest men in American television today: that nothing is more needed—for television itself as well as for the country—than a first-rate national noncommercial service.

Present Services Inadequate

(2) The second lesson is

The New York Times

McGeorge Bundy, right, president of Ford Foundation, and his television adviser, Fred W. Friendly, former executive of Columbia Broadcasting System, at news session.

duce a prompt and constructive report. It will be good if we can avoid major decisions affecting the future of educational television until we have the benefit of the Carnegie report. A decision limiting the ownership and operation of communications satellites would be such a decision—and on this ground alone the commission would do well to avoid any ruling of this sort at this time.

Pressure for Decisions

But there are legitimate and important interests which are pressing for early decisions. The Ford Foundation can well understand the forces that could lead some to argue that great commercial questions should not be delayed for months while everyone waits for "one more report" on the future of educational television. Because Carnegie Commission is still at work, it is not in a position today to contest this point in detail. Yet it has seemed to us a matter of high importance that the public interest in the future of noncommercial television be fully and properly represented in the pleadings before your Commission. This is what our submission aims to do. Our right to present this view is the right of any element in our society to be

understandably cautious about direct Federal financing of channels of communication to the public. A number of additional remedies have been suggested, and we must hope for more light on this from the Carnegie Commission, but the hard fact is that up to now no remotely adequate solution has been found. We all want educational television to be properly funded. We do not want the Government to "pay the piper and call the tune." We are looking for an answer.

And that is what makes the possibilities of satellites so extraordinarily important. Noncommercial television has two great needs: first, to become a true national network, at a cost it can afford—and second, to have money for programming at a wholly new level of excellence. Properly used, a television satellite can meet both needs. By its natural economic advantage over long landlines, it can effectively eliminate long-distance charges as a determining element in network choices—commercial and noncommercial alike.

And if in the case of commercial networks a major share of these savings is passed on to the noncommercial programmers, then both problems are on the road to

money to get it off the ground? That is a fair question, but we are convinced that there are good answers—in the resources of the commercial networks, in the lending power of those who know a sure success when they see it, and in the resources of those who hold the view that money which helps to turn this corner will be money well used for the quality of American life. Our own commitment to this general purpose is clear.

We fully recognize the legitimate and reasonable needs of others who are concerned with satellite communications. We are convinced that our proposal does no significant harm to the legitimate and recognized interests of Comsat or the common carriers. With or without added responsibility for domestic television, Comsat will remain an unusually privileged commercial enterprise—a prime and protected investment with exclusive chartered rights in international satellite service.

Comsat faces international horizons which can engage its full energies for decades to come. The prosperity of all does not require for any a monopoly of the space communications available to the American people. And for the common carriers the revenue presently at issue is less than 1 per cent of a business which grows by more than that in every season of every year.

For all these reasons, we believe the door to a new and separate broadcast satellite service must not be closed. We do not now present a formal application. We think it right to wait for the report of the Carnegie Commission, and we also believe that the Ford Foundation should not undertake alone the framing of a formal application in a matter which relates to the interests and concerns of all Americans.

Model of a Solution

What we have done initially is to develop one possible model of a solution. We have tested it for technical feasibility with the professional counsel of Dr. Eugene Fubini of the International Business Machines Corporation. We have tested it against the laws with the help of Mr. David Ginsburg of Washington. We have tested its economic validity with the advice of Dr. Paul MacAvoy of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. We have tested it against the realities of television programming with the help of Mr. Fred Friendly, our adviser on television. We have tested it against our own experience

COMSAT OPPOSES RIVAL SYSTEMS

Sees Public Interest Periled —A. T. & T. Also Dissents

The Communications Satellite Corporation moved yesterday to assert a dominant position in the operation of communications satellites over the United States.

In a brief filed with the Federal Communications Commission, the corporation argued that it would not be in the public interest to set up private satellite systems. The Ford Foundation yesterday proposed a nonprofit system outside the Comsat bailiwick.

On the New York Stock Exchange, in a failing market for all stocks, Comsat closed yesterday at 48, down 1¾ points on a volume of 10,400 shares. Its high for the year was 64⅞ and its low, 37⅛.

If satellite authorizations were to be granted to groups other than Comsat, the corporation said, the over-all Congressional purpose in launching space-communication facilities would be "eroded beyond any reasonable hope of restoration."

Dual Responsibilities

"Comsat views itself as having been granted a trust of national importance," the corporation said.

"In addition to being charged with the interest of its stockholders, it considers itself as having been charged also, in the area of its charter, with the best interests of the United States in the broadest sense."

Comsat said that establishment of a rival satellite system might result in wasteful duplication of facilities in the limited-frequency spectrum.

The Federal Communications Commission, the corporation said, should determine that no further action be taken to permit the establishment of private satellite systems.

Comsat outlined to the F.C.C. a plan calling for a satellite system that would provide round-the-clock transmission of network TV and radio programs to affiliated stations as well as suchother communications services as telephone, Teletype, facsimile pictures and data transmission.

A two-satellite system could be launched by late 1969 and a four-satellite array by 1970, assuming approval came this year, Comsat said. The larger system would cost from $110-million to $120-million to set up, the corporation added.

While officials of Comsat had been informally advised of the broad outlines of the Ford plan no reference was made to the foundation in the corporation's brief.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company also op-

Proposed Satellite Services

The Ford Foundation's description of the services its proposed domestic communications satellite system might provide included the following:

INFORMATIONAL SERVICES

Full and live coverage of significant hearings and debates.

Interpretation of news.

Interviews and discussions featuring outstanding leaders in all fields.

Documentaries on important international, national, regional, and local problems.

Live and filmed reports designed to give the American people a better understanding of the three branches of government at all levels.

Broadcasting coverage of national and local political campaigns, including free time, under appropriate safeguards, for candidates for political office.

CULTURAL SERVICES

Musical, dramatic, and literary events of high quality from any location in the country.

Programs featuring established works and artists as well as important new works and promising young artists.

Broadcasts covering the whole range of the humanities.

Special events, such as the opening performance of the Metropolitan Opera season, the premieres of important new symphonic works, plays presented in regional theaters as well as on Broadway, and performances direct from Lincoln Center, to name but a few.

Programs on the cultural life not only of this country but of nations throughout the world.

Program series devoted to the history of the United States and to the history of American institutions: the Presidency, the Supreme Court, the Congress, the public school system, the military establishment, the university.

Programs of quality and taste for children.

INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES

Live instructional programs for an aggregate of 60 million students at all levels of education, with a new immediacy of communication between teacher and student.

Instructional materials which could be stored on tapes in schools, colleges and universities, and school system centers.

Special broadcasts of public events of special interest to students at a particular level or at all levels.

In-service training of teachers.

Carnegie Fund Favors a Study Of Satellite for Educational TV

By VAL ADAMS

The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television told the Federal Communications Commission yesterday that it is encouraging a study of a communications satellite system that would be specifically designed for noncommercial television. It emphasized, however, that it also is studying alternate methods of distributing programs.

Carnegie's comments were filed the same day the Ford Foundation proposed that the F.C.C. consider authorizing satellite transmission facilities for both commercial and noncommercial programs.

While conceding that national satellites might be advantageous in some cases, the Carnegie group warned that such a system presented problems of "educational monopoly and centralized control of instructional and other material." Of great importance, the state-

lished late this year or early next.

Carnegie said that in its final report it hoped to discuss all problems of educational television and how new technologies, including satellites, "can be utilized to preserve and strengthen diversity, local responsibility and independence in our educational television system."

Playback Methods Cited

The commission said a comprehensive plan for distributing programs should be considered in the light of several forms of distribution technology. The statement added:

"Our technology panel confirms reports that inexpensive methods of recording and playback for color television programs will be available shortly, and that those methods may bear to visual presentation the relation that long-play phono-

Educational Television, a private citizens' group organized with the encouragement of President Johnson, warned against precipitous decisions in resolving assignment of satellites.

John F. White, president of National Educational Television, which now supplies taped programs to 104 educational TV stations, said the Ford plan would represent "a giant stride forward" for noncommercial video.

The heart of the Ford plan is the assumption, shared by virtually all communications economists and engineers, that the future of television networks lies in satellites placed in fixed positions over the four different time zones of the United States.

At present, television programs are relayed over facilities on the ground, either microwave towers or coaxial cables. Such circuits interconnecting hundreds of cities are necessary because a TV signal does not travel on its own momentum beyond the line of sight.

With a satellite system, TV programs would be beamed skyward a distance of 22,300 miles to an electronic sphere in synchronous orbit with the earth's rotation, thus giving the effect of a fixed facility in the sky. The satellite then beams the programs back to earth, where they can be picked up over a relatively wide area for rebroadcasting over conventional TV stations.

A Historic Occasion

Announcement of the Ford Foundation plan was the highlight of a day that will undoubtedly stand as a historic occasion in the evolution of broadcasting. Yesterday was the deadline fixed by the F.C.C. for initial comments on the American Broadcasting Company's original suggestion of a privately operated domestic TV satellite system.

The scope of the Ford proposal virtually assures a voluminous response, due Oct. 1, from all commercial, government and academic organizations interested in the destiny of TV. While nominally concerned with satellites, the cumulative effect of the ensuing dialogue could be an over-all appraisal of the TV medium.

In a covering letter to Rosel H. Hyde, F.C.C. chairman, Mr. Bundy stressed that the foundation was not making a formal application for a noncommercial system, but only was submitting a model for future consideration.

However, the "model" consisted of an 80-page social, economic and technical analysis complete with exhaustive detail.

The foundation said that use of satellite relay, rather than ground relay, of commercial shows might result in savings of $45-million annually, of which perhaps $30-million could be used for noncommercial TV.

The foundation estimated that the national broadcasting networks now spend $65-million for television and radio relay service from A. T. and T. The projected annual cost of a nonprofit satellite system performing the same functions was estimated at less than $20-million.

Free Political Broadcasts

On the cultural side, the foundation said that N. E. T. had been starved for enough funds to provide a first-class permanent system of noncommercial TV offering the finest in the arts.

On the informational side, the foundation called for in-depth news interpretation, documentaries and uninterrupted coverage of important public hearings. The brief also touched on the prospect of free political broadcasts, a step that could play a role in lowering the high costs of campaigning.

The foundation called its proposed operation the "Broadcasters' Non-Profit Satellite System," immediately abreviated as "B.N.S."

The Ford presentation stressed that the foundation itself would not operate such a system, but would urge selection of a board of trustees, representing commercial and noncommercial broacasters and public representatives, to set up the operating machinery.

country. We have been by far the largest single source of funds for this effort. We have fifteen years of experience. We have made grants, directly and indirectly, of more than a hundred million dollars a year; currently we are making additional grants at the rate of more than ten million dollars a year.

From this experience we have learned three lessons:

(1) The first and most important lesson is that noncommercial television has unlimited potential, for human welfare and for the quality of American life. The best achievements of the best existing stations are proof enough—but there is still more powerful evidence in the best achievements of the best services abroad. And the most powerful evidence of all is in the all-but-unanimous conviction of the ablest men in American television today: that nothing is more needed—for television itself as well as for the country—than a first-rate national noncommercial service.

Present Services Inadequate

(2) The second lesson is that existing services, and existing means of support, cannot hope to develop more than a fraction of this potential. The existing systems are much better than nothing. Compared to what this country deserves, they are a depressing failure. This is not the fault of the talented and dedicated men who have worked their hearts out for noncommercial television. It is the fault of all of us—in that we have not yet found a way to give this work the resources it needs. It can well be argued that we at the Ford Foundation have contributed to this failure. When we give $6-million a year to the National Educational Television and Radio Center (NET), we seem to have done a lot. And for us it is a lot—it is our largest continuing annual grant. But the brutal fact is that our big gift is much too small.

(3) The third lesson follows from the first two: it is that the nation must find a way to a wholly new level of action in this field—one which will release for our whole people all the enlightenment and engagement, all the immediacy and freedom of experience which are inherent in this extraordinary medium and which commercial services—as they freely admit—cannot bring out alone.

These three general conclusions are broadly shared, I believe, among all who have studied this problem—by leaders in the Congress, by the members and staff of your Commission, and by independent experts. They underlie the establishment last year of a distinguished commission of private citizens to study the future of non-commercial television, under a charge from the Carnegie Corporation and with encouragement from President Johnson. Under the chairmanship of Dr. James Killian that commission is working hard to prepare a report. A decision limiting the ownership and operation of communications satellites would be such a decision—and on this ground alone the commission would do well to avoid any ruling of this sort at this time.

Pressure for Decisions

But there are legitimate and important interests which are pressing for early decisions. The Ford Foundation can well understand the forces that could lead some to argue that great commercial questions should not be delayed for months while everyone waits for "one more report" on the future of educational television. Because Carnegie Commission is still at work, it is not in a position today to contest this point in detail. Yet it has seemed to us a matter of high importance that the public interest in the future of noncommercial television be fully and properly represented in the pleadings before your Commission. This is what our submission aims to do. Our right to present this view is the right of any element in our society to be heard. Our duty to do it grows from experience, expenditure, and the terms of our foundation's charter.

This right and this duty are made doubly urgent because of the promise that satellite communications may permit a revolution both in the technology and in the economics of television. Intensive exploratory studies have convinced us at the Ford Foundation that these revolutionary possibilities offer the promise of building a cost-free highway system for multiplied regional and national noncommercial services—and also of providing a large part of the new funds which are desperately needed for noncommercial programming at every level.

The model we present is one way, not the only way. We are sure it can be improved by public study and comment. The state of the art is changing so fast—and we have had so much to learn since March 2—that we are sure our present design can be improved by criticism. For this reason alone we would welcome hearings on this whole subject. And on wider grounds we are sure that any major restrictive action taken without hearings would be offensive to the public sense of fairness.

Looking For an Answer

While the financial needs of educational television are widely recognized, the sources of the needed funds have been elusive. With the shining exception of the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962, the Federal Government as a whole has stood to one side (and the Act of 1962, with all its generosity and foresight, carries a total appropriation which is lower than the funds spent by the Ford Foundation alone in the years since the Act was passed).

Moreover, Americans are besides. But who has the for more light on this from the Carnegie Commission, but the hard fact is that up to now no remotely adequate solution has been found. We all want educational television to be properly funded. We do not want the Government to "pay the piper and call the tune." We are looking for an answer.

And that is what makes the possibilities of satellites so extraordinarily important. Noncommercial television has two great needs: first, to become a true national network, at a cost it can afford—and second, to have money for programming at a wholly new level of excellence. Properly used, a television satellite can meet both needs. By its natural economic advantage over long landlines, it can effectively eliminate long-distance charges as a determining element in network choices—commercial and noncommercial alike.

And if in the case of commercial networks a major share of these savings is passed on to the noncommercial programmers, then both problems are on the road to solution, and everyone is better off than he was before. This is not magic, or sleight-of-hand. It is a people's dividend, earned by the American nation from its enormous investment in space.

We are far from contending that a portion of the savings of the commercial users will pay for every possible program tomorrow. In our formal submission we estimate that such a system might produce $30-million a year for ETV programming almost at once, and perhaps twice that much within ten years. This is more than enough to start the revolution we seek—and there would be still more in the future.

The Desert Could Bloom

And all this, our analysis suggests, should be accompanied also by a wholly new level of investment—public and private—in the programs of live instruction that the satellite system invites. The satellite, used in the right way, can make the desert bloom for whole new areas of television. We do not claim that our way of doing it is the best. We do believe the best way must be found.

One cause of questioning may be the initial human effort of establishing a service of the sort that we suggest. Where can we find the first-rate men for a new nonprofit venture? We have considered this question, and we have asked a number of the best professionals for their opinion. Their verdict is unanimous. We are talking here about a vision of excellence for the life of all Americans. Good men will want to work for it. We are convinced the signal of approval for a system like this one would release a rush of talent for the leaders of the new enterprise.

There is also a question of money. Once it is started, the enterprise will surely pay for itself and for much good and separate broadcast satellite service must not be closed. We do not now present a formal application. We think it right to wait for the report of the Carnegie Commission, and we also believe that the Ford Foundation should not undertake alone the framing of a formal application in a matter which relates to the interests and concerns of all Americans.

Model of a Solution

What we have done initially is to develop one possible model of a solution. We have tested it for technical feasibility with the professional counsel of Dr. Eugene Fubini of the International Business Machines Corporation. We have tested it against the laws with the help of Mr. David Ginsburg of Washington. We have tested its economic validity with the advice of Dr. Paul MacAvoy of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. We have tested it against the realities of television programming with the help of Mr. Fred Friendly, our adviser on television. We have tested it against our own experience in the philanthropic support of noncommercial television.

We think this model is sound against all these tests. But our purpose in presenting it is not to ask the Commission to grant a license now, to us or to anyone else. Our immediate purpose is rather to urge the Commission to take no action now that would foreclose these possibilities.

We think the Commission should invite a more formal proposal from the widest possible public. We think such a proposal would be forthcoming. We think it would be compelling. We would be glad to join with others to present it. All that we feel it right to do today is to enter the strongest possible argument against any action that would close the door to this new hope for all Americans.

In summary, our underlying purpose is not to press for a particular solution, and still less to interfere in any way with the legitimate interests of others. Our purpose is to stress four fundamental propositions:

(1) the critical importance to American life of properly designed domestic communications satellite systems;

(2) the very great—and largely unstudied—potential of such systems for noncommercial television and for education in its widest sense;

(3) the possibility that the management of this new national resource and the rates charged for its use can be arranged in such a way as to provide adequate resources for a wholly new level of service to the American people; and

(4) the desirability of most careful deliberation before national decisions are reached with regard to the assignment of responsibility in this area.

This is a time for due process, and for greatness.

Sincerely,
McGEORGE BUNDY

Gemini's Fuel Loss Is Traced to Steering Strain

HOUSTON, Aug. 1 (AP) — The Gemini 10 spacecraft ran low on fuel because it had to make a large change of its plane to rendezvous with an Agena target satellite, the command pilot, John W. Young, reported today.

"We had to use the brute force method to overcome a large out-of-plane error," Commander Young told a news conference. "That takes quite a lot of fuel."

Maj. Michael Collins of the Air Force also disclosed that troubles in maneuvering in space had forced him to make three attempts before he finally retrieved an experiment package from the side of another Agena with which Gemini 10 rendezvoused.

The change of plane was required to shift Gemini 10 slightly to the north to put it in the same orbital path as the Agena, which had been orbited 101 minutes earlier on July 18.

Commander Young and Major Collins caught and docked with the Agena after a six-hour chase. But they used twice as much fuel as planned. As a result, ground controllers rearranged the flight plan considerably, utilizing the engine of the Agena to make several of the maneuvers. The fuel shortage also caused Major Collins to cut short a maneuver in space on the second day of the three-day flight.

"The machine performed magnificently," Commander Young said in discussing the Agena as he described a series of vivid movie pictures of the rendezvous and docking.

At one point in the movies, the 26-foot Agena disappeared in a flash of sunlight.

"That's a real problem in space," Commander Young said. "It's called sun-in-the-eyes. It causes the target to disappear. You have to apply a little back thrust and hope it reappears. With a plane, you'd just zip around the target to get away from the sun and pick it up again. But a spacecraft doesn't have that much fuel."

In discussing the firing of the Agena's main engine, which sent Gemini 10 to a record altitude of 476 miles, Commander Young said:

"Boy, it was really something. For 11 seconds [as the 16,000-pound thrust engine fired] we got a tremendous thrill."

Commander Young said that the use of the Agena had demonstrated that another satellite could be used as a tanker and a supplementary engine for manned spaceships.

During the flight Major Collins engaged in two work periods outside the spacecraft—one a "stand-up-maneuver," the second a full-scale "walk" over to an old Agena left in space by the Gemini 8 astronauts in March.

The first maneuver was cut short by chemical fumes that invaded the space suits of both men.

Major Collins reported he was standing on the seat, the upper part of his body thrust into space, when he first noted the trouble.

"I was trying to change the setting on a camera," Major Collins said. "But my eyes began watering badly and I could not see well. John was having similar trouble, so we thought it best to terminate the E.V.A. [extra-vehicular activity].

They sealed the hatch after 55-minutes, instead of 70, as planned.

The next day they caught the old Agena, a lifeless satellite that called for primarily optical techniques during the final stages of rendezvous.

ment of a rival satellite system might result in wasteful duplication of facilities in the limited-frequency spectrum.

The Federal Communications Commission, the corporation said, should determine that no further action be taken to permit the establishment of private satellite systems.

Comsat outlined to the F.C.C. a plan calling for a satellite system that would provide round-the-clock transmission of network TV and radio programs to affiliated stations as well as suchother communications services as telephone, Teletype, facsimile pictures and data transmission.

A two-satellite system could be launched by late 1969 and a four-satellite array by 1970, assuming approval came this year, Comsat said. The larger system would cost from $110-million to $120-million to set up, the corporation added.

While officials of Comsat had been informally advised of the broad outlines of the Ford plan no reference was made to the foundation in the corporation's brief.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company also opposed any authorization of private domestic satellite carriers, saying they would slow the development of the new technology. The company urged the F.C.C. "to conclude in this finding that there can be no authorization of private satellite systems."

The telephone company pointed out that there were many difficult technical obstacles to overcome to avoid interference between satellites and other microwave radio services.

The view of Comsat and A.T.&T. that the F.C.C. should terminate consideration of systems outside the framework of commercial carriers was a major factor in prompting the Ford Foundation's move to "keep the door open" to other satellite concepts.

The Ford Foundation argued that the F.C.C. has broad discretionary powers to introduce new services in the public interest. It also noted that Section 102(d) of the legislative act creating Comsat did not "preclude the creation of additional satellite systems, if required to meet unique governmental needs or if otherwise required in the national interest."

The three commercial television networks, meanwhile, endorsed the Ford proposal to set up a communications satellite system for distributing commercial and noncommercial programs.

Julian Goodman, president of the National Broadcasting Company, said N.B.C. supported the Ford plan to the extent that it promised benefits of greater flexibility, improved quality of program service and substantial reductions in transmission costs.

John A. Schneider, president of the broadcast group of the Columbia Broadcasting System, said "the Ford Foundation proposal is an imaginative approach to a very vexatious problem."

Leonard H. Goldenson, president of the American Broadcasting Companies, commended the foundation and said "the plan appears to expand upon A.B.C.'s earlier suggestions in this same area." Last year, A.B.C. filed application with the F.C.C. to establish its own satellite system.

John F. White, president of the National Educational Television network, said the Ford proposal would make possible "a giant stride toward the ultimate effective service" noncommercial television must provide. He added:

"N.E.T. is fully prepared to accept the challenge and responsibility this proposal would place upon us as the national network for noncommercial television."

Motorist Killed Near Airport

Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, July 31—A 26-year-old motorist died early today of injuries suffered when he was struck by a car last night after getting out of his own auto on Route 1 near Newark Airport to check a noise in his engine. The victim was Lawrence S. Gamble of 137 Brunswick Street here.

Carnegie Fund Favors a Study Of Satellite for Educational TV

By VAL ADAMS

The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television told the Federal Communications Commission yesterday that it is encouraging a study of a communications satellite system that would be specifically designed for noncommercial television. It emphasized, however, that it also is studying alternate methods of distributing programs.

Carnegie's comments were filed the same day the Ford Foundation proposed that the F.C.C. consider authorizing satellite transmission facilities for both commercial and noncommercial programs.

While conceding that national satellites might be advantageous in some cases, the Carnegie group warned that such a system presented problems of "educational monopoly and centralized control of instructional and other material." Of great importance, the statement said, was program diversity and local responsibility in educational television.

The Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, which is making a study on how the medium can best attain its potential, was established last November by a $250,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation, a philanthropic organization.

Endorsed by Johnson

The commission has the endorsement of President Johnson and is headed by Dr. James R. Killian Jr., chairman of the corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The Carnegie statement was filed in response to the F.C.C. invitation for comments of interested parties on the proposed establishment of satellite facilities. The F.C.C. was requested to take no definitive action until Caregie's forthcoming report on educational television is published late this year or early next.

Carnegie said that in its final report it hoped to discuss all problems of educational television and how new technologies, including satellites, "can be utilized to preserve and strengthen diversity, local responsibility and independence in our educational television system."

Playback Methods Cited

The commission said a comprehensive plan for distributing programs should be considered in the light of several forms of distribution technology. The statement added:

"Our technology panel confirms reports that inexpensive methods of recording and playback for color television programs will be available shortly, and that those methods may bear to visual presentation the relation that long-play phonograph records bear to audio reproduction and at a cost not greatly different."

Such methods for recording and playback of programs, the commission said, could affect the use of TV in classrooms. A teacher, free of the task of tuning in a station at a fixed hour, could select a video program from a library in the same manner as a phonograph record or a book.

Last Feb. 28, The New York Times reported that the C.B.S. Laboratories division of the Columbia Broadcasting System was developing a new device that reproduced motion pictures through a television set. C.B.S. denied the report.

Yesterday, C.B.S. declined to comment on the Carnegie statement that new methods of recording and playback of TV programs would be available soon. C.B.S. said it would stand on its earlier statment.

ARBITRATION CHANGE URGED IN AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY, Australia—One of Australia's senior industrial arbitration figures, Justice Taylor of Sydney, believes the present Australian arbitration system, in the legislative sense, has outlived its usefulness. Under this system, in force throughout Australia, arbitration courts and commissions sit in judgment on trade union claims and hand down decisions on minimum wages and conditions which are legally binding on both employers and employes.

Justice Taylor thinks the system is on the way out and that while parties in disputes will continue to use it, they will do so more as a basis for private negotiation.

Justice Taylor, who is to retire at the end of August after 24 years as president of the New South Wales Industrial Commission, told a Radio Australia correspondent in Sydney recently that he thought the arbitration system was too legalistic. Human problems cannot be settled strictly by a legal formula, he held, adding that the system had been conceived as a compulsory protective mechanism but this concept had been outdated by today's stronger unions and more buoyant economy.

New Anti-Perspirant Fast Replacing Old "Deodorants"

NEW YORK, N. Y. (Special) — After decades of familiar "deodorants," women are turning to an advanced new type of formula. And by the thousands they are finding it far more effective.

Called Mitchum Anti-Perspirant, it is fully effective as a deodorant, of course, but the important improvement is its unheard-of ability to keep underarms really dry. Even for thousands who perspire heavily!

Most women find Mitchum Anti-Perspirant so effective that they need use it only every third or fourth day regardless of bathing, though some women who perspire freely use it every day. And yet it is completely safe for normal skin and clothing.

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
NOTICE OF SALE

TO: ALL PROSPECTIVE PURCHASERS OF REAL ESTATE AND THE DEFENDANTS HEREIN:

TAKE NOTICE: Pursuant to Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York, filed in the Office of the Clerk of said Court on May 31, 1966, in the cause entitled UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, plaintiff, against ARDEN HOLDING CORP., et al., defendants, Civil Action No. 65-C-34, the undersigned will sell at public sale to the highest bidder, in the lobby of the United States Courthouse, for the Eastern District of N. Y., 225 Washington St., B'klyn, N. Y., on August 23, 1966, at 10:00 o'clock in the forenoon, the property in said Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale described and therein directed to be sold, as is, and subject to any state of facts that an accurate survey may show, any easements, covenants, restrictions or reservations of record, tenancies, violations noted in or issued out of any City, County, Town, Municipal, State or Federal Department or Agency; to which Judgment of Foreclosure and Sale reference is made for the full terms of sale and for a description of the property therein contained as follows:

ALL that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Brooklyn, County of Kings, City and State of New York, bounded and described as follows:

BEGINNING at a point on the southerly side of Hawthorne Street, distant 208 feet 3¾ inches easterly from the corner formed by the intersection of the southerly side of Hawthorne Street with the easterly side of Bedford Avenue; running thence easterly along the southerly side of Hawthorne Street, 200 feet 3 inches; thence southerly at right angles to Hawthorne Street, 108 feet to the southerly side of Hawthorne Street, the point or place of BEGINNING.

TOGETHER with all right, title and interest of the mortgagor, if any, in and to the land lying in the streets and roads in front of and adjoining said premises. The premises are also known as 150 Hawthorne Street, Brooklyn, New York.

The above property is within the County of Kings, State of New York, in the Brooklyn Long Island Railroad station area, containing thereon a six story, semi-fire-proof structure containing 99 rental units, one four room superintendant's apartment, and an unattended 28-car garage.

Dated: July 8, 1966.

SETH RUBENSTEIN, ESQ.
MASTER

JOSEPH P. HOEY, United States Attorney, Eastern District of New York, attorney for plaintiff, by GEORGIANA O. MIRANDA, Assistant United States Attorney, 225 Washington Street, Brooklyn, New York.

NEW YORK TIMES, WE

FORD FUND TO AID DRIVE FOR RIGHTS

FOUNDATIONS

Bundy Outlines Plans at Urban League Session

NYT 8/3/66

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 2 — McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, announced here tonight that the foundation would play "its full part" in the struggle to help the Negroes achieve full equality. He described this struggle as "the most urgent domestic concern of this country."

Nevertheless, he warned the delegates at the 56th annual convention of the National Urban League that the size and complexity of the problem would need funds "enormously beyond our resources" or those of any single institution.

The greatest share of the burden, Mr. Bundy said, must fall on government at all levels and on business concersn "whose role is to provide new opportunities for all Americans."

Mr. Bundy said that within these limitations, the Ford Foundation would execute a program in four major fields—leadership, research, communications and justice—in addition to the current efforts on housing, jobs and education.

Mr. Bundy cautioned his listnerrs that "we will not work through any single chosen instrument or in any single field of activity."

As to the need for leadership, Bundy said:

"When I suggest that there is need for wider and stronger leadership both among Negroes and among whites, I intend no criticism whatever of the extraordinary achievements of those who have worked on both sides for progress, and also for goodwill. I am saying, rather, that these men and women need to be mulitplied. They need reinforcement. We hope we can help in this objective.

Asks 'Stronger Effort'

"We believe that a wider and deeper and stronger effort among white leaders is needed so that the white American can see the problem as it really is, and recognize his need to face it, and to act."

'And we believe that the hope and self-confidence of the Negro American can be strengthened as the leadership of Negroes who work peaceful progress is reinforced, all up and down the line."

Then, speaking as "a citizen and not as a foundation executive," Mr. Bundy said, "it seems to me that it is right and reasonable to suggest that the level of effort—financial and political and personal—which here required is fully comparable to the effort we now make as a nation in Vietnam."

Discussing the crisis of the great urban centers, Mr. Bundy asserted:

"Nothing would be more foolish for both white men and Negroes than the angry assumption that the cities of the future are the problems of one color only. We shall succeed or fail together in our great cities as in our whole society.

FOUNDATIONS

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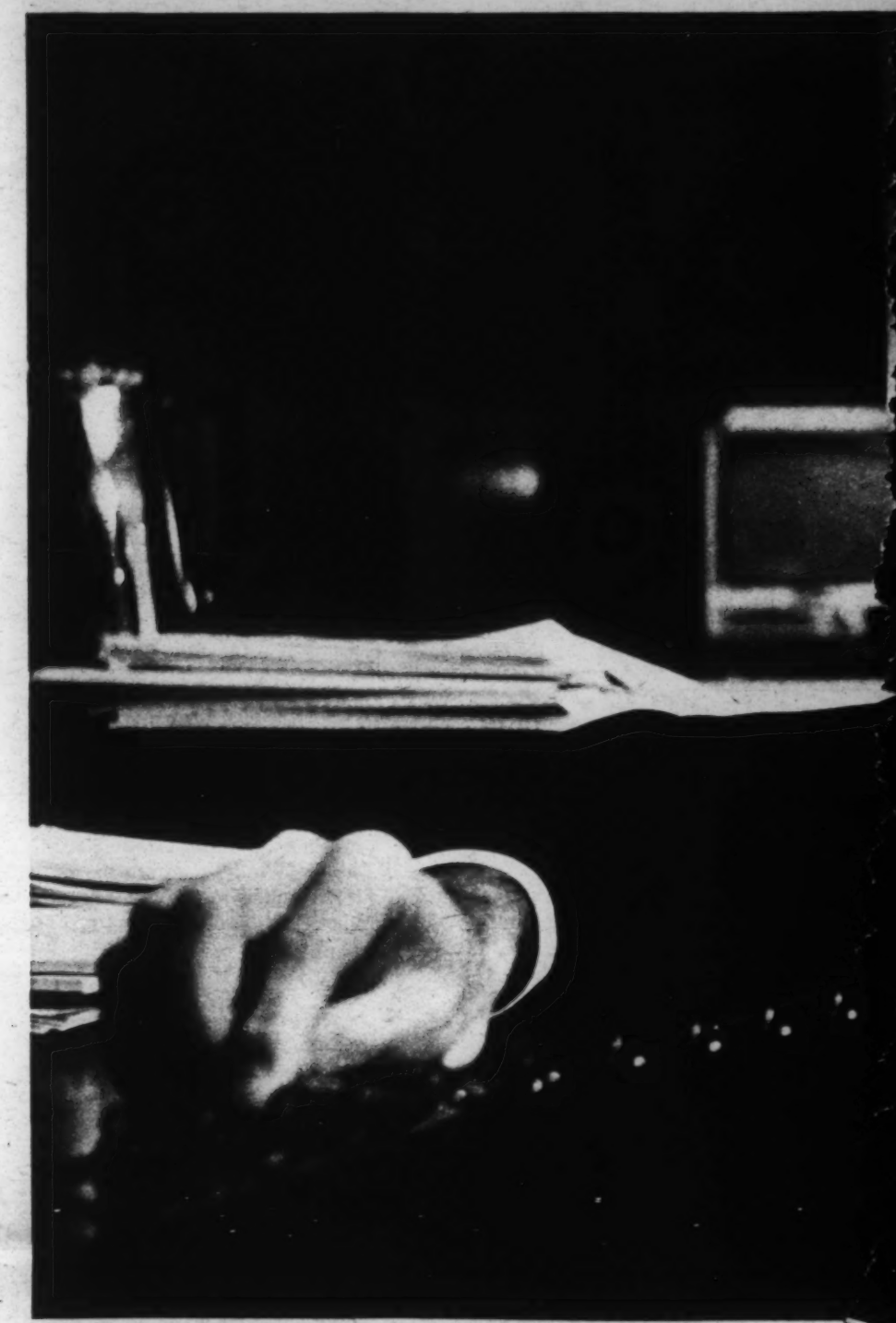
Washington's Grant to the Ford Foundation

By MARTIN MAYER

STAFF CONFERENCE — Bundy, left, with (clockwise) W. McNeil Lowry, foundation vice president; Joseph M. McDaniel Jr., secretary; F. Champion Ward and Verne S. Atwater, vice presidents. Not shown: vice president David Bell. "The idea," says Bundy, "is to do things the society is going to want after it has them."



McGEORGE BUNDY, former adviser to Kennedy and Johnson, in his office. "It's not often that organizations such as the Ford Foundation put their destinies in the grasp of a supercharged intelligence."

HUDDLE—Fred Friendly, late of C.B.S. News and a foundation adviser on television projects, with Bundy. They have created an uproar with a proposal on how the Government should regulate TV communication via satellite.

IN the new mathematics, children are taught a language of sets and subsets, and they learn to single out as specially significant any item which is part of all the sets. Having mastered this relatively easy technique, children provided with enough information could have chosen a new president of the Ford Foundation just as easily as its board of trustees did a year ago, when the premature retirement of Henry Heald presented the problem. Once it became known that McGeorge Bundy could be shaken loose from his post as President Johnson's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, anyone could see that there was nobody else—certainly nobody else 46 years old—who joined so many interesting circles.

A Lowell on his mother's side—scion of the poetess Amy, the astronomer Percival, Harvard's president A. Lawrence—Bundy was born to the nation's intellectual aristocracy. Product of Groton, classmate of Henry Ford and member of Skull & Bones at Yale (a distinction he could not have

MARTIN MAYER is the author of "The Schools" and "Madison Avenue, U.S.A." and is now finishing a book about lawyers.

The "Bundy era" at the foundation—already well under way—"promises to be very stimulating," says one official a bit nervously.

taken too seriously, having previously led a student revolt against the senior societies), he had the key to whatever clubs he might wish to enter. Collaborator in Henry Stimson's autobiography (his father had been assistant to Stimson when he was Secretary of War under Roosevelt), he was known and admired by the two generations of lawyers and judges for whom Stimson was a hero. Junior Fellow and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard, 1953-61, and general manager of that institution's relations with neighboring M.I.T. (where Julius A. —"Jay"— Stratton, the new chairman of the Ford Foundation, was then provost), he had been a central figure in what one M.I.T. mathematician likes to call the Greater Cambridge Complex. Analyst, administrator and confidant for both Kennedy and Johnson, he had helped McNamara and Rusk revivify the central agencies of the American Government, and knew his way around Washington, both on the Hill and in the valleys, as few other men in America. He was even friendly with the press.

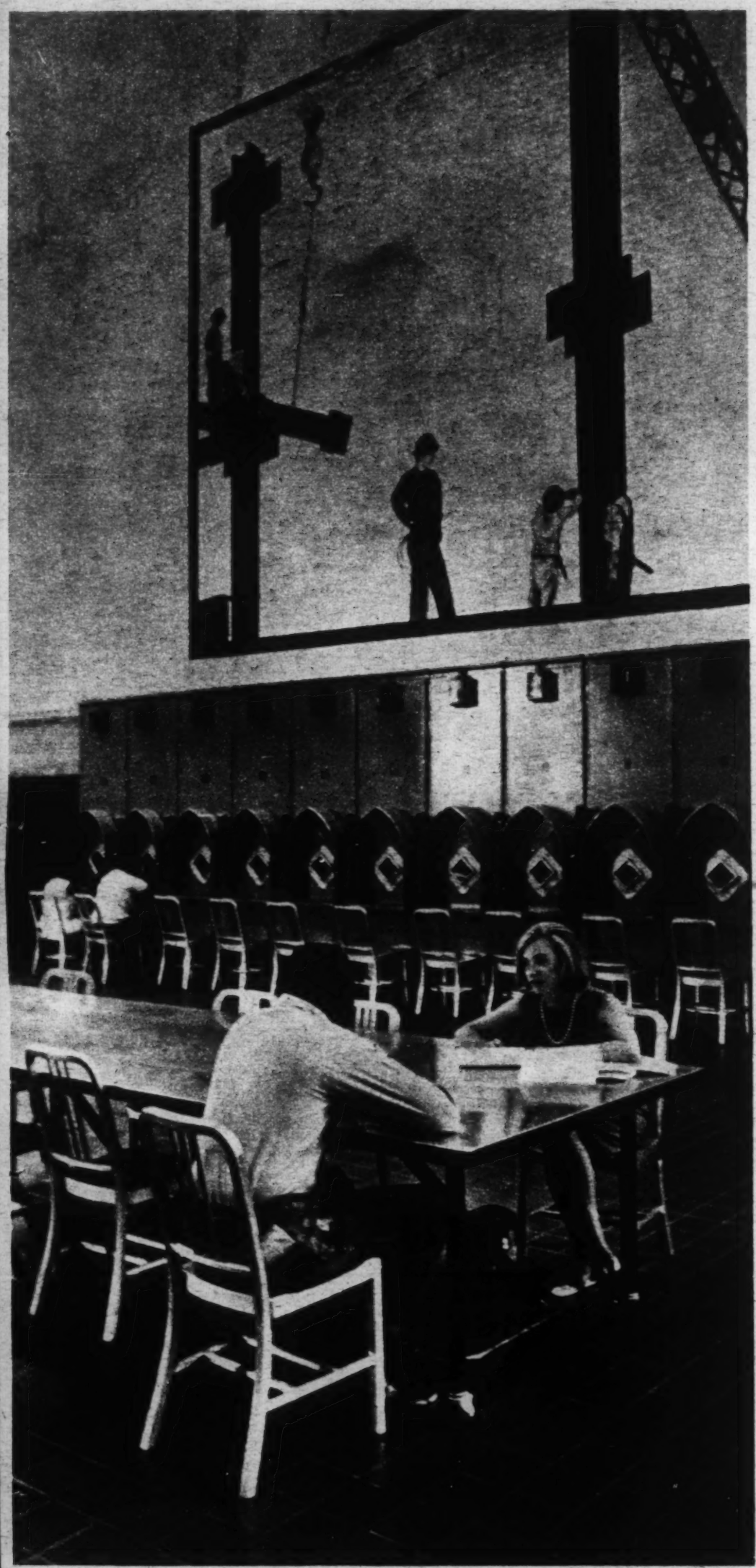
Still, according to John J. McCloy, the Wall Street lawyer, former High Commissioner for Germany and president of the World Bank who was Ford's chairman when the decision had to be made, all these factors were secondary. "The most striking argument in Mac's favor," McCloy said the other day, "was the quality of his mind. When it became apparent that he *might* be available—we'd originally thought he wouldn't be—we had to review the list we were considering. We'd been looking at A's, of course; but Mac was an A+; he was a cut above."

This qualification was not inevitable. The lawyer and novelist Louis Auchincloss, who has known Bundy from Groton days, says that "he was ready to be Dean of the Faculty at Harvard when he was 12 years old"—but foundations have not in the past looked to this cadre for their top leadership. Rich and established organizations do not normally wish to place their destinies in the grasp of a really supercharged intelligence: brilliance is undependable, not because it makes more mistakes than sober dullness, but because its mistakes are so immensely plausible. And Bundy would never have taken the job without an assurance that he and his staff would have great freedom to make mistakes. He was waited on by McCloy, Stratton and Henry Ford; and speaking for the trustees they assured him that, in his words, "if you were straight with them, gave them the chance to look at it before you launched it on the unsuspecting world, they were eager for new ideas. There was no unwillingness—as a conscious desire—to move into the hot firing lines."

The secret was that, coming into the second half of its second decade—despite the "ff"s on its sugar cubes, the lovely typography of its many reports, the aggressive neutrality of its modern décor, the imperturbable manners of all its people —Ford felt itself neither established nor particularly rich. Personnel was about to shift drastically, with or without a new boss.

"We have an inflexible rule," says one of the old-timers. "Staff people must retire at 65, trustees at 70. Within five years of December, 1965, when Mac agreed to accept this job, nearly all the trustees and all but one of the senior policy staff people must move out. It's more nearly a clean slate than it has been at any time since '51. Before now, Mac might have found this job less his cup of tea—might have *(Continued on Page 142)*

New York Times photographs by SAM FALK



REHABILITATION—A social worker from the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure at Georgetown University discusses job opportunities with a prospective parolee in a District of Columbia jail. Support for the institute is part of a Ford Foundation effort to enlarge the legal resources of low-income groups.

Ford Foundation (Cont.)

(Continued from Page 59)

felt that there were too many guys around here who had patents." The old-timer paused and made a face.

"But maybe not," he added. "Mac has a lot of brass."

THE Ford Foundation has over the years paid nearly one-half the total cost of educational television in America. Its grant to the symphony orchestras last spring amounted to three times the total annual box-office take of such institutions. Single-handed, it has rekindled the fires of hope in our decaying private liberal arts colleges, and loosened the noose with which the mortuary class of education professors were choking off access to the teaching profession.

Its demonstration programs span the globe, everywhere outside the Russian and Chinese empires. To the normal sensual man, Ford's $3-billion in assets and three hundred million a year to spend do seem, in a word, a *fortune*. But from the inside the financial situation had begun to look different.

"Ford, in its first 15 years," Bundy says, "could kid itself a little, talk as though it had the lever to move the world. But today the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is not an educational institution—it's a foundation. The Office of Economic Opportunity is a foundation: it's giving money to chaos, not *running* chaos." In terms of H.E.W. and O.E.O., the money available at Ford is not impressive. Three hundred million dollars is something like one-fourth of 1 per cent of the Federal budget, the sort of sum a White House assistant throws about easily in conversation at the Bureau of the Budget. With the growing involvement of both universities and businesses in the governmental process, the trustees, too, were suffering sober second thoughts about the adequacy of Henry Ford's legacy. "You know," says Jay Stratton, "I was on the board of the National Science Foundation. Here at Ford we spend about half the N.S.F. budget, but in many more areas. Still it's not *trivial*. . . ."

In every area of its work, the foundation finds itself coordinating somehow with the Federal Government. "Ford is in everything but medicine and religion," says a staff member, "the Government is now in everything but religion. We *can't* back away whenever the Government comes in. It's like the chambered nautilus, the public and the private are intertwined. We don't need treaties, exactly; but every year we need greater understanding between the foundations and the Government."

EVERYBODY is a little sensitive about Bundy's passage from the Government to the foundation, and anxious to make sure it is understood that no special arrangements exist. A particular worry for many of the staff was Bundy's former role as planner and defender of the American policy in Vietnam, and one of Bundy's first acts as president was to summon key members of the staff and tell them he didn't plan to use Ford's resources to make Vietnam safe for democracy, didn't want anybody to change his views (or moderate his comments) on Vietnam (or any other issue) to suit the new boss. Bundy has seen the President only a few times since leaving the White House staff. "My only relation to the Federal Government now," he says, "is that I know a number of phone numbers."

Still, the question is not quite so simply answered. Bundy still reads The Washington Post every day, and drinks cup after cup of black coffee through his meetings, in the hallowed manner of the executive branch. Though Henry Stimson was to put most of the rest of his life into the private practice of the law, Bundy wrote about his acceptance of a U.S. Attorney's post in 1906 that "he crossed forever the river that separates private citizens from public men." Bundy, too, has crossed that river. Someone idly commented that the professional deformation of people in Washington was their belief that Washington runs the country; and Bundy retorted that the professional deformation of New Yorkers was a belief that Washington *doesn't* run the country. His five years in Washington made a vast change in his own life chances—"If Kennedy hadn't picked him out of Harvard," Auchincloss says, "he'd be president of Yale today, and set there for the rest of his life." The change must have made differences in his attitudes, too, and in the way he will work at Ford.

APART from its administrative responsibilities (which are by no means trivial—picking the right people is the name of the game), the job of president of the Ford Foundation is fundamentally one of liaison between the staff and the trustees. As the trustees must approve all appropriations of money—and because, if the thing is run well (which it hasn't always been in the past), all applications for grants will go through the president's office—Bundy's power will be considerable.

Under Bundy's predecessors, the effective power of the office was constrained by the foundation's over-all timidity, its reluctance to become identified with the people who actually used the money. When a Blitzstein announced that he would use a Ford-financed commission to write an opera about Sacco and Vanzetti, or a Ford-sponsored study of juries bugged a jury room in Wichita, the foundation wanted to be able to say that the Metropolitan Opera, not Ford, had given Blitzstein the commission; and the University of Chicago Law School, not Ford, was responsible for the conduct of the jury study.

Support for educational television

(Continued on Page 144)

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(Continued from Page 142)

went not to specific projects but to National Educational Television. When a specific series was very much in mind, as in the Continental Classroom and Sunrise Semester films, where everyone knew the money was to be spent for courses in political science or economics, Ford still made its grants to the associations of university political scientists or economists rather than to the producers of the show: the foundation promoted ideas, not their execution.

Even where the decisions on an eventual allocation were to be made by people directly associated with Ford, responsibility was scattered by the establishment of a theoretically separate "Fund" for the Advancement of Education or for the Republic. Independent "regranting" organizations like the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council were made prosperous and much more useful by Ford largess, which they thereupon distributed to what *they* considered the most likely looking recipients.

IN the later years of the Henry Heald regime much of this safety-first attitude had disappeared. W. McNeil

(Continued on Page 146)

Where the Money Goes

Since it began giving away money in 1936,* the Ford Foundation has distributed nearly $3-billion to more than 5,000 institutions and, through fellowships and indirectly, to many more thousands of individuals. Ninety per cent of this sum has gone to United States recipients; the rest to institutions in 78 foreign countries.

The foundation's executives (self-described "philanthropoids") invest the money in "experimental, demonstration and developmental projects" in fields as various as music and natural resources, noncommercial television and birth control. "The objective of our business," one philanthropoid said, "is to earn a good 'nonprofit'—that is, a good return for society." In the fiscal year ending this September 30, the foundation made grants totaling $341.6-million in the following fields:

	(Millions)
American education	$112.2
Art, humanities, communication	103.9
International programs (development aid in Asia, Africa, Latin America; educational programs in developed countries)	59.0
U. S. public affairs (community action, housing and minority problems, justice, economic research)	42.4
Population studies and family planning	21.6
Miscellaneous	2.5

*Established by Henry and Edsel Ford largely for Michigan charities, the foundation didn't become a national and international philanthropy until 1950.

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Ode to Ford

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Have built on the faith of our excellent Ford . . .
How firm a Foundation; we've three times the dough
And ten times the brains any other can show.

—Robert Maynard Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, 1951-54, now president of The Fund for the Republic.

(Continued from Page 144)

Lowry (who served as acting president while Bundy was being sprung from the White House) had established a Ford program in the arts on a basis of direct small grants to painters, sculptors, composers, playwrights, theater companies, ballet schools—and, finally, in a whopping grant to orchestras. Here the path of least resistance would have been to give the money to the American Symphony Orchestra League and let the league parcel it out; but Ford made up its own mind about which orchestras were the most worthy.

The brilliant and beautiful flowering of the New York City Opera has drawn energy from Lowry's green stuff, though the trustees' acquaintance includes a number of people who saw no reason why New York should have a significant second opera house. More adventurously (perhaps), Paul Ylvisaker's Public Affairs Program was allowed to be covertly as well as openly influential in the civil-rights movement, and in the end to make public grants to community-action programs of the kind most distressing to friends of the Ford trustees, and perhaps to the trustees themselves.

Still, the habit of looking at the foundation's activities as a series of dissociated "programs" had come to dominate the internal organization of the offices in the tower at 477 Madison Avenue. Bundy found that subjects of concern like the condition of the Negro American were divided between public affairs and education divisions with little liaison between the two. He expects to "build enterprises that will draw across our program lines" and for this purpose is "acting as my own vice president in domestic affairs when they are not education or humanities-and-the-arts."

In the course of this centralization, people will be moved around to areas where Bundy feels they will perform best. Frank Bowles, for example, formerly president of the College Entrance Examination Board, always an imaginative man impatient of bureaucracy and freshly returned from running a Paris-based UNESCO study of worldwide access to higher education, had been slotted as administrator of the foundation's projects in American elementary and secondary schools; Bundy last week moved him back to longer-range planning and in-

(Continued on Following Page)

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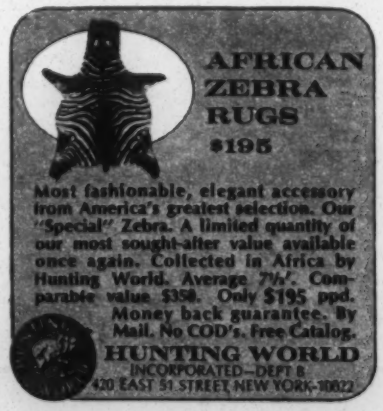

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(Continued from Preceding Page)
ternational education. All the Vestal Virgins worry a little about such reassignments in the temple, if only because Bundy, though indubitably a Roman himself, has recently spent so much time with Barbarians.

Basically, Bundy wants Ford, which in one sense means himself, to keep tighter control over the expenditure of its resources. Even the traditional use of the learned societies as regranting groups strikes him as possibly dubious policy. "We're in the wholesale business," he says. "Perhaps we should set up a retail store, rather than giving it to Pen Herring [director of the Social Science Research Council] and having him decide. Of course, the professions like it the way it is."

The new pattern involves transforming the vice-presidential layer from the place where program directors are told "No" to the area of direct authority, and Bundy for that purpose has been using to the hilt the unrestricted appropriation in the president's office. "If you sit here looking for the useful moment to help somebody get his job done, it's easy," he says. "That accounts for the honeymoon period. My approach has been that anyone who is equipped to be a vice president of the foundation is entitled to a hundred-thousand-dollar mistake. I've been approving officer grants virtually on somebody's say-so —with perhaps a phone call to say, 'Have you thought of *this?*' There is a problem in that officers do get deeply concerned with making *their* programs work, and see the money as fuel for their gas tanks rather than as a way to find a guy with a good car."

EXCEPT for his years of passage from private to captain during World War II, Bundy prior to his Washington experience had been an academician, a professor of government with a specialty in foreign affairs, and a university administrator. Both foreign affairs and the universities were areas where the foundation was deeply committed, and it seemed likely that Bundy at least at the beginning would work from these bases of *expertise*. Instead, after five months of meeting people, looking around and reading, he placed his first of what will be many stamps on the foundation with major public utterances on television and on the future of the Negro American.

The television position was taken in response to an invitation from the Federal Communications Commission to "all interested parties," to present proposals on how the F.C.C. should go about its legislatively mandated job of setting up long-distance communication by satellite in the United States. The Ford proposal, which has taken more of Bundy's time than any other single piece of work moving through the foundation, argued that

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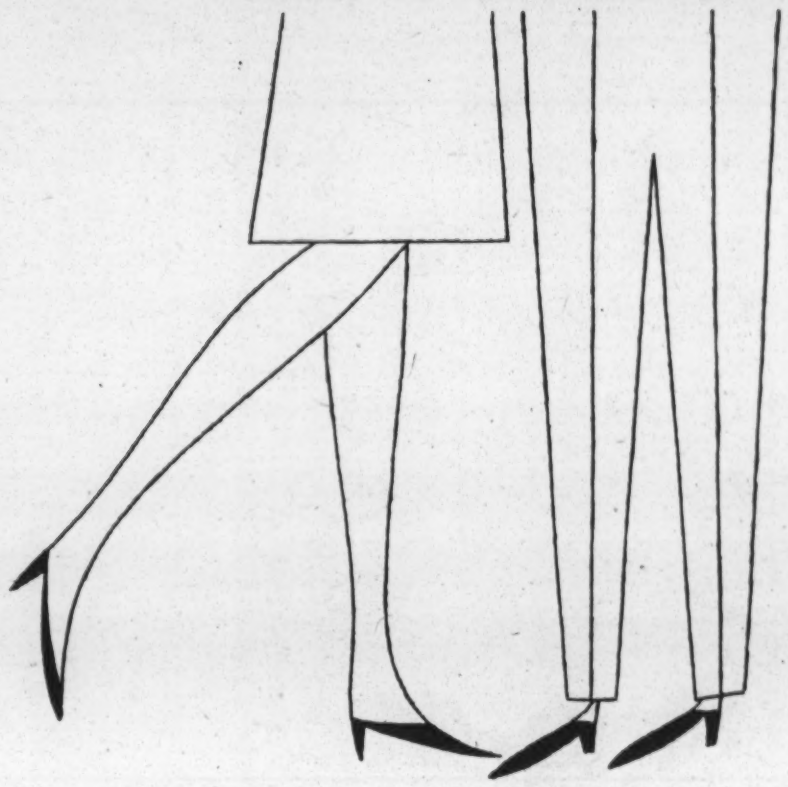
"Bundy will start educating people whether they like it or not"



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(Continued from Preceding Page)

the F.C.C. should grant a monopoly license to a private nonprofit corporation which would devote its revenues from the transmission of network shows to the promotion of noncommercial (*not* just "educational") television. It came about very much at Bundy's initiative and—perhaps significantly—the people most closely associated with it were the people he brought into the foundation himself.

"The day after I left C.B.S.," says Fred Friendly, who resigned loudly as president of C.B.S. News to protest the network's failure to carry live transmission of the Senate Vietnam hearings (hearings, incidentally, which Bundy heartily disliked), "I had a phone call at 10 in the morning, from a White House operator; could I speak with Mr. Bundy? He said, 'You know I'm leaving here to be president of the Ford Foundation. We've put a hundred million dollars into educational television, and we haven't got our money's worth. Would you talk about it with me?' He came up to New York, we had dinner, talked from 7 to midnight, when I walked him back to his hotel."

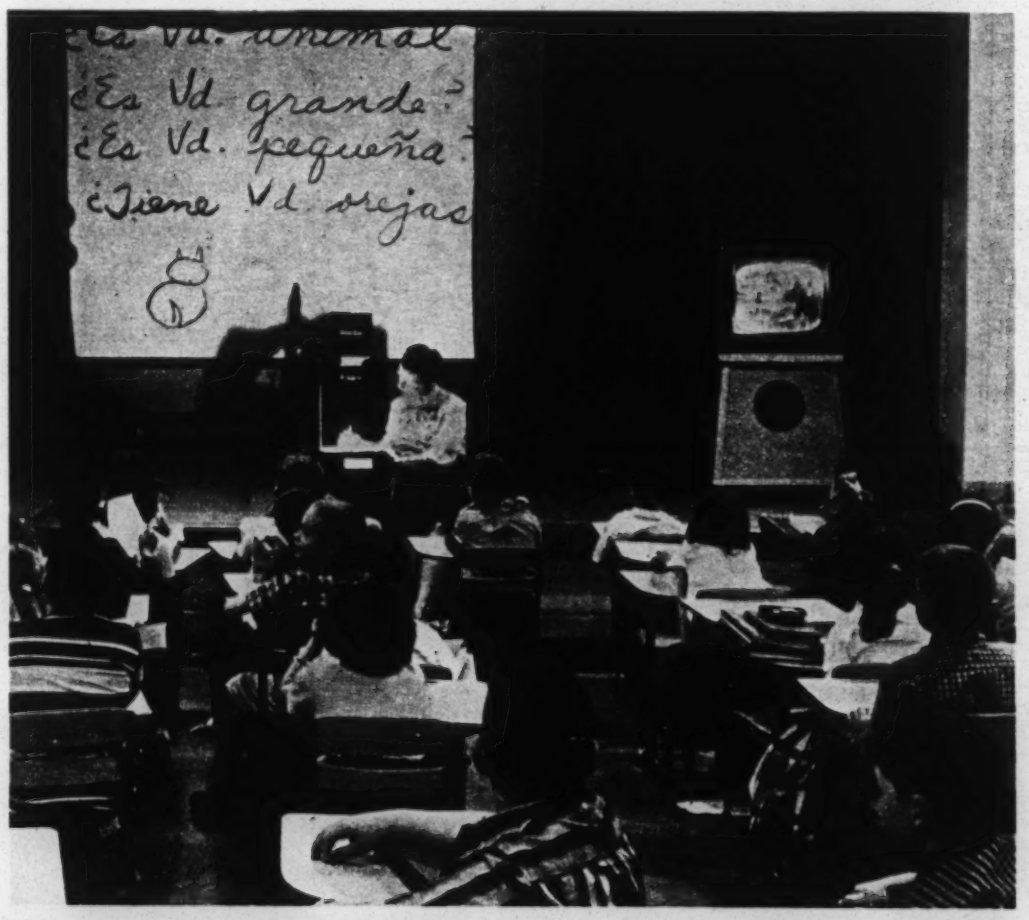
The two men had met when Bundy handled the White House staff work for the all-network year-end rocking-chair interview with President Kennedy, and had worked together again on the staging of the Bundy-Hans Morgenthau debate on American Vietnam policy. Though Bundy is quintessentially cool and Friendly is an angry man, they shared a number of attitudes toward broadcasting. "There wasn't anything new," Friendly says, "about the idea that the networks should pay a tax for their franchise—Walter Lippmann suggested it years ago. But there had never been a *plan*. The real story here, though, isn't the action of the foundation but the *reaction* of the public. This was an idea like one-way streets or Negroes in baseball or birth control—not just something whose time had come, but something that was lying there waiting for anybody to pick it up."

BUNDY hired Friendly to be the foundation's Advisor on Television (the capital letters and the spelling are canonical); and he likes to talk about the Ford proposal as primarily Friendly's doing. But The Economist of London noted shrewdly that "the Ford plan bears the Bundy stamp; like a good Harvard examination question, it will force the Federal Communications Commission to think harder than it had planned to do."

Friendly, perhaps with the instinct of a television veteran, refers to it as "the Bundy plan." Bundy says that his plunge into television "was an interlocking thing: Friendly came into the employment market at the time when the F.C.C. deadline was pending. It's untypical, in a way, but it may become more typical because it's been so much fun."

Among the fun parts has been the wrestle with the Bell System, which is more than a little concerned about the relationship between satellites and its own "long lines"; during the course of the ritual openings of this struggle, Bundy became the first prominent figure in quite a while (maybe ever) to say in public that the American Telephone & Telegraph Company was "crazy."

A slightly modified and much more detailed proposal will go from Ford to the F.C.C. on Nov. 30, and Bundy has brought people into the foundation



TV THAT EDUCATES—At Hawthorne School, Jefferson County, Ky., pupils hear a Spanish teacher on television as the classroom teacher writes words on a projecting device. Closed-circuit educational TV is a major Ford project.

(most notably, the Washington lawyer David Ginsburg, who wrote the brief that supported the original submission) for the purpose of maneuvering the plan through the rather shallow governmental waters ahead. Meanwhile, he and Friendly are cooking up additional surprises, among them direct commitments to specified people doing specified programing for noncommercial broadcast, a kind of identification which the foundation has avoided in the past because of its obvious risks.

ENCOURAGING as the cheerful uproar over the television plan has been, it obscured the second part of what had been planned as a one-two punch—Bundy's speech to the annual banquet of the National Urban League, in Philadelphia, the day after the release of the proposal to the F.C.C. Here—in the area of civil rights—there was no foundation "plan." What Bundy gave was a private apology for coming in late ("For the last five years . . . my job was to work on the foreign affairs of the United States . . . the time and attention which would ordinarily spread over a wider range of current concerns were heavily focused on events beyond our shores"); a warning that at best there were limits to what he could offer in the civil-rights field ("the most important single fact about the Ford Foundation in this context is that it does not have the kind of money this problem needs").

There was also a statement of personal commitment ("Speaking for myself, as one voter, it seems to me that it is right and reasonable to suggest that the level of effort—financial and political and personal—which is here required is fully comparable to the effort we now make as a nation in Vietnam"). The last of these statements being unofficial and perhaps "political," was not reprinted in the pamphlet of excerpts from the speech published by the foundation.

In this area, Bundy seems to have concluded, somewhat reluctantly, that the foundation must work mostly by encouraging, facilitating and perhaps demonstrating programs that only the Federal Government can actually accomplish. "Perhaps we can help people more intelligently apply for and use these larger governmental philanthropic pies," he says. "Encouragement from us may give the Government the courage of its convictions. Or we can find ways through training and research to make the U.S. Government more effective.

(Continued on Following Page)

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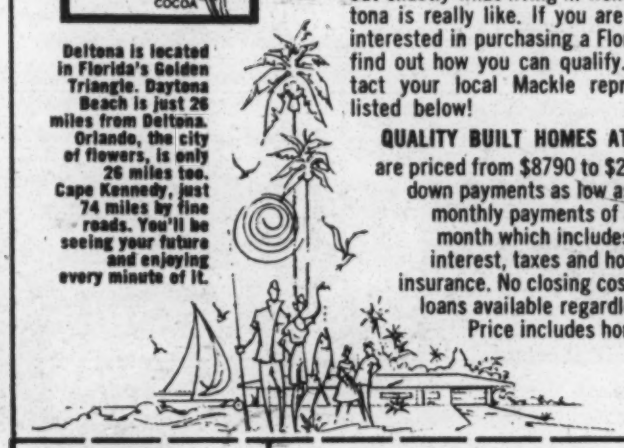

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WHITE HOUSE DAYS—Presidential aide Bundy at a Kennedy budget session in 1961. Backs to camera, Budget director David Bell (now also with the Ford Foundation) and, right, Theodore Sorensen. Far right, Elmer Staats, then deputy Budget director.

(Continued from Preceding Page)

"This is an area where you can't just go and say I want Professor So-and-So. After the war [then Harvard president James Bryant] Conant and [then Carnegie Corporation president John] Gardner set up the Russian Research Center at Harvard, to train people who could work on our relations with the Soviet Union. If we'd had this sort of center to train leadership for the civil-rights movement. . . ."

BUNDY speaks a little nervously about the need for the foundation to work with groups and individuals who can make themselves great nuisances; he is willing but not eager to face what comes when Ford-sponsored projects send pickets out to embarrass governments. "Picketing," he says with a gesture of distaste, disliking the cliché but knowing nothing more satisfactory, "is better than rioting."

He has been meeting both individually and in little conferences (Chairman Stratton often by his side) with all those leaders of Negro organizations who will meet with him, partly for his own education, partly in the hope that some idea will arise from a meeting that has not already been uncovered by the large and mostly very capable staff Ford has had working on these problems for a decade. (Bundy likes to ask "Why not?" questions, but unlike most people who ask such questions, he listens to the answers.) Meanwhile, he has put most of his reading time into trying to catch up on the literature of the race problem.

The chance to do some consecutive reading has been for Bundy the great luxury of the Ford job. Not too long ago, the Presidency was a post in which, according to Mencken, Calvin Coolidge could respond to bad news "by pulling down the blinds, stretching his legs upon his desk, and snoozing away the lazy afternoons." Under Kennedy and Johnson, it has become a job that takes all day, every day, all year long; and when the President is working he likes to have his staff close at hand: the White House limousine called for Bundy just about every morning. "The office here," Bundy says, marveling at it, "closes Friday afternoon. That's a new thing for me—even at Harvard we didn't close until Saturday afternoon."

NEW YORK is all new to Bundy. "One of the reasons I took this job,"

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Mott (C. S.) Foundation	418
Carnegie Corporation of New York	344
Hartford (J. A.) Foundation	342
Lilly Endowment	319
Sloan (A. P.) Foundation	309
Pew Memorial Trust	273

he says, "is the simple proposition that Mary and I wanted to live in New York for a while." On his desk is a copy of "The New York Times Guide to Dining Out in New York," and he daily receives recommendations from his staff (often astonishingly bad recommendations) about where to eat in this city. During his first half-year at Ford, however, he took his leisure time away from the city: "Mary and I made a long postponed trip to Japan, for our last chance to see it under the guiding eye of Ed Reischauer [until recently U.S. Ambassador to Japan; now back at Harvard, whence he came]; we took a trip to the Caribbean, took two of the children to Europe."

Being president of the Ford Foundation involves a certain devotion of social hours to duty (U.N.-type affairs, opening nights at the Met, etc.) —and being a Bundy does mean a certain amount of more conventional social obligation. His brother is in Washington, but he has a sister, Mrs. Hugh Auchincloss, who lives busily in suburban New Jersey. For the rest, Bundy has been more likely to spend time with old friends from Washington than with new friends here. Mostly, he says, "I've been seeing my family."

Ford's limousine calls for Bundy at his East Side apartment five mornings a week at 8:15, which gets him to the office at 8:30. "Traffic's not bad at that hour. Then I sort out the desk, which is what was there last night less what I did at home. I like to keep the first half of the morning clear—I don't succeed—for reading and thinking. Then I'm on the phone around the staff. I do the committee meetings and that sort of thing in the afternoon, which is not so good a time for starting out your own thoughts, but it's fine for committee meetings.

"Quite often I have a semi-business lunch. Last week there was one with Devereux Josephs to find out about Channel 13 from its board's point of

(Continued on Following Page)

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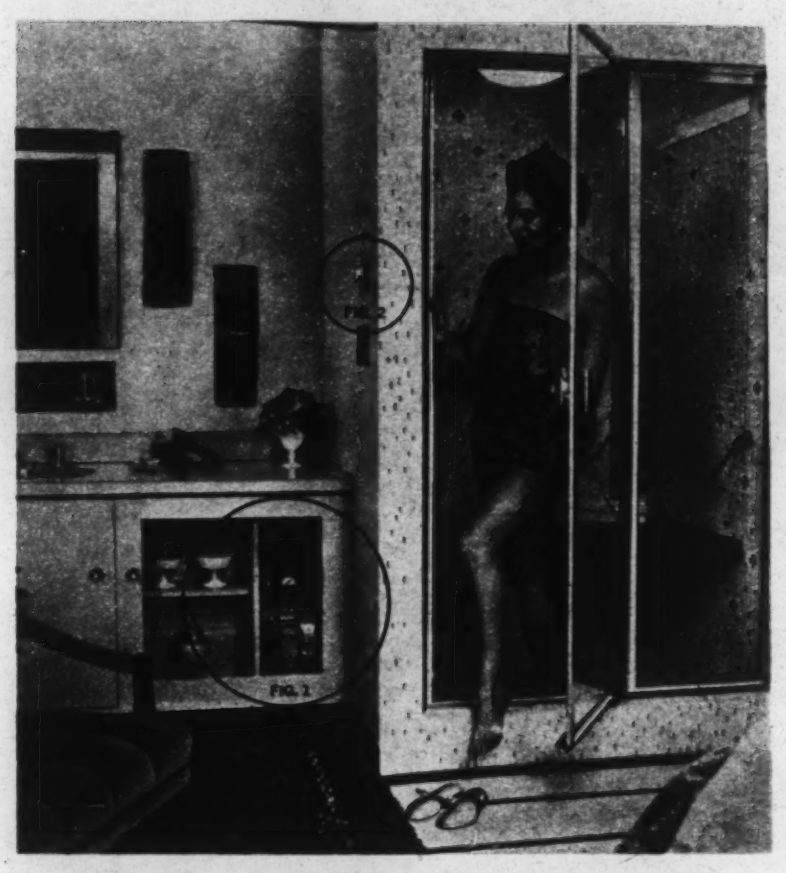

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

view, one with Ham Armstrong to talk about a hypothetical article for Foreign Affairs, one with a program director here about some changes I think should be made in his program, that I'd rather have him hear from me than read in a memorandum. There are always a few protocol meetings, with people who have the right to be turned down by the front office.

"Most of the time goes into planning changes in day-to-day affairs, and the need to keep a large staff of professionals fully informed. I'm still learning about the foundation. If there's some reason to leave early, if we're eating with the children, I'll leave at 5:30. Otherwise it's 6:30 or 7. One of the trustees said to me that this was a job that couldn't be done well more than half time. It hasn't worked out quite that way, but in hours it's a lot easier here than it was in Washington."

What seems a mild regimen to Bundy looks severe to some of his new subordinates. The switchboard is open later, 5:30 has become a normal time for a meeting to start, and a "task-force" approach, with scheduled target dates, is beginning to replace the more leisurely practice of individual responsibility for individual programs. During the last week of shaping the proposal for the F.C.C., the television task force worked practically round the clock, with Saturday and Sunday in the office. ("You should have seen the look on the faces of the porters," says Fred Friendly; "nobody'd ever been in those offices at that time before.")

Intellectually, Bundy is pretty fierce: he expects people to say what they have to say clearly enough so that he can stay one step ahead of them. "What we have around here these days," says one of the staff, "is a think tank in five-minute takes."

BUNDY is a compact, youthful, graceful man with thinning blond hair and two facial expressions: a rather fixed smile while listening, and an individual frown, the skin wrinkled over the bridge of the glasses in an Etruscan design, on the relatively few occasions when he has to ponder a reply. An older man not connected with the foundation, who has watched Bundy since he was in his early 20's, worries a little about his obvious confidence. "Mac is still guided," he says, "by attitudes he hasn't penetrated yet. He's always been close to the throne, not up against equals. When you're in a competitive job, up against the grit—that makes you tend to develop wisdom as distinct from just mental capacity."

As against that concern, McCloy, who has known Bundy equally long, sees him as "a highly articulate, able fellow; a doer, he keeps his desk moving; he's assertive, ambitious, with a sense of his own strength and a desire to exercise it." Highly self-conscious, Bundy is fighting not to exercise his strength prematurely. "The danger around here," he says, "is that you'll give in to the temptation to shoot at a target of immediate opportunity."

Bundy has already made certain adjustments to the job. The picture on the side table is still that of Henry Stimson, but beside it now are the three television sets that adorn the office of every major broadcasting executive (many of the television magnates, however, leave them running, with the sound off; Bundy leaves them dark). The level of urgency is different from what it was in the White House ("These are important matters," says a staff man, "but they're *not* the Cuban missile crisis"). The political context is different. "This situation," says Jay Stratton, "is peculiar to a foundation: to what extent is the staff officer merely a passive agent for somebody else's ideas, and to what extent does he impose his will on the recipient by virtue of his resources? I have lived," Stratton adds, "on the other side, too." And the time scale has to be longer: "The key here," Bundy says, "is to do things the society is going to want *after* it has them."

Meanwhile, Bundy is educating himself. "Somebody said," he recalls, "'If you want to know what goes on in the real world, the Ford Foundation is the best place to learn.' That's one of the reasons I was interested in the job. It may be that nobody tells the truth to a foundation; but everybody tells *part* of the truth. You get an interesting variety of people who come talk to you."

When this process is completed, the former professor of government will start educating others—whether they like it or not. "He will be," says Chairman Jay Stratton, cheerfully if not wholly comfortably, "a *very* stimulating influence." ■

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Ford Fund Grants Will Help Negroes Advance in Industry

FOUNDATIONS
NYT 12/9/66

The Ford Foundation announced yesterday a series of grants to help Negroes play a larger part in the nation's economy, both in small business and major industry.

The Potomac Institute in Washington will receive $246,000 to demonstrate professional counseling for small-business men in a Negro community, probably in the Baltimore area.

Three Middle Western universities—Washington, Indiana and Wisconsin — will receive $300,000, to be matched by industry, for the recruiting and training of up to 100 Negroes yearly for a master's degree in business administration and to prepare more Negroes for expanding executive openings in industry.

Other grants announced by the Ford Foundation yesterday included the following recipients:

¶The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—$35,000 for the preparation and publication of its Research Annual on Intergroup Relations for the next two years. The manual gives digests of research in ethnic, racial and religious interaction.

¶The University of California at Berkeley—$110,000 for the demonstration and development of a master of engineering program in design. Under the program, graduate students will gather information on engineering problems in industry.

¶Columbia University — $135,200 to make a comprehensive reassessment of American mores and translate the results into school, college and continuing-education teaching.

The University of California at Los Angeles was granted $20,000 and the University of Michigan $80,000 for a joint program of faculty attendance at engineering conferences over three years.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

FOUNDATIONS

REPORT TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION ON SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CONFERENCES, 1966

Conferences on school desegregation were held, as proposed, in eight southern states and the border state of Maryland under the sponsorship of each state's Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Following each of these, except the one in Maryland, a brief after-meeting was held to discuss the problems of achieving desegregation and to give practical guidance to Negro community leaders on the processes necessary. Such a meeting was also held in Tallahassee, for North Florida, although there was no Civil Rights Commission conference there. These meetings were sponsored jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the human relations councils of the several states and civil rights groups active in each.

Schedule and Attendance

The Louisiana conference was on March 26 at the Bentley Hotel, Alexandria. Approximately 1,000 people attended the conference and about 400 were at the after-meeting.

In South Carolina, April 2, at Dreher High School, Columbia, there were 800 at the conference, 250 at the second meeting.

The Virginia conference on April 9 was at John Marshall High School in Richmond and was attended by about 600. 200 remained for the after-meeting.

An estimated 1,200 people turned out for the Mississippi conference at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson on April 16. At least 450 stayed for the community organization meeting.

The North Carolina conference was at the University's Greensboro campus on April 30. Some 600 people attended, with

about 150 at the second session.

On May 7 the Arkansas Conference was held at Philander Smith College, Little Rock. About 550 attended, with 200 staying for the after-meeting.

The Georgia Conference was held in Atlanta, at the Biltmore Hotel, on May 14. Approximately 700 were at the main meeting and about 250 at the second meeting.

The Alabama Conference was on June 11 at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham. About 1,200 attended, with some 500 staying for the second meeting.

On April 23, while the U. S. Civil Rights Commission staff was engaged in the Maryland Conference, a small meeting was held for Negro parents and leaders in Tallahassee. About 70 people attended. The American Friends Service Committee, assisted by a staff member of the Florida Council on Human Relations, planned that extra conference, and the Southern Regional Council paid some travel expenses for participants.

The Programs

The conferences followed very similar patterns. Copies of the schedules for two of them are attached. It can be seen that the same basic program was used for both, and it was used for the others also. Speakers and other leaders varied, of course.

The organization meetings were also much alike. Ordinarily the entire group stayed together for a briefing, usually by Miss Jean Fairfax of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund or a member of the American Friedds Service Committee staff (which has been working intensively on school desegregation for a number of years). This briefing included the key points of the new guidelines, techniques of organization to secure transfers to formerly all-white schools, dodges to watch for, etc. There was also time for specific case-problems and questions and answers.

By April 30, when the North Carolina Conference was held, the transfer period was supposed to have been over. There was an extension. Nevertheless, the after-meetings of the last four conferences dealt more with what happened - instances of guidelines violations, difficulties, and the like - than with organization and planning. There was wide-spread frustration and an often-expressed feeling that "freedom of choice" plans would never do away with the dual school systems.

The Response

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina had the largest attendances and, as it seemed, the greatest interest. This was no doubt due to the fact that these are the states in which there has been least progress toward school desegregation and most frustration. (The attendance in Georgia was a little smaller than in the other Deep South states. Georgia and Alabama had had good conferences on school desegregation a couple of months before -- and Georgia did not have the widely-publicized, total opposition of the state administration to the guidelines that Alabama had.)

In Louisiana, where only six parishes had "voluntary" desegregation plans and five times as many were under court order, the interest was remarkable. There was little organization in Louisiana, the civil rights groups not having concentrated on that state, and the people seemed to feel the need keenly.

The Mississippi and Alabama Conferences had the added attraction of an address by Commissioner Howe himself. The challenging circumstances and considerable civil rights leadership also contributed to the greater interest shown.

However, the response in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia was not at all disappointing.

Costs

A statement showing expenditures for transportation state by state is attached.

Virtually all of the money expended from the New World Foundation grant was for transportation expenses of participants. Since most of the experts used were either from government agencies or the staffs of private organizations, only one or two consultants had to be utilized. Thus there was less expense for this purpose than we anticipated.

In addition, there was general agreement among representatives of the sponsoring agencies that we should not try to pay the entire cost of operating a car to the conference, but only the cost of gasoline and oil. At the first conference, Louisiana, we paid drivers at the rate of six cents per mile. We noted that many who collected were school principals, teachers and others who were not in the low-income group. Subsequently we reimbursed drivers at the rate of three cents per mile, which we calculated to be enough to buy gasoline and oil for the trip. (Except that in Virginia werwere already committed, by a letter of invitation to the after-meeting, to six-cents per mile.)

Evaluation

We feel that the conferences and after-meetings were very valuable and that the provision for participation by the poor greatly increased the value.

At all of the conferences a large number of counties were represented. (See attached partial listings of participants in the community organization meetings.) As a result information about the regulations, the rights of minority-group pupils, the specific steps required of school boards (including copies of required letters and forms), and the techniques of organization for school desegregation was widely disseminated. The staff of the Civil Rights Commission provided literally tons of government publications -- and they were taken eagerly by participants. Sponsors of the second sessions provided kits of material on organization to secure transfers and to monitor procedures of the local school board.

A second value of the conference was that they gave people opportunity to see, perhaps to meet, employees of government and private agencies who could be called upon for assistance. We feel that it was encouraging to community leaders to see what and who was available to help.

We also think that it was valuable for government officials to be confronted with people from remote counties and with their fears and difficulties concerning school desegregation.

The conferences provided a platform for reaffirmation by government officials of the validity of the guidelines and the determination of the administration to achieve desegregation. Commissioner Howe's speeches in Mississippi and Alabama, for example, were widely publicized. This kind of thing was valuable at a time when governors and senators and school officials from these states were publicly decrying the guidelines as illegal and calling for resistance to them.

NEGRO CONVICTED OF KILLING WHITE

GEORGIA

Mercy Is Recommended by Interracial Georgia Jury

3/4/66

AMERICUS, Ga., March 3 (UPI) — A jury of 10 whites and two Negroes convicted a 23-year-old Negro today of fatally shooting a white marine recruit during a tense racial demonstration last summer.

The Sumter County Superior Court panel spared the life of the admitted slayer, Charles Lee Hopkins, by recommending mercy. A prison sentence for life is now mandatory.

Hopkins is one of two Negroes charged with the slaying on July 28 of Andrew Whatley, 21, who had been accepted into the Marine Corps, but not yet inducted, just before his death.

Mr. Whatley was shot to death while standing on a street corner two blocks from the local courthouse, where Negroes were staging an all-night prayer vigil.

Hopkins, the only witness for the defense, confessed in a quavering voice that he had blindly fired a pistol into a white crowd, which he said was throwing objects at cars occupied by Negroes and yelling: "Nigger, nigger, we are going to kill you."

The confession was in the form of an unsworn statement.

Hopkins contended that he had fired blindly and "did not intend to kill anybody."

But the prosecutor, Solicitor General J. Frank Myers characterized the slaying as "wanton murder without regard for life" and asked that Hopkins be sent to the electric chair.

The jury, which took three days to hear the case, arrived at its verdict after 65 minutes.

Mrs. Lyda Whatley, mother of the slain white youth, lost some of the stony-faced composure with which she has viewed the trial and wiped tears from her eyes while the events leading to the slaying were reviewed.

Hopkins said he and a friend, 22-year-old Eddie James Lamar — who is to be tried later for Mr. Whatley's death — were on their way home when they saw the whites yelling and throwing objects at Negroes. As their car passed the group, Hopkins said he thought he heard a shot.

The young Negro said he had crouched down on the back floor of the car and began firing his pistol blindly.

Their car was wrecked later and Hopkins fled on foot. Lamar surrendered immediately and Hopkins surrendered later.

GEORGIA

The Atlanta Journal — Second FRONT

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

2 ** Wednesday, March 9, 1966

The Americus Crisis Viewed 6 Months Later

By WALKER LUNDY
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

AMERICUS, Ga., March 9 —An uneventful half year has shuffled past this easy-moving South Georgia farm town since racial fever between whites and blacks boiled into national view last summer.

Today, the town is back to "normal." The two races have made a wary uneasy peace. Life is going on almost as it did before.

But rumblings of trouble for the coming summer leak from the ramshackle Negro homes around Ashby Street. Life is slow paced on Ashby Street and summer is too far off for most people to worry just yet.

The trials last week of two young Negroes who shot down a white youth during a racial demonstration last July attracted only mild attention among the whites. And most local people of both races were satisfied with the verdict of the jury, on which two Negroes served.

One defendant, the alleged trigger man, received a life sentence and the other one, who drove the car, was given five years.

THE TRIALS were a post script to a strife-ridden "long hot summer" that saw Negroes by the hundreds march 30 times in three weeks from rickety wooden Friendship Baptist Church down Cotton Avenue to the modern Sumter County Courthouse for rallies protesting segregation.

It had been during one of these that a car carrying two Negroes had sped out of the night and Andy Whatley had fallen on a downtown street corner mortally wounded by a bullet in the head.

The next day, Gov. Sanders ordered more than 100 club-carrying state troopers into the city to keep separated the angry whites and marching Negroes. The number of gun permits issued tripled.

The city was in crisis.

But seven months have passed since the Whatley youth's funeral. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee people, the "outside agitators," have gone and the local Negroes who led the "Sumter County Movement" are biding their time.

Has the lot of the Americus Negro improved since the racial fires of last summer? Is he getting fair treatment from a group he candidly refers to as the "white power structure" of the community?

THE ANSWERS DEPEND upon who is being interviewed.

"We're working at it hard and we're doing the best we can," says Mayor T. Griffin Walker, a major target of much of the Negro complaining last summer.

"The demonstrations — without any doubt — set the relationship between the races back a good ways. But some of us have diligently been working to improve it and some very definite progress has been made," says Dr. R. A. Collins, a section leader of the powerful John Birch Society.

Most whites would agree.

The Negroes, however, present a different side.

"Americus is the same as it was last summer," says Rev. R. L. Campbell, president of the Sumter County Movement, the local organization that led the protest.

The Negroes have made certain gains although two of their key goals from last summer have remained unfulfilled.

One demand was that a biracial committee be established to open lines of communication between the races. Although the City Council has said the Negroes may appear before them to state their grievances anytime, no biracial group has been set up.

Another demand was for the county voting registrar to open his office a half-day on Saturday and at least one week night to make it easier for working Negroes to register to vote. The hours, 9 a.m.-noon and 2-5 p.m. Monday through Friday, have remained the same.

Says the Rev. Mr. Campbell: "We talk to them (the city fathers) but that's all we do, talk. They never promise us anything."

The city, however, did hire two Negro policemen after the demonstrations, which was a minor demand of the Movement. But the Negroes are unhappy with the city's choices. They say the Negro policemen are rougher with them than the white policemen.

Integration in the city is mostly just on paper for a variety of reasons.

The town's only movie theater has become integrated. But most of the Negroes sit in the balcony because they can't afford the more expensive downstairs seats where the whites sit.

DOWNTOWN BUSINESSES have been very slow in hiring Negroes except for jobs that require dust rags or brooms. One Negro works as a clerk in a clothing store but she was there before the demonstrations last summer.

The restrooms in the courthouse are still usually off limits to Negroes. During the trials last week, which were well attended by Negroes, the restrooms were kept locked much of the time. Once, when they were not and a Negro man tried to use one, a white man stepped in front of him and told him to stay away. The Negro turned away peacefully.

All three areas, the movie theater, downtown jobs equal with the whites and the courthouse restrooms, have been crisis points of racial disturbances at one time or another.

But an uneasy truce prevails there and in the other areas where Negroes are not happy with the white man's treatment.

The streets of Americus are clear of marching Negroes. But the city's racial sores are far from being healed.

"They're wrong if they think they are," says the Rev. Mr. Campbell referring to the community's white leaders. "If them people don't open up, we're gonna throw our bodies back in the streets."

He names the summer as a likely date.

Why not now?

"We aren't satisfied now but we got to rest. I'm so tired of it. The majority of the adults — the old people — is very tired," the Negro said, emphasizing the word "very."

"But the young people — the ones who are gonna have to live in Americus tomorrow when we're gone — they tell me every day they're not tired. They're just waiting for school to close," he said.

It was the young people who provided the bulk of the marchers last summer and who followed the leadership of the Movement and the leadership of the outside civil rights groups.

The Rev. Mr. Campbell said the major problem facing Americus Negroes today is still employment. They can't get good jobs, he says.

"That's just not true," said Dr. Collins. "Local industry is hiring without discrimination. But the white community is not going to give any dole outs."

The Rev. Mr. Campbell said, "A man told me the other day. He said, 'Reverend, I've got jobs open but it's nothing Negroes can do.' You know what it was? Driving a cold drink truck."

Most of the Negroes believe the white business community would like to break down more but are afraid of certain other whites, principally those belonging to or associating with the local Birch chapters.

SUMTER COUNTY is a stronghold of the John Birch Society. Several hundred in the county belong to one of several chapters that meet regularly.

The Americus Negro should not fear the Birch Society, Dr. Collins says.

"A large number of people here are trying to reach the Negroes. That is the role of the Birch Society, regardless of what the liberal press says. We even considered trying to form a sort of biracial committee of our own," the doctor says.

He explains how the idea got started that the Birchers were anti-Negro: "We just took a hard view when they marched up and down the streets last summer. We didn't think we should reward them for civil disobedience."

The local John Birchites tried last fall to organize a Negro chapter but could not.

"I think they were just afraid of the other civil rights Negroes," Dr. Collins says. "I think that's the only reason some of them didn't want to join."

He explains that he is "not at liberty to say" if there are any Negro members now in the local Birch organization.

Dr. Collins disagrees with the Rev. Mr. Campbell that trouble between the races is brewing for the coming summer. Other whites are divided.

"I just don't know what will happen," said one, "but I'm worried."

"It's gonna blow up just like it did last time, maybe," the Rev. Mr. Campbell predicts.

"I doubt if they're gonna try that stuff again in Americus" counters Dr. Collins. "If they do, they'll just wind up farther back than they are now."

GEORGIA

NEW TEETH FOR POLICE

East Point Law Aims At Rights Agitators

AJ 3/10/66

By DAVID NORDAN

East Point City Council has passed an ordinance aimed at "civil rights agitators," declaring that anyone not a resident of East Point who enters the city for the "sole purpose of breaking its laws or counseling anyone else to do so" will be subject to a fine and a term on the city's public works force.

Under the ordinance, conviction can bring from 30 to 90 days on the public works force and a fine of from $300 to $1,000.

The law says nothing about commission of the crime being necessary for conviction.

An official said he doubts that it will hold up in court, but it will provide the city's policemen with some protection if they are ever faced with the problem of handling demonstrators.

THE COUNCIL unanimously passed the ordinance on its first reading during a regular meeting this week.

200 Negro Pupils March In Crisp School Protest

AC 3/29/66 GEORGIA

CORDELE, Ga. (AP)—Negro pupils staged two demonstrations Monday protesting what they called poor conditions in the schools in Crisp County.

About 200 were in the morning demonstration, and police said there were no incidents as they marched to the courthouse offices of School Supt. James Y. Moultrie Jr.

The pupils stood in front of the building, sang and then departed.

About 100 returned in the afternoon. They were accompanied by two young white men wearing beards.

Five policemen stood across the street. They included two Negro policemen. Once, an officer cautioned the group of demonstrators to keep moving. They walked around the courthouse, through an outside corridor, and later departed, still singing and chanting.

Schools in Crisp County were integrated for the first time last fall. Under a freedom-of-choice plan, seven Negroes applied to attend white schools. Five were accepted.

Civil rights leaders said the demonstration was in protest of rundown conditions at one of the schools.

U.S. Still Undecided On Penn Case Action

GEORGIA AJ 3/29/66

By The Associated Press

A federal attorney in Macon, Ga., says if an indictment on conspiracy charges against six white men is reinstated in the 1964 highway slaying of Negro educator Lemuel A. Penn, it will be a mandate to present the case in court.

This means the federal government could proceed in June with a case against the six, all

Full story on Penn case on Page 11.

from Athens, Ga. The U.S. Supreme Court left it up to federal prosecutors Monday by reversing U.S. District Judge William A. Bootle's dismissal of federal charges growing out of the slaying of the Washington educator.

The Department of Justice says it has not yet made a decision on the case.

Penn was shot to death 23 miles northeast of Athens on July 11, 1964, as he and two other Negro men were driving back to Washington after Army Reserve training.

The six men, who had been charged with conspiring to "injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate Negro citizens," have been identified by the FBI as active in Ku Klux Klan affairs.

ON OTHER race fronts, at Oak Ridge, Tenn., a new barber shop scheduled to open April 12 will be guaranteed financial support in an attempt to break down segregation barriers at established shops.

The atomic city's Community Relations Council, a citizen group formed 10 years ago, has collected $3,000 of a $10,000 goal it has set to assure the new barbers a minimum income for one year.

The campaign started after a proposed public accommodations ordinance aimed at barber and beauty shops failed in City Council.

Also, Undersecretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins said Negro education is not keeping pace with new job opportunities for Negro men and women. He said predominantly Negro colleges provide the way stations for thousands of young Negroes who have no other opportunity for higher education.

Collins and McGrath were among speakers at a convocation of the United Negro College Fund in Washington.

IN CORDELE, GA., where five Negro pupils entered previously all-white schools last year, two protest marches were staged by young Negroes Monday to the office of the county school superintendent. About 200 pupils conducted a brief morning march and about 100 showed up during the afternoon, singing and marching through the Crisp County Courthouse. Civil rights groups said the pupils were protesting rundown conditions at schools.

Ten more North Carolina counties will be placed under restrictions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, because fewer than 50 per cent of the voting age population cast ballots in 1964. Four other counties were informed earlier they fell below the 50 per cent figure.

GEORGIA

Negroes and Whites Scuffle During Cordele School March

AC 3/31/66

CORDELE, Ga. (AP) — Brief shoving and scuffling occurred Wednesday between Negro and white demonstrators and police officers during a march protesting school facilities.

No one was injured and no arrests were made during an hour-long march by about 250 demonstrators, mostly Negro.

The group was marching in front of a business establishment when the proprietor asked them to leave. They left, but returned shortly and a brief shoving incident developed when the marchers refused to leave.

Wednesday was the third day demonstrators have marched on the Crisp County courthouse to protest to County School Superintendent James Y. Moultrie Jr. what they called shabby school facilities.

All of the city's policemen and deputies from the sheriff's office were sent to the courthouse.

Civil rights leaders said the pupils are protesting rundown schools including lack of hot water in restrooms, a lack of band instruments, overcrowding, inadequate heating and too few teachers.

Moultrie said the County Board of Education recognized that one of the schools, the Southview Junior High School, is in rundown condition but that the board plans to renovate it during the summer.

He also said that there is no hot water in some white schools in the county and that the county board was in the process of taking bids for new band instruments prior to the demonstrations.

Five Negro pupils were accepted under freedom of choice plans last fall when white schools were integrated in the county.

The superintendent said a half dozen persons outside of the county "are stirring up this agitation."

Moultrie met briefly with the demonstrators in his office Tuesday but when hundreds of them came into the courthouse he ended the meeting.

Governor Calls Act 'Disgusting'

AJ 7/1/66 GEORGIA

Gov. Sanders Friday ordered state troopers into Cordele where Negro demonstrators pulled United States and Georgia flags from the lanyard on the courthouse lawn.

He said he was taking this action "to guarantee that there will be no repetition of yesterday's disgusting spectacle and to assist local authorities in determining charges against those who are responsible for this outrageous act."

Lt. Gov. Peter Zack Geer Friday sent a telegram to Sol. Gen. Harvey L. Jay and Crisp County Sheriff Earle E. Posey in Cordele urging them to prosecute the offenders against the flags of the state and United States.

"This conduct not only is criminal, it is reprehensible and totally devoid of patriotism," he said.

"Any person who would mutilate the flag of his state or country is not entitled to legal rights and privileges — he deserves to be in the state penitentiary or in a public works camp."

MEANWHILE, a new American flag and a faded Georgia flag snapped in the breeze from the bent flagstaff Friday.

Sheriff Posey said resentment had cooled somewhat since Thursday when the flag pulling brought an angry outcry from white onlookers.

Col. Lowell Conner, state director of public safety, said about 30 troopers have been alerted in addition to the nine normally stationed at Cordele. He said they are prepared to move in at a moment's notice.

The city, with a population of 11,500, has a 15-man police force.

"The tearing down of the flag was an error of sorts," said George Pearson, 28, of New York, a white volunteer with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Standing in the dusty yard of a dilapidated frame Negro church, he was surrounded by a group of Negro pupils.

"The intention was to tear down the Georgia state flag," said Mr. Pearson. "When it came down and was unhooked, by then the crowd was so big no one could prevent them from taking the American flag."

MR. PEARSON said the Negroes justified the desecration of the Georgia flag on the grounds that it consists largely of a Confederate standard with a blue field on the left end of it.

While Mr. Pearson was talking, a Negro man wearing a hat and dark glasses walked up and said, "We are going to march

Turn to Page 6, Column 3

NEGROES DEMAND

Continued From Page 1

if we get killed." But he drove away immediately.

Gov. Sanders issued this statement about the Cordele flag-ripping incident:

"I am appalled by the irresponsible action of those demonstrators who have desecrated our flags. In my judgment there is no greater outrage that can be perpetrated against our nation and our flag.

"I have often pledged my allegiance to the flag and I repledge it now. And I further pledge that the flags of the United States of America and of the State of Georgia will be protected from those who would destroy them.

"Anyone who attacks the flags of our nation and our state should in my belief be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. . . ."

LOCAL POLICE swore out warrants against four Negroes on a state charge of desecrating the U.S. flag and made one arrest. Ramona Lockett, a Negro woman in her early 20s, was taken into custody.

Police said they also charged Ulysses Fullwood, a local integration leader, but were unable to find him. They declined to reveal the names of the other two but said they were having trouble locating them.

Shortly before noon Negroes began gathering in a church to prepare for a march similar to Thursday's.

It was the fourth day of marches protesting what Negro leaders call shabby schools. The focal point of the marches has been the Crisp County Courthouse. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is supporting the protestors .

A Negro man recovered the American flag from the two youths who were struggling with it and handed it to a policeman.

About 15 city policemen, the sheriff and two deputies watched the activity. After the flag incident, a police officer told the Negroes to calm down or leave. Then, about eight state patrolmen arrived and ordered the Negroes off the lawn and directed the white crowd to leave. Both groups dispersed.

EARLIER, county School Supt. James Y. Moultrie Jr. said he had notified Negro parents that school renovations sought in recent demonstrations had been planned for this summer.

Moultrie said the demands by Negroes include the closing of one school, better heating systems and textbooks at a high school and a larger lunchroom at an elementary school.

No arrests were made when the flags were pulled down Thursday, he said, because it was considered wiser at the time.

Police said they later went to a house where those who took part in the desecration were staying. They said they stopped in front of the house, and the suspected persons escaped by the back door.

The flags were pulled down at the climax of a wild demonstration by about 200 Negro youths. A demonstrator shook the Georgia flag in the face of policemen, and holes were torn in the American flag as two demonstrators tugged on the banner.

GEORGIA

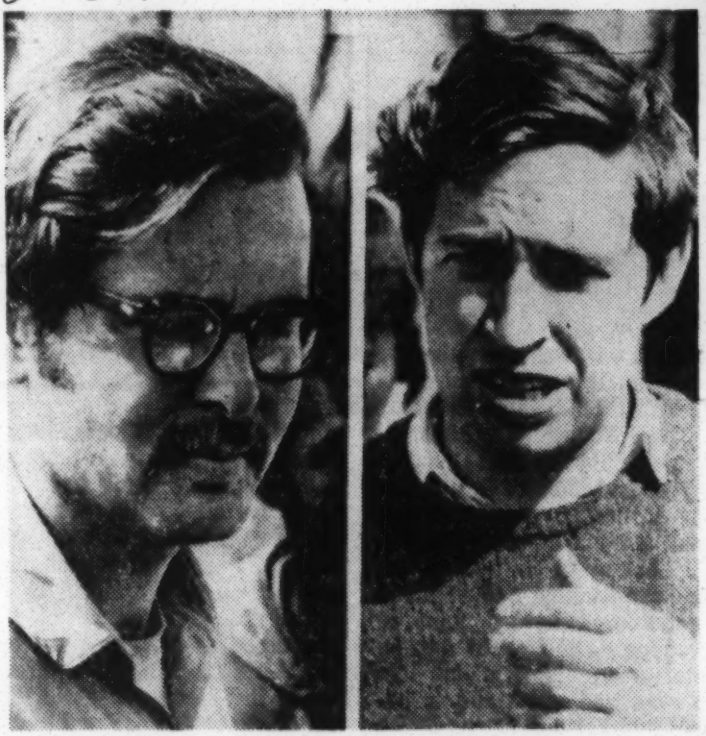
Cordele Is Warned By Craig

4/4/66

Guard Flag or Klan Will, He Declares

CORDELE, Ga. (AP) — Calvin Craig, Georgia grand dragon of the United Klans of America, warned officials in this south Georgia town Sunday that Southern Klansmen intend to see that the American flag is "protected from perverts and niggers."

Craig, a husky, brown-haired Klan leader from Atlanta, spoke to a crowd of about 300 whites in front of the Crisp County Courthouse near where a group of mostly Negro demonstrators ripped down Georgia and U.S. flags from a pole last Thursday.



Associated Press Wirephoto

ARRESTED IN CORDELE FLAG CASE
L-R: Joseph York Stetson, Sith Weeks

About 25 robed Klansmen stood with Craig as he spoke from a sidewalk and aimed remarks at city and county officials.

"If the local officials can't protect Old Glory we will come down with enough to do the job,"

Several persons in the crowd cheered Craig's remarks.

The Klan leader said he could draw from Klan memberships in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida if it became nec-

While Craig and others spoke, a new state flag sent to Cordele by Gov. Carl E. Sanders flapped from the flagpole beneath a new American flag which a city official said was sent from nearby Tifton.

Later, Craig led his robed followers and about 250 persons on a silent, eight-block march through Cordele. There were no incidents. City police rerouted traffic around the marchers.

Meanwhile, Crisp County Sheriff Earlie E. Posey said Sunday two demonstrators arrested Saturday in connection with the flag-tearing incident have identified themselves to authorities.

He said a man who previously identified himself to newsmen as George Pearson, 28, has told authorities his name is Sith Weeks. Weeks said he is a volunteer worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from New York.

The other person arrested gave his name Sunday as Joseph York Stetson, 25, of Woodstock, Vt.

Posey said they were charged with conspiracy to deface a U.S. flag.

A total of six persons have been charged in connection with last Thursday's rowdy demonstration at the courthouse, which grew out of Negro protests of conditions in several schools.

Negro leaders called off all demonstrations until Monday, but a group of about 25 SNCC workers met Sunday afternoon in a church.

GEORGIA

RALPH

McGILL

AC 5/8/66

Tombs Of the Past

This is a Southern story, based on an event in one state. Included in it are some of the effects of reapportionment and the agricultural revolution.

Dr. Duncan McRae, of Telfair County, Georgia, was discussing consolidation with adjoining Wheeler County. Dr. McRae is a well established physician in the county seat. His family name is that of the county seat. In Wheeler County Commissioner Wallace Adams, banker, farmer, and businessman, has joined in the request.

Neither commissioner is a politician. Each entered politics in an effort to try and stem the downward drift of their home counties. Telfair is an old county, dating to 1807. A generation ago it was nationally known as the home of the late Eugene (Old Gene) Talmadge. He was three times governor of the state. Wheeler is new. It dates from 1912. At about the turn of the century there was a rush to establish new counties in all the rural South. Some few met a need. Others merely gratified a political clique and gave them a county to "run."

More Counties

Georgia has more counties than any state save Texas — a total of 159. More than a hundred of these counties are losing population. Of these, perhaps 60 or 80 are in, or near, a desperate financial condition. Their schools deteriorate. The county services are few and largely inefficient. Empty stores along the main street testify to the business decline. Cotton, once the backbone of the economy, diminishes more

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Telfair and Wheeler are not in the deeply depressed list of counties. Both, however, are losing population as the agricultural revolution continues.

Politics, once a very hot occupation and subject, is in an almost somnolent state now that reapportionment has given the state a more equitable but still out-of-balance system of representation. Georgia's outrageous county unit system, which enabled small, sparsely populated counties to elect a governor, congressman or U.S. senator, even though the candidate was badly behind on popular votes, was declared unconstitutional. This decision has contributed to the tomb-like quality of many courthouses.

Cotton States

In all the old cotton states there are signs of the sickness that began with the boll weevil in the 1920s. Cotton began moving westward. For a time, the small farms hung on. But they, too, are going fast. In only a few counties are there a Dr. McRae or a Wallace Adams. In most of the ailing counties the old courthouse crowd holds fast to the past, waiting for something to turn up. Except for federal farm price supports, federal highways and other benefits from Washington, they would be out of business. But they hang on, blaming all their woes on Washington.

Many of the sick Southern county seats could be rehabilitated. Consolidation of counties after thorough rigid planning will help. This would include an honest approach to schools and education and a knowledge of resources, manpower and skills.

Some years ago Connecticut abolished all her counties. The result has been good. Government is more efficient and flexible. A general overhaul in all states is indicated.

Georgia would do well to reduce her 159 counties to 10, making each congressional district a county. Good roads and immediate communications long ago removed any reason for the existence of a great many county seats. They have become symbolic tombs of the old days —where nothing happens.

GEORGIA AC 5/19/66

Computers Once Deleted Negroes Asking State Jobs

Negro applicants for certain state government jobs i Georgia once were screened by a special code and a co puter, but the practice was abandoned recently.

A state merit system division director said Wednesday th IBM computers were programmed to delete Negroes fro lists of certified applicants when state agencies requested it.

He said he racial factor was removed from the compute process around the middle of 1965.

John Bentley, chief of the Personnel Transactions Division of the merit system, said until that time departments seeking employes were given a segregated list of applicants if they asked for it.

A memorandum to agency personnel on Feb. 24, 1965, included directions for the special code which could be inserted into the computer. The race factor was listed under the heading of "special qualifications."

Panel Again Votes To Deny Bond Seat

GEORGIA

AC 5/23/66

By WAYNE KELLEY

The House Rules Committee voted "unanimously" Monday to deny Julian Bond a seat in the state legislature for the second time in four months.

The action by 21 committee members prevents the 26-year-old Negro from taking the oath of office for Fulton County's 136th District seat.

Mr. Bond announced immemediately after the committee rendered its verdict that he will be a candidate for the legislative post a third time in September.

"I'm going to try to raise the money to qualify to run for re-election," he said.

He will have opposition from Malcolm J. Dean, the dean of men of Atlanta University, whom Mr. Bond defeated for the post last summer.

MR. BOND said he understood that Mr. Dean would oppose him in the Democratic primary this time out, rather than as a Republican.

The youthful Negro said after the committee decision that his hearing was "as fair as one might expect."

He told the Rules Committee Monday morning his anti-Viet Nam war views "have been strengthened, if anything" since Jan. 10, when the House denied

Turn to Page 4, Column 3

BOND

Continued from Page 1

him his seat by a whopping 184-12 vote.

"Just as they hoped I had changed my views, I had hoped they had changed their mind," Mr. Bond commented. "I guess we were both wrong."

The House voted against seating Mr. Bond after he endorsed a statement denouncing U.S. military involvement in Viet Nam as "murder" and aggression. He also said he admired the courage of anyone who burned his draft card, though he would not burn his own.

Mr. Bond ran unopposed in a February election after the House refused to seat him. This election was challenged by Reps. Jones Lane of Statesboro and William B. Steis of Hamilton.

The House Rules Committee heard more than an hour of testimony Monday before retiring in executive session to vote on whether Mr. Bond should be allowed to take the oath of office this time around.

REPRESENTING the would-be legislator were attorneys Howard Moore of Atlanta and Leonard Boudin of New York. Mr. Boudin and an associate, Victor Rabinowitz, once represented Fidel Castro.

Former state rep. Denmark Groover, attorney for Rep. Lane, questioned Mr. Bond closely about his present attitudes on the Viet Nam struggle. Mr. Groover asked if Mr. Bond's opinions changed.

"They would have been strengthened if there was any change," Mr. Bond replied.

HE SAID under examination that he had given about eight speeches in cities across the nation since his battle for the House seat in January. Mr. Bond conceded that he has said he "would be interested" in seeing a Negro test the draft laws, contending that Negroes are not accorded full citizenship rights and should not be compelled to serve in the armed forces.

Asked by Mr. Groover if he would go to jail rather than be drafted, Mr. Bond replied that "in all situations in which I find myself, I will obey my conscience."

GEORGIA

50 Troopers Race to Cordele As Negroes Roam and Stone

AC 6/27/66

From Press Dispatches

CORDELE, Ga. — The State Patrol speeded 20 troopers into this south Georgia city Sunday night after bands of Negroes roamed through the streets tossing rocks, bottles and bricks. Officials said several persons were slightly injured.

State troopers from Tifton, Americus and Perry were sent to aid local police and troopers.

A crowd of white persons had gathered in the afternoon, but at 11 p.m. Patrol Lt. R. L. Jordan reported that the city was quiet.

Sgt. L. T. Barlow, head of the Cordele State Patrol post, said more than 200 Negroes gathered at one time in the downtown area. He said the crowd milled around and several bottles were thrown. Minor injuries were reported and a few windows were broken.

Barlow said two persons were injured earlier in the afternoon at a state park swimming pool near here.

He said a truck driven by a Negro, Clemmie Gascon, 29, rammed his patrol car, knocking it into a youngster. The boy was not identified, he said. "We haven't been able to find him."

Gascon was arrested on a charge of assault with an automobile, Barlow said. The sergeant said Gascon was treated at a hospital for bruises and then turned over to authorities here.

Barlow said Cascon had driven the truck, loaded with Negro adults and children, to the swimming pool. Several other cars containing Negroes arrived at about the same time, he said.

About 100 white persons were in the area, he said, but the cause of the bottle throwing had not been determined.

"I don't know how it started," he said. "There was some

Continued on Page 10, Column 2

Troopers Sent To Cordele Riots

Continued from Page 1

bottle-throwing. I guessed it lasted about 15 minutes."

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) said at least one other person had been arrested.

Barlow said other arrests were pending but he declined to reveal details.

Lt. Jordan said he understood the truckload of Negroes was attacked by some white men when the Negroes attempted to go swimming in the already-desegregated pool. He said he had no details.

Crisp County Sheriff Earlie Posey could not be reached for comment.

Cordele Police Chief T. J. McMurrain said no arrests had been made in the city as a result of the Sunday night confrontation.

"It's bad that innocent people get hurt in a thing like this," McMurrain said. "We've had windshields knocked out and people hit with rocks that had nothing to do with this."

The FBI said it would begin immediately an investigation to determine if there had been any violation of civil rights laws in the incidents.

GEORGIA

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1966.

Curfew Is Imposed in Cordele, Ga., After Racial Gun Battle

CORDELE, Ga., June 29 (UPI) — An all-night curfew was imposed on this south Georgia town today after whites and Negroes exchanged gunfire for 90 minutes early this morning.

It was the third straight nigh of violence in this town of 10,600.

Twenty state trooptrs moved in to help the city police to preserve order and enforce the curfew. The curfew, imposed by the City Commission, will be in force from 8:30 P.M. to 5 A.M. No one will be allowed on the streets except for emergencies and anyone leaving home must telephone the police first. No business will be open at night.

The commission also adopted a measure prohibiting crowds from forming. The six commissioners said both measures would remain in effect until law officials approved their repeal.

Col. Lowell Conner, head of the Georgia Highway Patrol, said he woul do "everything necessary to uphold the law in Cordele and Crisp County."

He said he was ready to increase the number of patrolmen in town.

The gunbattle that stretched into early morning was a continuation of violence that was touched off Sunday afternoon by a confrontation between whites and Negroes at an integrated swimming pool.

About 25 to 30 whites, many of whom arrived in cars with out-of-county license plates, gathered at a Negro-operated service station. They milled around and caused no trouble until a Negro youth hurled a bottle that smashed the windshield of a sports car driven by a white man.

About 10 of the white men then grabbed rifles, pistols and shotguns. One of them fired. Within seconds, Negroes hidden nearby began to fire.

The other armed white men then opened fire, despite police pleas over a bullhorn asking them to "Hold your fire, hold your fire."

No One Injured

No one was hurt, the police said, but the service station was badly shot up.

After a half hour, the whites stopped firing and the Negro snipers also quit shooting. Then a car entered the neighborhood, about six blocks from the county courthouse, and a shot that sounded as if it had come from a small-bore weapon, came from the vehicle.

The white men began shooting again, although observers could not tell the race of the car's occupants.

The shooting went on another hour. Perhaps five or six Negroes, moving from place to place, exchanged fire with the whites who remained at the service station.

About 25 state troopers from several south Georgia cities arrived and helped disperse the crowd. Five whites were taken into custody.

GEORGIA

Negroes Swim in Park Pool Where Violence Once Flared

AC 7/14/66

CORDELE, Ga. (UPI)—More than 100 Negroes visited nearby Veterans' State Park Sunday and a few went swimming in the pool where racial violence flared a week ago, but there were no incidents.

The pool was less than one-third full. State parks director Horace Caldwell told the Negroes and the few white sympathizers who accompanied them that vandals had broken in and let some water out of the pool.

"Y'all can come back and swim tomorrow," Caldwell said. But some of the Negroes insisted on swimming then.

STREETS DESERTED

The streets of Cordele were deserted after the curfew went into effect Sunday night, the State Patrol reported, and a thunderstorm minimized the possibility of any trouble during the night.

The Negroes arrived during the afternoon in cars, a truck and a bus. They were closely guarded by more than 100 state troopers and sheriff's deputies, who lined the road from Cordele to Veteran's State Park and surrounded the pool.

Patrol Capt. R. J. Taft said a "large group" of white persons watched the Negroes arrive and enter the pool, but none were in the immediate pool area. He said most of the white persons just minded their own business in other areas of the park.

ALL IS QUIET

"Everything was just as quiet as could be," Taft said.

The Negroes bought candy and soft drinks at a concession stand, swam for about two hours and then went back to Cordele while the troopers again lined the road.

State Public Safety Director Col. Lowell Conner said his men would patrol Cordele Sunday night and would be on hand for any further developments Monday.

"They (the Negroes) are to let me know their plans tomorrow (Monday)," Conner said, "They said today they didn't know what they would do. We'll be around on Monday, but there was nothing to it today."

VIOLENCE FLARES

Racial violence and vandalism flared in Cordle last Sunday after a group of white men attacked a group of Negroes at the park pool. Young Negroes roamed the streets tossing rocks and bottles through windows.

Gunfire erupted later in the week and several fires were set, but no injuries or serious damage was reported. A strict 8:30 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew was imposed Wednesday and remains in effect.

The Negro driver who first brought the Negroes to the pool, Clemmie Gaston, faces trial on charges of assault with attempt to murder sheriff Earlie Posey and on disorderly conduct charges.

Klan and Rights Units Warned on Parks Use

GEORGIA AC 7/19/66

From Press Dispatches

State Parks Director Horace Caldwell Monday promised a crackdown on the use of state parks by organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and civil rights groups.

Meanwhile, at Cordele charges of possessing riot equipment lodged against seven white men as they entered a state park where a Ku Klux Klan rally was scheduled may go before a grand jury which convenes next Monday.

Crisp County Sheriff E. E. Posey said Monday that to his knowledge none of the seven had requested a preliminary hearing.

They were arrested Sunday as state troopers and sheriff's deputies found two tear gas pens, two crash helmets and a screwdriver during a search of vehicles entering Georgia Veterans State Park, where an interracial brawl had erupted three weeks before.

About 600 whites watched the afternoon Klan rally at the park while about 50 Negroes swam or lounged at a pool about a quarter-mile away.

Protesting what it called an illegal search, the Klan organized a brief, orderly march around the Crisp County Courthouse after the rally. The seven arrested were released after $500 bond each was put up for them.

Cordele Circuit Solicitor Harvey Jay said he had not been officially informed of the charges, but that if no hearing is requested the case probably would go to the grand jury which convenes next Monday.

Caldwell said the groups could not be kept from using the parks but that park rules would be strictly enforced in the future. He enumerated four specific rules violated by the Klan at the rally led by Grand Dragon Calvin Craig Sunday — using a public address system, distributing literature, selling pennants, and the wearing of a Klan robe by Craig.

Caldwell said Sheriff Posey was mistaken in ordering newsmen not to photograph the rally, which drew about 500 persons. Posey told newsmen "the state" had issued rules against the use of cameras.

Caldwell emphasized that the crackdown on park use was not directed along racial lines.

Caldwell emphasized that most groups were still welcome to use state parks as long as they strictly observed the rules.

Weltner Quits House Race Rather Than Back Maddox

GEORGIA 10/4/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 3—Representative Charles Longstreet Weltner gave up today the Democratic nomination for a third term in Congress rather than abide by a party loyalty oath that would have required him to support the arch segregationist, Lester G. Maddox, for Governor.

"I cannot compromise with hate," said Mr. Weltner, who represents the Atlanta area and has voted for three consecutive civil rights bills.

His decision, believed to be unparalleled in Georgia in modern times, compounded the shock that has pervaded the liberal and moderate wing of Georgia's Democratic party since a runoff election on Sept. 29.

On that day Mr. Maddox, who once sold ax handles to combat desegregation of his restaurant, soundly defeated Ellis Arnall, a racial moderate and former Governor, for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

Despite the shock of that result, however, no one had expected any protest as dramatic as that made by Representative Weltner today.

"The Democratic National Committee has been calling all around wanting to know what in God's name is going on," said one political ally of Mr. Weltner. "And all we can tell them is that the guy is standing on principle. It's as simple as that."

Mr. Weltner called Mr. Maddox "the one man in our state who exists as the very symbol of violence and oppression," and added:

"While I cannot violate my oath, I cannot violate my principles."

He said, however, that he could not bring himself to vote for Representative Howard H. Callaway, the Republican candidate, either, and would write in a candidate for Governor in the general election on Nov. 8.

This determination to write in a name, he said, left him with no alternative, in view of the loyalty oath, except to withdraw as the Democratic

Continued on Page 34, Column 1

Weltner Quits House Re-election Bid Rather Than Back Maddox in Georgia

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

nominee from the Fifth Congressional District.

The oath requires candiates for nomination in Democratic primaries to "pledge myself to support at the general elections of Nov. 8, 1966, all candidates nominated by the Democratic party of the state of Georgia."

The oath has to be witnesses and notarized by each candidate, before they can qualify to run in Democratic primaries.

Wording of Oath Revised

George D. Stewart, secretary of the Georgia Democratic party, said he revised the wording of the oath when he assumed office 17 years ago during the era of the Dixiecrat revolt in the South, similar oaths, he said, have been the practice in Georgia "for the past 100 years.'

Some Democratic candidates, however, are little concerned by the oath. Among them is State Senator Leroy Johnson, a Negro who signed it to qualify for his successful race for the Democratic nomination for a third term in the Georgia Senate.

He said today that he would refuse to support Mr. Maddox, and would be "seriously interested" in taking Representative Weltner's place as the Democratic nominee for Congress in the Fifth District.

The district's Democratic executive committee will choose a replacement for Mr. Weltner. Many political observers believe it is too much worried over the possibility of a Republican sweep in November to risk a Negro candidate for Congress. Thus, Senator Johnson's chances of getting the nomination were regarded here as slim.

Mr. Weltner declined comment on Senator Johnson's aspirations, but said he did not agree with the view that the Republicans will win in November.

He said that Mr. Maddox had an "overwhelming chance" of winning because he had taken Representative Callaway's "big issue—the race issue"—away from him.

"Callaway is the same as Maddox on race except in a slicker way," Mr. Welt said. "He uses code names such as property rights, which means we ain't gonna to serve no niggers."

The first reaction of politicians here was that Representative Weltner's withdrawal (he will continue to serve out his present term, which ends in January) greatly improves the chances of Republicans for capturing the Congressional seat. The Republican candidate is State Senator Fletcher Thompson.

But whether the withdrawal of Mr. Weltner will improve the Republicans' chances of capturing the Governor's office mise with hate. I cannot support Lester Maddox.

"Therefore, I am withdrawing as the Democratic nominee for the House of Representatives.

"I do so with abiding gratitude for the many friends who have sustained me—and with deep regret I love the Congress But I will give up my office before I give up my principles"

After he put the statement aside, Mr. Weltner told reporter that his decision was a s clear-cut as he had made it sound.

"I am definitely out of politics this November, either as a party candidate or as a write-in candidate," he said.

He said, however, that he hoped to return to politics "some tim ein the future."

He said that the decision he reached today had been the toughest od his 39 years, tougher than his decision two years ago when he first voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but then switched his vote when the bill came before the House in revised form.

Decision Stuns Congress

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3—Congress was stunned today by Representative Weltner's decision to give up his House seat rather than support Mr. Maddox for Governor.

One after another, as word of Mr. Weltner's decision spread through the House and Senate Chambers, members slipped out to the lobbies and read the news from Atlanta on the wire tickers.

They stood there, the long sheets of ticker copy in hand, shaking their heads in disbelief. Some walked away silently. Others conversed quietly.

Some viewed the action as a modern footnote to President John F. Kennedy's book, "Profiles in Courage," accounts of politicians who had faced up to difficult decisions.

"It was a very wonderful and courageous action," said Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn.

"Charlie Weltner is one of the finest and bravest men I have ever met in all my years in public life," House Speaker John W. McCormack commented.

But others, principally Deep South Democrats, regarded Mr. Weltner's move as an admission that he feared that white backlash sentiment might defeat him in November because of his liberal voting record.

"I guess Charlie knew when to get out," said one Southerner, who asked not to be named.

"I'm surprised, that's all. I can say right now," said Representative Hale Boggs, Democrat of Louisiana, the acting majority leader. "He didn't talk to me."

Representative James A. Mackay, who comes closer to sharing Mr. Weltner's liberal views than any other member of the Georgia delegation, said he was "astounded, just astounded." "Charlie didn't tell me a thing, and I saw him just last Saturday," Mr. Mackay added.

Mr. Mackay said he respected his colleague's decision, but would not follow his lead.

"I will vote the Democratic ticket," Mr. Mackay said. "My position is that if there was ever a time to fight for rational leadership in Georgia, it's now. I'm an American first and a Southerner second."

While pledging to vote for Mr. Maddox, Mr. Mackay said he will not campaign for him.

"I expect to see a Southern renassance someday soon," Mr. Mackay said. "This could be the dark before the dawn."

Other members of the Georgia delegation said that they, too, would support Mr. Maddox.

"It's very easy for me to support the nominee," said Representative Maston O'Neal. "In fact, it will be a lot easier than it was two years ago to support L.B.J."

Representative Phil M. Landrum, smiling broadly, said he would "do everything I can to help [Mr. Maddox] make skillet-fried Pickrick chicken in our new million dollar Governor's mansion."

This was a reference to Mr. Maddox's fried chicken speciality at the Pickrick restaurant in Atlanta that he closed down rather than integrate.

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But whether the withdrawal of Mr. Weltner will improve the Republicans' chances of capturing the Governor's office was problematical.

The Congressman's announcement that he would write in a name for Governor could give impetus to a drive among Negroes and white liberals for a write-in campaign. Possibly this would be for State Senator James Carter, who ran third behind Mr. Maddox and Mr. Arnall in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, but thus far has been opposed to the write-in proposal.

Cool to Write-in Plan

Mr. Weltner said he was not interested in being a write-in candidate himself, either for Congress or for Governor, and said he believed the write-in idea would be "futile" for anyone who tries it. He said he planned to write in a name only because he could bring himself to vote for either of the two party candidates.

Only three days ago Mr. Weltner said he would abide by the Democratic loyalty oath, but at a news conference this morning in his Atlanta office he told reporters he had been wrestling with his problem for several days and reached his new decsiion only at 2:30 this morning.

"I called my wife in Washington," he said, "and she said 'You're kidding.'"

It was clear, too, that the Congressman's staff had been caught by surprise. A secretary fought to keep back the tears as Mr. Weltner read his formal statement of withdrawal.

"On Oct. the 1st," Mr. Weltner said, "I made the following statement:

"'As all Democratic candidates, I signed a pledge to support on Nov. 8 the nominees of the Democratic primary. And though I have always opposed Mr. Maddox in the past, I cannot violate my oath.'

A 'Symbol of Violence'

"Today, the one man in our state who exists as the very symbol of violence and oppression is the Democratic nominee for the highest office in Georgia His entire public career is directly contrary to my deepest convictions and beliefs.

"And while I cannot violate my oath, neither can I violate my principles. I cannot compro-

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But others, principally South Democrats, regarded Mr. Weltner's move as an admission that he feared that white backlash sentiment might defeat him in November because of his liberal voting record.

"I guess Charlie knew when to get out," said one Southerner, who asked not to be named.

"I'm surprised, that's all I can say right now," said Repre-

would not follow his lead.

"I will vote the Democratic ticket," Mr. Mackay said. "My position is that if there was ever a time to fight for rational leadership in Georgia, it's now. I'm an American first and a Southerner second."

While pledging to vote for Mr. Maddox, Mr. Mackay said he will not campaign for him.

drum, smiling broadly, said he would "do everything I can to help [Mr. Maddox] make skillet-fried Pickrick chicken in our new million dollar Governor's mansion."

This was a reference to Mr. Maddox's fried chicken speciality at the Pickrick restaurant in Atlanta that he closed down rather than integrate.

GEORGIA

Baker Schools Get Threat of Boycott

Snick and Negro Parents Ask State Patrol Guard Children

By CHARLES MOORE

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and some Negro parents Wednesday threatened a school boycott in Baker County unless the State Patrol and federal marshals are sent immediately to protect Negro students who recently integrated white schools.

"The handful of black students who have integrated the white elementary and high schools have been subjected to a steady stream of violence, insults and harassment from white students, with the approval of white teachers, the principal and school administrators," said Mrs. Josie Miller, mother of three children attending a former all-white school.

Julian Bond

However, Baker County Sheriff L. W. Johnson said Wednesday he had received no reports of any violence or threats made to the Negro students.

"This is the first I've heard of it," Sheriff Johnson said. "We don't go up to the school house unless we get a call so I don't know what goes on. But I do know we haven't had a complaint made to my office."

PRESS CONFERENCE

Some nine Negro children, accompanied by five parents, held a press conference in Atlanta Wednesday to air their complaints. Introducing them was Julian Bond, state representative-elect. Newsmen were given a statement on the situation by Stokely Carmichael, Snick chairman, who did not attend.

Bond, who announced a few weeks ago he had quit Snick after he said some of the leaders were "kinda crazy" and because he hadn't been paid, said his and Marmichael's connection with the Baker County situation did not mean he again was associated with Snick.

Mrs. Miller read a mimeographed statement by the Negro parents and students in the deep southwest Georgia county that said in part:

"We demand that the State Patrol and federal marshals be sent immediately to protect the black students attending Baker County elementary and high schools. If this is not done, we will instigate a school boycott, withdrawing all black students from the white and black schools — until our demands are met.

EQUAL PAY ASKED

"Furthermore, we demand that the entire school system—faculty and students — be immediately integrated. We demand that equal salaries be paid to both black and white teachers, and we will not tolerate the firing of black teachers.

"If our demands are not met, we will be forced to take further action."

Asked what "further action" was under consideration, Mrs. Miller said, "We will march on the streets in Baker County and and around the school until something happens."

Pupils at the press conference were Annie Lee Benton, 15; Carrie Mae Miller, 16; Sandra Miller, 15; Annie Laurine Benton, 17; Jerry Benton, 16; Roosevelt Williams, 17; Eddie Broadway, 14, and Marvin Miller, 14.

MADDOX REBUFFED BY GEORGIA GROUPS

GEORGIA 10/8/66

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 6—Lester G. Maddox, the Democratic candidate for Governor, was repudiated here Thursday night by the executive committee of the Georgia Young Democrats and by 250 leaders and active workers in the Democratic party in Atlanta and surrounding Fulton County.

The Young Democrats said that Mr. Maddox, an arch segregationist, had proved himself disloyal to the Democratic party by supporting Barry Goldwater, the Republican Presidential nominee in 1964. They urged a write-in campaign for former Gov. Ellis G. Arnall, who was defeated by Mr. Maddox on Sept. 28 in a runoff campaign for the Democratic governorship nomination.

The Atlanta and Fulton County group declared that Mr. Maddox does not accept the national Democratic party's platform on race and thus was not an acceptable candidate to them.

The group, which calls itself the Fulton County Democratic party but did not act at a formal county convention, provides the financial support for a full-time executive secretary and a party headquarters here.

"There comes a time when higher moral principles must dictate the course of action," said Jack Turner, the group's spokesman, who is a member of the Fulton County Democratic executive committee.

Balloonist Claims Record

TRACY, Calif., Oct. 6 (AP)—A balloonist, Deke Sonnichsen, said Thursday he had set an altitude record of 16,500 feet for a hot-air balloon with a volume of 900 cubic meters.

GEORGIA AC 10/25/66

58 Negro Pupils Boycott Baker High

NEWTON, Ga. (AP) — All but one of 59 Negro pupils at desegregated Baker County High School stayed home Monday.

Eugene Hall, county superintendent of education, said the absences apparently constituted a boycott arising from an altercation Oct. 18, among two white boys and a Negro youth.

Hall said the white boys were suspended for 10 school days and that their case is to come up next Tuesday before the County Board of Education, which will decide whether to reinstate them.

Hall said the Baker school's Negro pupils attended classes Wednesday, Thursday and Friday after the incident and that there was no trouble. He said he did not know why the apparent boycott came Monday.

Earlier this month some Negro parents and the the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had threatened a school boycott at Newton unless state and federal officers were sent to protect Negro pupils from alleged beatings and harassment.

Hall said Baker school authorities have done everything they could be meet requests of Negro parents and pupils and that there had been no incidents which would warrant any outside action.

He said no decision has been made about any disciplinary action against pupils who fail to report Monday.

GEORGIA 10/31/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, M

Arnall Vote May Send Georgia Race to Legislature

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 30—Negro disenchantment with both the Democratic and Republican candidates for Governor could send Georgia's gubernatorial race to the State Legislature for a final decision.

Some of the state's most influential Negro leaders and voter organizations have made this possibility a distinct one in recent days by joining with disgruntled white liberals and moderates in a write-in campaign for former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

This may prevent either Representative Howard H. Callaway, the Republican candidate, or Lester G. Maddox, the Democratic nominee, from receiving a majority of the votes.

In such a case, according to Georgia's Secretary of State, Ben Fortson Jr., the state's top election official, a provision of the Georgia Constitution stipulates that the election be placed before the State Legislature where lawmakers would chose between the two top vote-getters.

Georgia's Legislature is heavily Democratic and likely to favor Mr. Maddox, one of the South's most militant segregationists. But many Negroes and some disgrunted white moderates and liberals are obviously prepared to take this risk.

Hosea Williams, chief southern aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., told the 800 Negro and white delegates to a workshop in Macon yesterday that he would rather see Mr. Maddox as Governor than make it appear that Negroes support the policies advocated by Represenative Callaway.

By voting in Congress against Medicare, minimum wage legislation, civil rights bills and other Great Society programs, Mr. Collaway has made it clear that he is "opposed to everything we stand for," Mr. Williams asserted.

Both Mr. Williams and State Senator LeRoy Johnson of Atlanta, another influential Negro leader, conceded there was only a thin chance of getting Mr. Arnall into a legislative runoff.

However they think it is important for a sizable number of Georgia voters to speak out against both Mr. Maddox and Mr. Callaway.

Although a three-member panel of Federal judges ruled Friday against the use of gummed stickers for the write-

County, which adjoins Atlanta.

The DeKalb Congressman, Representative James A. Mackay, voted for the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and is generally considered to be the state's most liberal Congressional candidate.

Although Mr. Maddox is bitterly opposed by many of the state's leading industrialists and businessmen, he has active support from former Gov. Marvin Griffin, former House Speaker Roy Harris, and Lieut. Gov. Garland Byrd — all segregationists.

He has an endorsement, but not active support, from Gov. Carl E. Sanders. Jimmy Carter, a moderate, who ran third in the initial Democratic primary, recently appeared on a speaker's platform with Mr. Maddox.

Although recent polls had shown Representative Callaway to be leading Mr. Maddox, but with less than a majority of the vote, many politicians disregard the polls.

They note that Mr. Maddox, who once brandished a pistol and sold ax handles to combat restaurant desegregation, has many quiet supporters and ran ahead of poll prediction in the Democratic primary.

With most polls showing a 25 per cent undecided vote, they say, there are more than enough uncommitted voters either to send the race into the legislature or to elect Mr. Maddox.

Meanwhile, there is a strong class issue in the campaign even though Mr. Maddox and Mr. Callaway are both advocating educational improvement and an industrial drive to create more jobs.

In an Atlanta suburb, for example, a prosperous salesman says he shudders to think what might happen to the state's reputation if Mr. Maddox, who dropped out of high school to support his family during the Depression, were elected.

But in Ellaville in southwest Georgia, Pat Patrick, a paper company employe, is worried about the family wealth of Mr. Callaway, a textile heir and West Point graduate.

"The minute the doctor slapped 'Bo' Callaway on the butt," Mr. Patrick said, "he was a millionaire."

However, many rank-and-file voters are shifting between the Republican and Democratic camps, a factor that tends to blur attempts to predict the outcome of the race.

In Little Montezuma, in southwest Georgia, Oscar Williams, a filling station operator, said he had voted for Mr. Maddox in the Democratic primary in which the fiery segregationist defeated former Governor Arnall by drawing 450,000 votes to the latter's 380,000 votes.

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By voting in Congress against Medicare, minimum wage legislation, civil rights bills and other Great Society programs, Mr. Collaway has made it clear that he is "opposed to everything we stand for," Mr. Williams asserted.

Both Mr. Williams and State Senator LeRoy Johnson of Atlanta, another influential Negro leader, conceded there was only a thin chance of getting Mr. Arnall into a legislative runoff.

However they think it is important for a sizable number of Georgia voters to speak out against both Mr. Maddox and Mr. Callaway.

Although a three-member panel of Federal judges ruled Friday against the use of gummed stickers for the write-in campaign, it nevertheless gave the campaign a major lift by declaring, in effect, that each write-in campaign worker could assist up to 10 illiterate Negroes in marking their ballots during the election on Nov. 8.

The write-in campaign received a further assist over the weekend when two major Negro organizations—the Atlanta Negro Voters League and the Macon Voters League—voted overwhelmingly to give it their support.

Supporter Booed

Representative Callaway has token support among Negro leaders, but last week when C. A. Scott, publisher of the Negro Daily World in Atlanta, appeared before a Negro luncheon club in Atlanta to back Mr. Callaway's candidacy, he was roundly booed.

With Negroes constituting about 18 per cent of the state's 1.7 million registered voters, it is no secret that Mr. Callaway, who appears to be gaining momentum, is alarmed by the write-in campaign.

This was underlined recently when Mr. Callaway was seen leaving the office of Eugene Patterson, editor of The Atlanta Constitution and a sharp critic of both the Callaway and the Maddox campaigns.

If Mr. Callaway had hoped to persuade Mr. Patterson to endorse his candidacy or speak out against the write-in campaign, he was quickly disappointed.

The next day's Constitution carried a cartoon showing a Georgia voter holding his nose at the thought of voting for either Mr. Callaway or Mr. Maddox.

Mr. Callaway's strongest support lies among middle- and upper-income voters in the state's cities. But despite heavy campaign spending for television time, he is still weak among blue-collar workers in the cities and in rural areas, especially in the region south of Atlanta.

Loss of House Seat Seen

Republicans, for example, are expected to lose Mr. Callaway's House seat in southwest Georgia—the only one they had won in the state since Reconstruction.

But they are given at least a chance, and perhaps a strong one, to take three other Congressional districts — embracing Savannah, Atlanta and DeKalb

Griffin, former House Speaker Roy Harris, and Lieut. Gov. Garland Byrd — all segregationists.

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GEORGIA

Text of High Court's Opinion Upholding State

WASHINGTON (AP) — Following is the text of the Supreme Court's opinion that the Georgia Legislature may elect the governor:

Mr. Justice Black delivered the opinion of the court:

Since 1824 a provision of the Constitution of the State of Georgia, now Art. V, Section 1, Paragraph 4, has provided that its governor shall be selected (1) by a majority of votes cast in a general election, and (2) if no candidate receives a majority of votes at such election, then a majority of the members of the Georgia General Assembly shall elect the governor "from the two persons having the highest number of votes . . ." at the state's general election, held Tuesday, Nov. 8, 1966, no single candidate received a majority of the votes cast. A Georgia three-judge federal district court has in this case enjoined the state assembly from electing one of the two highest candidates as governor on the ground that this method of election, required by Article V of the Georgia Constitution, would deny Georgia voters equal protection of the law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. We uphold the constitutionality of Article V of the State Constitution, for so long as this provision is applied as it is written, we perceive no conflict with the equal protection clause. We reverse the district court's judgment.

Erroneous Reliance

The district court erroneously relied on Gray V. Sanders, 372 U.S. 368, for striking down Article V of the State's Constitution. The Gray case held that it had been demonstrated that Georgia voters were denied equal protection of the law by the operation of a county-unit system under which state officials were elected by a majority of counties voting as units instead of by a majority of individual voters. The result was that the number of votes of persons living in large counties was given no more weight in electing state officers than was given to a far fewer number of votes of persons residing in small counties. This discrimination against large county voters was held to deny them the equal protection of the law. This case, as was 1824 and was readopted by the people in 1945. It set up two ways to select the governor. The first, and preferred one, was election by a majority of the people; the second, and alternative one, was election by the state assembly if any one candidate failed to receive a majority of the popular vote. Under the second method, in the legislative election the votes of the people were not to be disregarded but the state assembly was to consider them as, in effect, nominating votes and to limit itself to choosing between the two persons on whom the people had bestowed the highest number of votes. There is no provision of the United States Constitution or any of its amendments which either expressly or impliedly dictates the method a state must use to select its governor. A method which would be valid if initially employed is equally valid when employed as an alternative. It would be surprising to conclude that, after a state has already held two primaries and one general election to try to elect by a majority, the United States Constitution compels it to continue to hold elections in a futile effort to obtain a majority for some particular candidate.

Time and Money

Statewide elections cost time and money and it is not strange that Georgia's people decided to avoid repeated elections. The method they chose for this purpose was not unique, but well known and frequently utilized before and since the Revolutionary War. Georgia governors were selected by the state legislature, not the people, until 1824. At that time a new constitution provided for popular election, but with the provision that upon the failure of any one candidate to receive a majority, the General Assembly should elect.

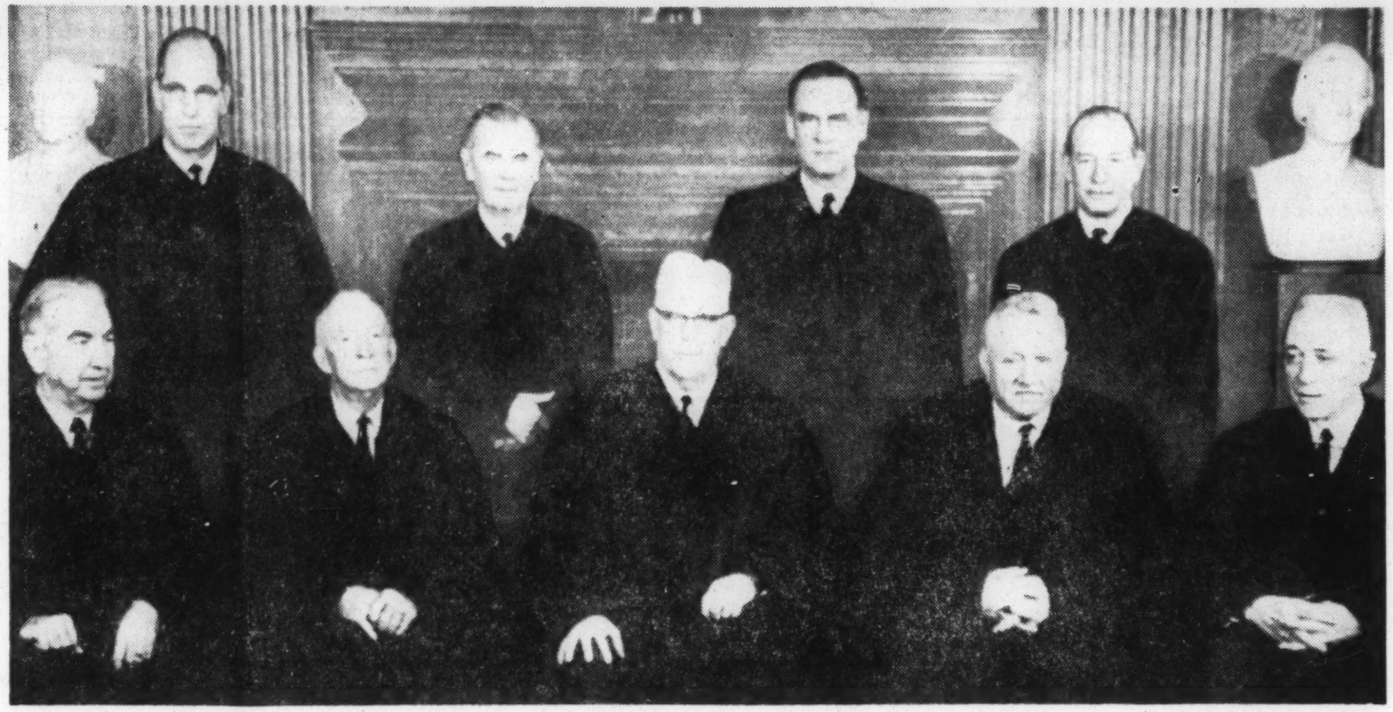
Two states, Mississippi and Vermont, that provide for majority voting also provide for state legislature election of their governors in case of no majority in the general election. Thirty-eight states of the union which today provide for election of their governors by a plurality also provide that in case of a tie vote the state legislatures shall elect.

parties contend, the entire legislative body is incapable of performing its responsibility of electing a governor because it is malapportioned. But this is not correct.

Held Qualified

In Toombs V. Fortson, 384 U.S. 210, affirming 241 F. Supp. 65, we held that with certain exceptions, not here material, the Georgia assembly could continue to function until May 1, 1968. Consequently the Georgia assembly is not disqualified to elect a governor as required by Article V of the state's Constitution. Neither is it disqualified by the fact that its Democratic members had obligated themselves to support the Democratic nominee in the general election on Nov. 8, 1966. That election is over, and with it, terminated any promises by the Democratic legislators to support the Democratic nominee.

Article V of Georgia's Constitution provides a method for selecting the governor which is as old as the nation itself. Georgia does not violate the equal protection clause by following this article as it was written.



Associated Press Wirephoto

FORMAL PORTRAIT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT WHO RULED MONDAY IN GEORGIA'S ELECTION DISPUTE
Seated L. to R.: Justices Clark, Black, Warren, Douglas, Harlan; Standing, White, Brennan, Stewart and Fortas

State Legislature to Elect Governor

Continued from Page 1

doubt Monday that they were widely split on the case.

Four justices filed a dissenting opinion, and Justices Abe Fortas and William O. Douglas submitted a special dissent.

The primary dissenting opinion written by Justice Douglas would have upheld the lower court and directed the three-judge panel to order a runoff between Maddox and Callaway.

Dougla's opinion was the one sought by a bipartisan "citizens group" which was one of the plaintiffs in the appeal from the lower court.

The second plaintiff, the American Civil Liberties Union, had sought a special election which would have permitted write-in votes.

Writing the majority opinion, Justice Black said the lower court acted "erroneously" in judging that a legislative election would conflict with the one-man, one-vote principle the Supreme Court set down in 1963.

Citing the 1963 decision in which the court overthrew Georgia's county unit system, Black said there was "not a word in the court's opinion" then which implied a state cannot permit its legislative body to elect its governor.

"There is no provision of the United States Constitution or its Amendments which either expressly or impliedly dictates the method a state must use to select its governor," Black wrote.

Georgia was "clearly acting within its rights as a state" in directing the Legislature to break a stalemate in the gen- as an alternative," Black reasoned.

The 1963 decision, in the case of Gray vs. Sanders, "did no more than to require the state to eliminate the county unit machinery from its election system," the opinion continued.

The state followed this edict in holding a popular election, Black said. "Its duty now under . . . its Constitution is to proceed to have the General Assembly elect its governor. . ."

Black also dimissed arguments that the Legislature would not represent the people properly because it is malapportioned.

Citing the case of Toombs vs. Fortson, in which the Supreme Court sanctioned gradual reapportionment of the Georgia Legislature, Black said the high court has already held the General Assembly could function

legislators to support the Democratic nominee."

Black's opinion was endorsed by Justices Tom C. Clark, John N. Harlan, Potter Stewart and Byron White.

In the primary dissenting opinion, Justice Douglas said he thought the majority of the court had "misstated the question" to be decided.

"It is not whether Georgia may select a governor through a legislative election," Douglas said. "It is whether the legislature may make the final choice when the election has been entrusted to the people . . ."

The dissenting opinion in which Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas joined Douglas found no difference between a legislative election and the county unit system.

"All the vices we found inherent in the county unit sys-

court's one-man, one-vote principle.

He said the 12th Amendment makes a specific exception to that principle in the case of the U.S. President, who is chosen by the Electoral College.

"There is no like exception in the choice of a governor," Douglas said.

In the opinion, Douglas warned that Monday's decision could serve as an instrument to perpetuate a one-party system in Georgia, since the heavily Democratic legislature would probably elect Maddox.

Even if the party oath is not binding, Douglas said, "we would be less than naive to believe that the momentum of that oath has now been dissipated and that the predominantly Democratic Legislature has now become neutral."

Douglas said he thought a

The choices of the two political parties are still in balance, he said. "The election will not be finally completed until the winner has taken the oath of office."

Douglas and Fortas also filed a separate dissent written by Fortas, pointing out that the decision could mean the legislature would choose Maddox over Callaway, even though Callaway received more votes Nov. 8.

According to unofficial returns, Callaway received 449,894 votes constituting 47.04 per cent. Maddox got 448,044 votes or 46.88 per cent. Both candidates were prevented from receiving a majority after 57,832 voters cast write-in ballots for former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Referring to the possibility of the man with the most votes losing, Fortas wrote: "In my opinion, this scheme is forbidden by the equal protection

Maddox---

applied as it is written, we perceive no conflict with the equal protection clause. We reverse the district court's judgment.

Erroneous Reliance

The district court erroneously relied on Gray V. Sanders, 372 U.S. 368, for striking down Article V of the State's Constitution. The Gray case held that it had been demonstrated that Georgia voters were denied equal protection of the law by the operation of a county-unit system under which state officials were elected by a majority of counties voting as units instead of by a majority of individual voters. The result was that the number of votes of persons living in large counties was given no more weight in electing state officers than was given to a far fewer number of votes of persons residing in small counties. This discrimination against large county voters was held to deny them the equal protection of the law. This case, as was emphasized, had to do with the equal right of "all who participate in the election," 373 U.S., at 379, to vote and have their votes counted without impairment or dilution. But as the court said, 373 U.S., at 378, the case was "only a voting case." Not a word in the court's opinion indicated that it was intended to compel a state to elect its governors or any other state officers or agents through elections of the people rather than through selections by appointment or elections by the state assembly. It is wrongly cited as having either expressly or impliedly decided that a state cannot, if it wishes, permit its legislative body to elect its governor.

The language of Article V of the State Constitution struck down by the district court has been a part of Georgia's State Constitution since

Time and Money

Statewide elections cost time and money and it is not strange that Georgia's people decided to avoid repeated elections. The method they chose for this purpose was not unique, but well known and frequently utilized before and since the Revolutionary War. Georgia governors were selected by the state legislature, not the people, until 1824. At that time a new constitution provided for popular election, but with the provision that upon the failure of any one candidate to receive a majority, the General Assembly should elect.

Two states, Mississippi and Vermont, that provide for majority voting also provide for state legislature election of their governors in case of no majority in the general election. Thirty-eight states of the union which today provide for election of their governors by a plurality also provide that in case of a tie vote the state legislatures shall elect.

It thus turns out that Georgia, clearly acting within its rights as a state, has decided that, any one candidate failing to obtain a majority in a general election, its General Assembly will elect its governor. Its clear choice has remained in its Constitution for 142 years. The district court below treated Article V of the Georgia Constitution as the valid law of the state except as it thought itself compelled to strike it down because of Gray v. Sanders, supra. The Gray case, however, did no more than to require the state to eliminate the county-unit machinery from its election system. The state did this in an election that resulted in the election of no candidate. Its duty now, under Article V of its Constitution, is to proceed to have the General Assembly elect its governor from the two highest candidates in the election, unless, as some of the

Lawyers Unhappy, But Not Surprised

Continued from Page 1

a part of this case," and though they found it an interesting question, had not considered it.

Omer Franklin, president of the state bar of Georgia, said, "All lawyers, as officers of the court, should support the Supreme Court rulings as the law of the land. This leaves the legislature with quite a responsibility."

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall, whose write-in votes kept either Maddox or Callaway from getting a majority, called his office from Miami and said he would make no comment on the decision.

The harshest comment of the day came not from a lawyer but from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who declared:

"It is both unfortunate and tragic that the Supreme Court today in effect struck a lethal blow at truly representative government. The high court's ruling that the Georgia legislature could decide who will govern this state disfranchises the individual voters and usurps the power of the ballot.

"The Georgia legislature is by no means representative of the citizens and the one-man, one-vote theory is still a mythical concept which this state's politicians would find too expensive. It is my hope that the legislature itself will realize that it is not properly apportioned and therefore will not vote to seat either of the gubernatorial candidates," the Nobel prize winner said.

Write-in, Georgia, Inc., which sponsored the write-in vote for Arnall, threatened, as it has since the Nov. 8 election, to go into federal court and challenge the validity of the election, charging that over 100,000 votes for Arnall were not counted because of spelling and other decisions by poll managers.

Most lawyers found the decision no surprise in view of comments they had heard were made from the bench during arguments in the case. Some old line states righters found it a bit inconsistent in view of other rulings.

One attorney noted that there are significant differences, however, in the issues involved in the seating of Julian Bond, which was based on freedom of speech, and the idea of legislatures choosing a governor, even though the powers of the legislature are involved in both.

To state unequivocally that a legislature could not decide on a governor where the constitution provided for it would not only upset election procedures in 30-odd states (the court showed a willingness, at least, to do this in legislative reapportionment) but would put a number of other things in question.

State Legislature to Elect Governor

Continued from Page 1

doubt Monday that they were widely split on the case.

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The primary dissenting opinion written by Justice Douglas would have upheld the lower court and directed the three-judge panel to order a runoff between Maddox and Callaway.

Dougla's opinion was the one sought by a bipartisan "citizens group" which was one of the plaintiffs in the appeal from the lower court.

The second plaintiff, the American Civil Liberties Union, had sought a special election which would have permitted write-in votes.

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Citing the 1963 decision in which the court overthrew Georgia's county unit system, Black said there was "not a word in the court's opinion" then which implied a state cannot permit its legislative body to elect its governor.

"There is no provision of the United States Constitution or its Amendments which either expressly or impliedly dictates the method a state must use to select its governor," Black wrote.

Georgia was "clearly acting within its rights as a state" in directing the Legislature to break a stalemate in the general election, Black said.

The Georgia Constitution would have been valid, Black continued, even if it had prescribed that the Legislature elect the governor in the first place, without a popular election, as the state did until 1824.

"A method which would be valid if initially employed is equally valied when employed as an alternative," Black reasoned.

The 1963 decision, in the case of Gray vs. Sanders, "did no more than to require the state to eliminate the county unit machinery from its election system," the opinion continued.

The state followed this edict in holding a popular election, Black said. "Its duty now under . . . its Constitution is to proceed to have the General Assembly elect its governor. . ."

Black also dimissed arguments that the Legislature would not represent the people properly because it is malapportioned.

Citing the case of Toombs vs. Fortson, in which the Supreme Court sanctioned gradual reapportionment of the Georgia Legislature, Black said the high court has already held the General Assembly could function constitutionally as is until May 1, 1968.

The jurists also knocked down plaintiffs' claims that the predominantly Democratic Legislature would be bound by an oath requiring Democratic candidates to support the party's nominee in the Nov. 8 election.

"That election is over," Black said, "and with it terminated any promises of the Democratic legislators to support the Democratic nominee."

Black's opinion was endorsed by Justices Tom C. Clark, John N. Harlan, Potter Stewart and Byron White.

In the primary dissenting opinion, Justice Douglas said he thought the majority of the court had "misstated the question" to be decided.

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The dissenting opinion in which Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas joined Douglas found no difference between a legislative election and the county unit system.

"All the vices we found inherent in the county unit system," the minority said, "are inherent when the choice is left to the Legislature."

Even if a legislator followed the majority vote of his constituency, Douglas reasoned, he would still be disregarding the votes of those who marked their ballots for the other candidate.

Douglas also disputed Black's contention that a legislative election would not violate the court's one-man, one-vote principle.

He said the 12th Amendment makes a specific exception to that principle in the case of the U.S. President, who is chosen by the Electoral College.

"There is no like exception in the choice of a governor," Douglas said.

In the opinion, Douglas warned that Monday's decision could serve as an instrument to perpetuate a one-party system in Georgia, since the heavily Democratic legislature would probably elect Maddox.

Even if the party oath is not binding, Douglas said, "we would be less than naive to believe that the momentum of that oath has now been dissipated and that the predominantly Democratic Legislature has now become neutral."

Douglas said he thought a legislative election was only one of two stages in the popular election machinery set down in the 1824 Georgia Constitution.

"The first stage," Douglas said, "then as now, was an election open to 'the persons qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly.' "

Douglas said that any argument that the first stage is over with is "belied by the realities."

The choices of the two political parties are still in balance, he said. "The election will not be finally completed until the winner has taken the oath of office."

Douglas and Fortas also filed a separate dissent written by Fortas, pointing out that the decision could mean the legislature would choose Maddox over Callaway, even though Callaway received more votes Nov. 8.

According to unofficial returns, Callaway received 449,894 votes constituting 47.04 per cent. Maddox got 448,044 votes or 46.88 per cent. Both candidates were prevented from receiving a majority after 57,832 voters cast write-in ballots for former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Referring to the possibility of the man with the most votes losing, Fortas wrote: "In my opinion, this scheme is forbidden by the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment."

Fortas said the decision Monday—no less than the county unit system—meant that "the vote cast by a citizen is subject to nullification by the Legislature."

"If the voting right is to mean anything," he said, "it certainly must be protected against the possibility that the victory will go to the loser."

Maddox--If Pattern Is Counties

Assuming that legislators vote for a governor according to the Nov. 8 general election pluralities in their home districts, it appears that Democrat Lester G. Maddox would be the next governor by a narrow margin.

Although many House members represent more than one county, a survey of the results after the general election showed that Maddox would get the nod of approximately 106 of 205 House members and Callaway would take some 99 House votes.

Maddox carried 127 counties, Callaway 31, and the write-in effort for former Gov. Ellis Arnall netted one county—Liberty.

Predicting the decision of Senate members on the basis of Nov. 8 returns is more difficult since most senatorial districts involve three to eight counties. Results were neck-and-neck in many districts.

All of the large-county senatorial districts went for Callaway, giving the Republican 23 of the 54 Senate votes on that basis.

The plight of some House members on Jan. 10 is illustrated by the fact that six House districts with two counties each were split down the middle, one county going for Callaway and the other backing Maddox.

There were three House districts in which one county went for Callaway and the other two for Maddox.

And then there was the Liberty - McIntosh district in which write-in voters snared Liberty for Arnall and Callaway narrowly eked out a win in McIntosh.

The survey did not take party loyalties and political string-pulling into account.

Pair Hold Up Service Station

Two men riding in a lavender colored auto Monday night robbed a service station on South Main Street in East Point of an estimated $30, East Point police said.

The two, white, were described as "dirty looking" and armed with a .22-caliber revolver.

By Douglas and Fortas

Main Points in Dissents from Ruling

WASHINGTON (AP) — Following are pertinent excerpts from Supreme Court justices' dissenting from the majority finding that the Georgia Legislature may elect the governor of that state.

From a dissent by Justice William O. Douglas, concurred in by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices William J. Brennan Jr. and Abe Fortas:.

The court misstates the question we must decide. It is not whether Georgia may select a governor through a legislative election. It is whether the legislature may make the final choice when the election has been entrusted to the people and no candidate has received a majority of the votes. In other words, the legislative choice is only a part of the popular election machinery. The 1824 amendment to the 1798 Constitution of Georgia, which gave the legislature power to elect a governor, treated that stage as only one of two in the general election. The first stage, then as now, was an election open to "the persons qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly." Ga. Const., 1798 Art. II, Section 2, was amended, 1824.

It is said that the general election is over and that a new, and different, alternative procedure is now about to be used. But that is belied by the realities. The primary election selected the party candidates and the choices of the two parties are still in balance . . .

Our starting point is what we said in Gray v. Sanders . . .

"Once the geographical unit for which a representative is to be chosen is designated, all who participate in the election are to have an equal vote — whatever their race, whatever their sex, whatever their occupation, whatever their income, and whether ther home may be in that geographical unit. . . ."

It is argued with earnestness that if the Electoral College can be used to select a president, a legislature can be used to select a governor. It is said that there is no more a violation of the "one person, one vote" principle in the one than in the other. But the 12th Amendment creates the exception in case of a president. There is no like exception in the choice of a governor . . . .

If the legislature is used to determine the outcome of a general election, the votes cast in that election would be weighted, contrary to the principle of "one person, one vote." All the vices we found inherent in the county unit system in Gray v. Sanders are inherent when the choice is left to the legislature. A legislator when voting for governor has only a single vote. Even if he followed the majority vote of his constituency, he would necessarily disregard the votes of those who voted for the other candidate, whether their votes almost carried the day or were way in the minority. He would not be under a mandate to follow the majority or plurality votes in his constituency, but might cast his single vote on the side of the minority in his district. Even if he voted for the candidate receiving a plurality of votes cast in his district and even if each senator and representative followed the same course, a candidate who received a minority of the popular vote might receive a clear majority of the votes cast in the legislature . . .

Pledge Cited

What is approved today can, moreover, be the instrument to perpetuate a "one party" system in like derogation of the principle of "one person, one vote." The pledge that every Democratic member of the Georgia legislature took provides in part: "I further pledge myself to support at the general election of November 8, 1966, all candidates nominated by the Democratic Party of the State of Georgia." That election has not been completed. We are, as I have said, in the second stage of it. The Democrats control 183 seats in a 205-member house and 46 seats in a 54-member senate. We would be less than naive to believe that the momentum of that oath has now been dissipated and that the predominantly Democratic legislature has now become neutral . . . .

I would affirm the judgment of the three-judge court and remand the cause for the fashioning of an appropriate decree for a runoff election in which the people's choice will be determined.

From a separate dissent by Justice Fortas, joined by Justice Douglas:

If the voting right is to mean anything, it certainly must be protected against the possibility that victory will go to the loser . . . .

It distorts reality to say, as the majority here do, that this election is to be scrubbed and ignored, and to proceed as if we were dealing with a situation in which Georgia's Constitution merely provided for the selection of a governor by the legislature. That is not the case. If it were the intent of the Constitution to scrub the popular election and to cause selection by the legislature as an independent process, the legislature would not be bound to select from the two who received at the polls the highest number of votes. The legislature would be given free choice. As my brother Douglas' opinion shows, the Constitution attempts something quite different. It purports to give the legislature power to complete the process begun at the polls — to cast aside the vote of the electorate and award the office to the winner or the loser of the popular election, as it may see fit. . . .

The Georgia legislature is concededly malapportioned, and is under a federal court order to reapportion itself. . . . A majority of the legislators in Georgia's legislature may represent a minority of the voters. But the court today concludes that despite the fact that it has branded the legislature as apportioned in violation of the Constitution of the United States, it may nevertheless select the governor. . . .

First Such Action

We have declined to deprivate a malapportioned legislature of its de facto status as a legislature. But not until today has this court allowed a malapportioned legislature to be the device for doing indirectly what a state may not do directly. . . .

Indeed, the irony of the matter is that three-judge federal court held that the Georgia legislature was so malapportioned that it could not properly submit to the voters a new Constitution, adopted by both houses of the Georgia legislature, which would have abolished the provisions for legislative selection of a governor and have substituted a runoff or special election . . . on appeal, this court per curiam, declined to rule that the district court's decree was unlawful, but because it was represented that the decree might be moot, the court remanded for reconsideration in light of the circumstances which allegedly made the decree no longer pertinent. . . . But now the court holds that this same, unreformed legislature is not so malapportioned that it cannnot itself select the governor by its direct action!—I confess total inability to understand how the two rulings can be reconciled. . . .

If a state can validly provide that the result at the polls can be disregarded and the outcome removed from Democratic processes where no candidate for governor received a majority, there is no reason why the same rule cannot be applied to legislators. Moreover, the court today announces in an offhand manner, as a side-effect of today's decision, without adequate argument or consideration, that a state may today, as some states did long ago, provide that its governor shall be selected by its legislature in total disregard of the voters. I do not believe that the issue is so easy. Much water has gone under the bridge since the late 1700's and the early 1800's Our understanding and conception of the rights guaranteed to the people by the "stately admonitions" of the 14th Amendment have deepened, and have resulted in a series of decisions, enriching the quality of our democracy, which certainly do not codify state's rights, governmental theories or conceptions of human liberties as they existed in 1824, the date when Georgia adopted its present system of choosing a governor. . . .

I do not believe that this court is the sole custodian of the Constitution, or of the democratic liberties of the people . . . . but if the people of Georgia — or Maine or California or New York, for that matter—should adopt a constitutional amendment to provide for election of their governor by the legislature—or for selection of the upper house of their legislature by their governor, for example —I do not believe that the constitutionality of these measures could be cavalierly assumed . . . .

This court's apportionment and voting rights decisions soundly reflect a deepening conception, in keeping with the development of our social, ethical, and religious understanding, of the meaning of our great constutional guaranties. As such, they have reinvigorated our national political life at its roots so that it may continue its growth to realization of the full stature of our constitutional deal. Today's decision is a startling reversal; a belittling, I say with all respect, of our Constitution's dynamic provisions with respect to the basic instrument of Democracy — the vote.

GEORGIA

Atlanta Police Must Read Booklet Advising Slum Folk

AC 12/20/66

By DICK HEBERT

A booklet telling slum dwellers how to cope with police "who cannot learn to be fair and polite" has been made required reading for Atlanta policemen and is in snowballing demand by lawmen and slum-working civic groups across the country.

Chief Jenkins

About 23,000 copies of the simple-language handbook have been distributed and the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia expects to bring that total to about 100,000 by spring, Executive Director Florence Robin said Monday.

The handbook, in publication only three months, is entitled "Know Your Rights," and repeatedly advises the poor:

"You have the right not to answer questions.

"You have the right not to sign anything.

"You have the right to a lawyer if you are arrested."

When several policemen asked the ACLU for copies of the booklet, Mrs. Robin wrote Chief Herbert T. Jenkins suggesting copies be given to newly recruited officers. He replied the following day with a request for 1,000 copies, and since has issued a bulletin stating:

"It is a very fine publication and every Atlanta police official must read it and understand it. . . . Members of this department are instructed to pick up their copies in the Training Division."

Since then requests have come for copies for distribution to police officers in Augusta, Tifton, Avondale Estates, Gainesville, Alma and court officials in Americus.

Other copies have gone to civic groups throughout most of the nation, including Hawaii, California, Rhode Island, Connecticut and South Carolina. As yet, unfilled orders have come from New Orleans, La., and Maryland, and antipoverty programs in Massachusetts and at the University of Michigan.

Mrs. Robin said she estimates distribution could run about a million copies if it were being sent out indiscriminately, but "we're sending only to policement and to people who deal with slum residents directly.

"I'm not interested in having middle-class ladies sitting around with the book and saying, 'Gee, gee, people ought to have their rights.' "

The 32-page illustrated booklet sells for 25 cents a copy but is given free to law-enforcement agencies, she said.

Ga- STUDENTS

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Dear Student,

Would you be interested in working with other Georgia students to improve human relations in our state?

Would you be interested in working with an organization of Georgia students dedicated to this purpose?

In an organization called the Georgia Students for Human Rights, the foundations have been laid. The GSHR was formed in February, 1964 by a group of interested students from several college campuses in the Atlanta area. The formation of the group stemmed from the need for communication and participation in the civil rights movement among college students. As interest in the GSHR grew, the Atlanta meetings were attended by larger numbers of both white and Negro students, some of whom were interested in direct action, others were interested in community work projects, and/or surveys and research.

Many students attending other colleges throughout Georgia, particularly the University of Georgia, expresses interest in expanding the organization on a state-wide basis. The organization did become state-wide. They held a conference and started work on specific programs. However, when the year ended many of the officers and members graduated and the organization became inactive.

Now, in 1966, Georgia students are again feeling the need for the GSHR. Georgia students are seeing the Georgia Students for Human Rights as a way to step toward progress and moderation.

Why have a state-wide organization? A state-wide organization is valuable on three levels: the state, the region and the campus.

State-wide, the organization could serve to coordinate activities. For example, "Operation Search," a program to recruit capable people to attend college, could be initiated or a program to assist poor people in making application for welfare or related programs could be run by students. The state-wide functions could also include publishing a newsletter.

On a regional level, the program could include exchanges between campuses in an area, as well as work on employment or school desegregation problems.

At the campus level, the group could work on specific campus issues such as, academic freedom, university reform, etc. and benefit from ideas and techniques used on various campuses.

Is there a need for such an organization? Many Georgians, both adult and students, say, "yes." They feel that in 1966, the need for students to work for better human relations is as great as, if not greater than in past years.

Are Georgia students willing to work with such an organization? To be frank we don't know. Therefore, we are writing you on behalf on the many people, across the State who have expressed an interest. Enclosed is a response sheet on which we are requesting that you tell us what you think about the GSHR.

Thank you

Sincerely,

Paul Wahrhaftig

Paul Wahrhaftig
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Bill Roberts

Bill Roberts
Southern Student Human Relations

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Questionaire

Check one

_____There is a need for the Georgia Students for Human Rights.

_____There is no need for the Georgia Students for Human Rights.

_____I will support the Georgia Students for Human Rights.

_____I will come to an organizational meeting.

_____I will support the activities of the Georgia Students for Human Rights.

_____I will be willing to serve as an officer.

Other Comments

_____Please send information about GSHR to the following friends.

Please send this information to the above address:

Signature_____

Address_____

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

HEW - Materials

REVISED DRAFT FOR
ADMINISTRATIVE USE ONLY
December 4, 1964

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM

Policies and Procedures

for

Institutes for Special Training

on Problems of School Desegregation

Authorized Under

Title IV, Section 404,

of Public Law 88-352

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

December 1964

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
Washington, D. C. 20202

Agencies HEW - Materials

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

Memorandum January 25, 1965

To: Personnel Responsible for Administration of Public School Programs

From: David S. Seeley, Director
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Subject: Grants to School Boards to Assist in Dealing with Problems Incident to Desegregation

In accordance with your request, we are forwarding the enclosed policies and procedures guide concerning grants to school boards as authorized by Section 405 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although this guide has not yet received final clearance it is a temporary working document and may be used in developing a draft proposal, as few changes are anticipated. An approved copy will be mailed as soon as it is available.

If a college or university in your area is considering an institute on problems of desegregation, it might prove advantageous for you to contact them about mutual concerns and the possibility of cooperative planning. Since the supply of policies and procedures guides for the conduct of institutes is limited, we are presently unable to include them for the public school personnel who requested these manuals. The manuals will be provided in these cases, but at a later date. Similarly, requests for institute schedules and lists of available materials will be filled as these items are developed.

You will note that grants to school boards are available for: (1) the in-service training of school personnel, (2) the employment of advisory specialists, or (3) a combination of both approaches. Details for completing proposals according to the types of assistance desired are contained in Parts A and B of the manual.

Applications for grants will be processed and reviewed as they are received, and it is anticipated that subsequent notification of the determination made with respect to each proposal will be forthcoming within approximately one month from the date of receipt of the application.

If you wish to contact this Office regarding any aspect of your proposal, you may direct correspondence to us at the following address:

Equal Educational Opportunities Program
Grants Branch
U. S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Telephone WO 2-0393 Area Code: 202

(Agency file) H.E.W
(Dept. of Health, Education, + Welfare)

A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF "MEDICARE"

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED

The 1965 social security amendments, which were signed into law by President Johnson on July 30, establish a broad program of health insurance, known popularly as "medicare," for people 65 or older. This program is important for persons now working, for they will have this protection in later years. But if you are already 65, or will reach that age soon, you especially will want to have the information this leaflet provides on how these health insurance programs will protect you when they start in July 1966.

TWO KINDS OF HEALTH INSURANCE

- **Hospital Insurance**—to help pay the bills when you are hospitalized. The program also provides payments for skilled nursing care and other services in an extended care facility after hospitalization, outpatient hospital diagnostic services, and home health services.

  This insurance is financed out of special contributions paid by people while they work, with matching contributions from employers, so that people will not have to pay for this protection when they are old and not working.

- **Medical Insurance**—to help you pay the bills for doctors' services and for a number of other medical items and services not covered under the hospital insurance program.

  The medical insurance program is voluntary. You decide whether to enroll for protection under the medical insurance program. You can have this important added protection at a low cost ($3 monthly) because the Federal Government will pay an equal amount toward the cost.

HOW PEOPLE 65 AND OVER QUALIFY

Most people will **not** have to go to the social security office to qualify for protection under the hospital and medical insurance programs.

You will **not** need to go to your social security office if—

- **you are getting social security or railroad retirement benefits.** You qualify automatically for **hospital insurance**, and an application card for **medical insurance** benefits will be mailed to you by December 1965 with a leaflet explaining both of these programs.
- **you are receiving a Federal civil service retirement annuity.** You will get further information by mail. You will be told if it is necessary to go to the social security office later.
- **you are receiving public assistance payments.** In most cases, the public assistance agency will assist you in applying for **hospital insurance** and will advise you about enrolling for **medical insurance.**

You **should** go to your social security office if you are not receiving any of the above payments **and**

- **you have worked under social security but have never applied for benefits.** The people in your social security office will help you apply for **hospital insurance.** They will also advise you on how you can enroll in the **medical insurance** program.
- **you have never worked under social security.** Get in touch with your social security office between September 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966.

HOSPITAL INSURANCE

Nearly every[1] American 65 or over will be protected under the hospital insurance program when it starts in July 1966. If you qualify, these are the benefits for which you will be eligible:

Hospitalization for up to 90 days in a "spell of illness"[2]—the program pays for covered services during 60 days of care in a participating hospital, except for the first $40, during a spell of illness. If you are hospitalized for more than 60 days during your spell of illness, the program will pay all but $10 daily for covered services during an additional 30 days of care.

There is a lifetime limitation of 190 days on payments for treatment in mental hospitals.

Outpatient Hospital Diagnostic Services—the program will pay 80 percent of the cost for diagnostic services you receive as an outpatient of a participating hospital during a 20-day period, except for the first $20 for each 20-day period.

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[1] Some Federal employees and former Federal employees who are not eligible for social security benefits are not eligible for hospital insurance. They may, however, enroll in the medical insurance program.

Aliens who are not eligible for social security cash benefits will be eligible for the hospital and medical insurance programs only if they were admitted to the United States for permanent residence and have resided continuously in the United States for 5 years.

[2] A "spell of illness" begins on the first day you receive covered services as a patient in a hospital or extended care facility. It ends after you have been out of a hospital or extended care facility for 60 consecutive days. You may be discharged and readmitted several times during a spell of illness, but a new spell of illness cannot begin until you have been out of a hospital or extended care facility for 60 consecutive days.

Posthospital Extended Care in the kind of skilled nursing home or part of a hospital which qualifies as an extended care facility—after a hospital stay of at least 3 days, the program pays for 20 days of extended care during a spell of illness. If you need this care for more than 20 days during a spell of illness, the program will pay all but $5 daily for an additional 80 days.

Posthospital Home Health Care Services—the program will pay the cost of up to 100 visits in the 365 days after your discharge from a hospital after a stay of 3 days or more or from an extended care facility, if these services are furnished under an approved plan. Services of visiting nurses, physical therapists, and other health workers (but not doctors) who come to your home to furnish health care services are covered. Doctor's visits are covered only under the voluntary medical insurance plan.

Covered Services in a Hospital or Extended Care Facility—benefit payments will cover (except for the deductible amounts) the cost of your room and board in semiprivate accommodations, ordinary nursing services, and the costs of drugs, supplies, and most other items of service you receive which are customarily furnished for the care of patients by the hospital or extended care facility.

Effective Dates—the benefits described above will become payable beginning July 1, 1966, except for posthospital extended care benefits which start on January 1, 1967.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEDICAL INSURANCE

The hospital insurance program will help you pay your hospital bills, but it does not pay doctor bills. You can provide in advance toward paying your doctor bills by signing up for medical insurance.

After you enroll for medical insurance, you pay a small premium ($3 monthly) with the Federal Government matching this amount.

The medical insurance program pays 80 percent of the reasonable charges for covered services, except for the first $50 in a calendar year.

Since the program does not begin until July 1, 1966, no expenses you have before that time can count toward the $50 for 1966.

The services covered under medical insurance include:

- **Physicians' and Surgeons' Services:** no matter where you receive the services—at home, in the doctor's office, in a clinic, or in a hospital.
- **Home Health Visits:** up to 100 home health visits under an approved plan each year with no need for prior hospitalization. This is in addition to the 100 visits you get under hospital insurance.
- **Other Medical and Health Services** regardless of where rendered: including such things as diagnostic tests (X-rays, etc.; laboratory services); X-ray or radium treatments; surgical dressings, splints, casts; certain ambulance services; braces, artificial legs, arms, and eyes; rental of medical equipment such as iron lungs; and many other medical items and services.

The voluntary medical insurance plan becomes effective starting July 1, 1966. If you enroll in time, your medical insurance

coverage will start on that day. The medical insurance program will not, of course, pay for any goods or services you receive before July 1966.

When You Can Enroll For Medical Insurance

The law provides specific periods of time, called enrollment periods, during which you can sign up for medical insurance benefits. The first enrollment period begins on September 1, 1965, and ends on March 31, 1966. As noted previously, people who are entitled to social security, railroad retirement, or civil service benefits will get their application cards by mail.

If you are 65 or older on January 1, 1966, you must sign up during the first enrollment period in order to be covered under the medical insurance program when it starts in July 1966. Remember, the first enrollment period ends on March 31, 1966.

If your 65th birthday occurs after January 1, 1966, your first enrollment period runs for 7 months beginning with the third month immediately before the month you reach 65, and ending 3 months after the month you are 65. For example, if you reach 65 in February, you may sign up any time between the preceding November 1 and the following May 31.

You will have protection as soon as you reach 65 only if you apply during the 3-month period just before the month in which you reach 65. Your medical insurance will not take effect before July 1, 1966.

What You Will Lose If You Enroll Late

There are several good reasons for signing up for the medical insurance program during your first enrollment period.

If you pass up your first opportunity, you will not have another chance to sign up until the next general enrollment period (October 1, 1967 to December 31, 1967). Also, if you wait to enroll, you may have to pay a higher premium for the same protection, and your coverage will not begin until 6 to 9 months after you enroll.

These provisions take into account the higher cost of insuring a person who does not enroll and begin paying premiums at his first opportunity.

Paying The Monthly Premium

If you join the voluntary plan and you are receiving monthly social security benefits or a railroad or civil service retirement annuity, $3 a month for medical insurance benefits will be deducted from your check each month. No deductions will be made before July 1966.

If you are not eligible for social security checks for one or more months, arrangements will be made for you to make the $3 payments in a convenient manner.

If you are not receiving any of these benefits, you will get information when you enroll about how to pay the monthly premiums when you enroll or soon afterward.

YOUR HEALTH INSURANCE CARD

After you qualify for the hospital insurance program you will receive a health insurance card by mail. If you enroll in the medical insurance program, your card will show that you have both medical and hospital insurance.

After June 1966, whenever you use any of the services which are covered,

show your health insurance card to the hospital, extended care facility, home health agency, doctor, or other person providing the services. The part of the bills for which payment can be made will then be taken care of by the program.

Services Not Covered By Health Insurance

The hospital insurance plan gives you basic protection against the high cost of illness in old age, but it will not pay all of your health care bills. For example, physicians' and surgeons' services, including the services of pathologists, radiologists, and anesthesiologists in the hospital, are **not** covered by the hospital insurance plan. (If you enroll under the voluntary medical insurance plan, that plan will help toward paying your doctor bills.)

Some items and services are not covered under either plan: routine physical checkups, eyeglasses, hearing aids, private duty nurses, custodial care, and personal services such as a telephone or television in your hospital room.

Under the hospital insurance program, drugs are covered only when they are furnished to a patient in a hospital or extended care facility. Under the medical insurance program, drugs are covered only when they are administered by a physician and cannot be self-administered.

Payments will ordinarily be made under the program only in the 50 States, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa. Hospital services under the basic hospital insurance plan may be provided in border areas immediately outside the United States if comparable services are not accessible in the United States for a beneficiary who becomes ill or is injured in this country.

HOW THE HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL INSURANCE PLANS WILL BE FINANCED

The financing provisions for hospital and medical insurance are separated completely from the financing provisions of the regular social security program.

The hospital insurance program will be financed by special contributions from employees and self-employed people. Employers will pay a like amount. For each, the hospital insurance contribution rate will be 0.35 percent in 1966 on the first $6,600 of earnings. Thus, a worker who earns $4,000 yearly will pay $14 in 1966. In 1967, the rate will be 0.5 percent. Thus the worker with $4,000 earnings will pay $20 in 1967. The contribution rate is scheduled to increase periodically until 1987, so that in 1987 a worker will pay $32 yearly on $4,000 earnings. On the maximum earnings of $6,600 yearly, a worker will pay $23.10 in 1966, $33.00 in 1967, and $52.80 in 1987 and thereafter.

The hospital insurance contributions will be in addition to, and collected at the same time and in the same manner as the regular social security contributions. Income from the hospital insurance contributions will be put into the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund from which the program's benefits and administrative costs will be paid. (A special provision was included in the law to reimburse the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund from general tax revenues for the costs of providing hospital insurance coverage for the 2 million people who are not entitled to monthly social security or railroad retirement benefits.)

The medical insurance program will be financed through monthly premiums

paid by people over 65 who enroll in the program and by matching payments from the Federal Government from general revenues. Income from the medical insurance premiums and the matching Federal payments will be put into the Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund, and the benefits and administrative expenses of medical insurance will be paid from this fund.

At least until 1968, the monthly premium (and the matching Federal payment) will be $3 for each person who chooses coverage. The law requires that the premium rates be examined every 2 years starting in 1967. If the premium rate, including the government's share, is not enough to cover the cost of the program for the next two years, the rate may be changed. The government will continue to pay half the cost.

When you enroll for medical insurance, you are not under any obligation to continue it beyond the end of the next odd-numbered year. Thus, if there is at any time an increase in the premium rate, you will at the same time have an opportunity to drop out of the program if you wish.

Late Enrollment And Re-Enrollment

If you do not enroll at your first opportunity, you may enroll later, but only during certain periods. These periods are the last three months of odd-numbered years beginning with 1967.

If your premiums are being deducted from your social security benefits and you decide to drop out of the medical insurance program, you may drop out during an enrollment period. If you are paying your premiums in cash, your enrollment

may be ended if you fail to pay the premiums.

If your enrollment is ended, you may re-enroll once, but only during one of the enrollment periods and only if you re-enroll within three years.

IF YOU CANNOT MEET YOUR MEDICAL EXPENSES

The health insurance programs will pay a large part of the cost of health care for most older people, but they do not pay the entire bill. If you have medical expenses you are not able to pay, you may qualify for aid from your public welfare agency. Most States have medical care programs for aged people who cannot pay their medical bills, and the 1965 Amendments make it possible for the States to strengthen and improve these services. Your public welfare agency may be able to help you.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

For more detailed information about the new health insurance plans, call, write, or visit your nearest social security district office.

Do not because of this new law cancel any hospital or medical insurance you may now have. The health insurance provisions of the new law give no protection whatsoever until July 1966.

Third Edition

OASI—1965-2 ☆ GPO 1965 O - 785-219 AUGUST 1965

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
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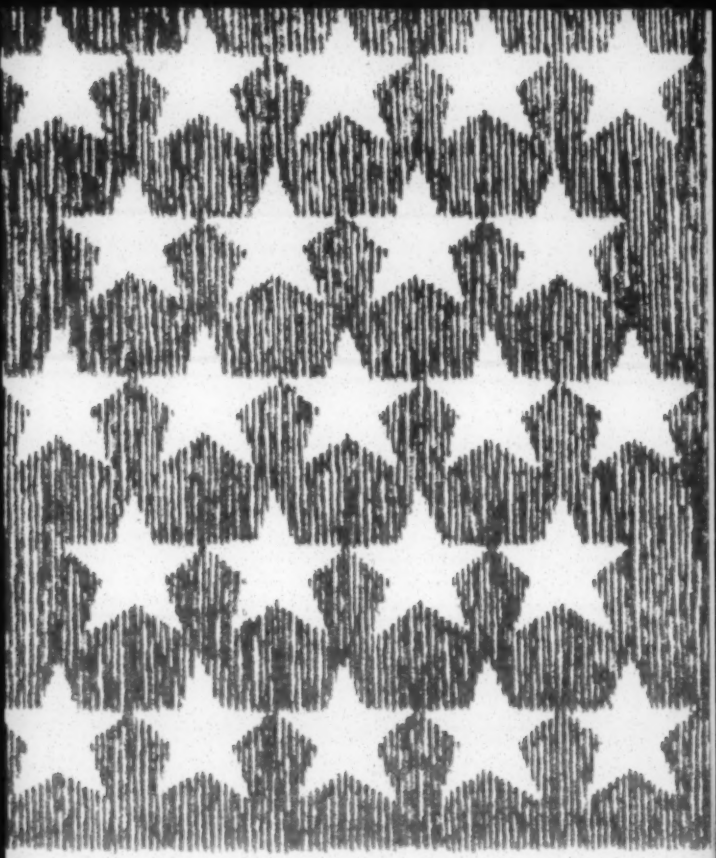

H.E.W.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS 1965

A BRIEF EXPLANATION

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Appendix 2

Guidelines for School Desegregation

A Summary Explanation
of the
Revised Statement of Policies
For School Desegregation Plans
Under Title VI of the
Civil Rights Act of 1964

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

H.E.W. Rec'd 4/1/66 (agency)

E.S. file

OFFICE OF EQUAL HEALTH OPPORTUNITY WORKSHOPS

Agenda

April 4-5, 1966

FIRST DAY

8:00 - 8:45	Welcome and Statement of Hospital Compliance Program Objectives	Mrs. Sherry Arnstein
8:45 - 9:45	The Civil Rights Act	MR. RICHARD M. SHAPIRO
9:45 - 10:15	Hospital Compliance to Date	Mr. Seymour Bress
10:15 - 10:30	Coffee Break	
10:30 - 11:00	Effecting Hospital Compliance -- the Process	Mr. Robert M. Nash
11:00 - 12:15	The Dynamics of Hospital Management	Mr. John F. Bordelon
12:15 - 1:15	Lunch	
1:15 - 2:15	The Compliance Review -- Office Preparation and Preparatory Information Gathering in the Field	Mr. James T. Williams
2:15 - 3:45	The Compliance Review -- Interviewing the Hospital Administrator	Mr. William J. Page
3:45 - 4:45	The Compliance Review -- Inspection of Facility	Dr. Richard A. Smith
4:45 - 5:45	The Compliance Review -- Final Interview with the Hospital Administrator	Mr. William J. Page
5:45 - 7:00	Dinner	
7:00 - 8:30	Panel Discussion -- The Negro Community and Its Spokesmen	Mr. Paul Anthony

Moderator — Mrs. Sherry Arnstein

Panel Members — Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Mr. Stanley Wise

SECOND DAY

8:00 - 8:45	The Hospital Compliance Report	Mrs. Sherry Arnstein Mr. Robert M. Nash Mrs. Irene Rosenberg
8:45 - 9:45	The Nature of Legal Evidence	Mrs. Irene Rosenberg
9:45 - 10:00	Coffee Break	
10:00 - 10:45	The Attitudes and General Deportment Appropriate for Investigative Personnel	Mr. Joseph F. Giordano
10:45 - 12:30	Case Study	Mrs. Sherry Arnstein Mr. William J. Page Mr. Richard M. Shapiro
12:30 - 1:30	Lunch	
1:30 - 2:00	The Importance of Improving the Department's Civil Rights Performance	Dr. George Silver
2:00 - 3:45	Federal, State and Local Government Participation in Public Health Activities and Programs	Mr. William C. Watson, Jr.
3:45 - 4:00	Coffee Break	
4:00 - 4:30	Civil Rights Responsibilities: DHEW (Special Assistant to the Secretary), the Office of Equal Health Opportunity and its Structure, The Department of Justice, and the Office of the General Counsel	Mr. Robert M. Nash
4:30 - 6:00	How We Are Going to Operate	Mr. Robert M. Nash Mr. Joseph F. Giordano

OFFICE OF EQUAL HEALTH OPPORTUNITY WORKSHOP

Agenda

April 6-7, 1966

FIRST DAY

8:00 - 8:45	Welcome and Statement of Hospital Compliance Program Objectives	Dr. George Silver
8:45 - 9:45	The Civil Rights Act	MR. RICHARD M. SHAPIRO
9:45 - 10:15	Hospital Compliance to Date	~~Mr. Seymour Bress~~ DR. RICHARD A. SMITH
10:15 - 10:30	Coffee Break	
10:30 - 11:00	Effecting Hospital Compliance -- the Process	Mr. Robert M. Nash
11:00 - 12:15	The Dynamics of Hospital Management	Mr. Ross Porter
12:15 - 1:15	Lunch	
1:15 - 2:15	The Compliance Review -- Office Preparation and Preparatory Information Gathering in the Field	Mr. James T. Williams
2:15 - 3:45	The Compliance Review -- Interviewing the Hospital Administrator	Mr. William J. Page
3:45 - 4:45	The Compliance Review -- Inspection of Facility	Dr. Richard A. Smith
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Moderator Mrs. Sherry Arnstein

Panel Members Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Mr. Clarence Coleman

SECOND DAY

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Civil Rights Act
Title 45
Explanation of Assurance Form 441
Dear Administrator (With attached Assurance Form 441)
Dear Administrator
Guidelines for Compliance
Medical Facilities Compliance Report
Memo from Secretary dated December 14, 1965
Justice Guidelines for Enforcement of Title VI
Coordinated Enforcement Procedures for Medical Facilities
Hospitals and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act - Dr. Terry
Questions and Answers dated May 13, 1965
Equal Opportunity in Hospitals and Health Facilities
Executive Order 11246
Major Programs of Federal Financial Assistance to Medical Facilities
Civil Rights under Federal programs
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Organization Chart
Public Health Service Organization Chart

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

SEP 27 1966

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you very much for your support of Mr. Stanley Kruger and his work as area director for Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

I appreciate your taking your time to write to us. It is a thoughtful and generous gesture.

We, too, feel Mr. Kruger has done a good job in an extremely sensitive area, and we have a high regard for his abilities. The unit he will now be heading, as you know, deals with grants and institutes to help school districts with desegregation problems. This program has not received as much publicity as has Title VI, but, in our opinion, is in many ways more significant than our Title VI activities. Mr. Kruger was acting head of a similar unit before, and that program at the moment is badly in need of being strengthened. We are very hopeful that reestablishing this unit will help us improve the Title IV program.

Thank you again for writing and for your interest in our program.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner of Education

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

Statement of
Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Before the
Committee on Rules
of the
House of Representatives
Friday, September 30, 1966
10:30 a.m., EDT

The Commissioner is accompanied by:

Mr. St. John Barrett, Second Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice

Mr. Peter Libassi, Special Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

In 1954, more than a decade ago, the Supreme Court declared segregated public schools to be unconstitutional. The Court concluded that segregated education is inherently unequal, and that "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place." In the following term the Court did not direct that the schools be desegregated forthwith, but rather with "all deliberate speed."

Ten years later, many schools were still being operated on a segregated basis. It was in this context that in July 1964 Congress enacted Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That Title expressly requires all Federal agencies, including the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to assure that no person be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. This law obliges the Department to withhold Federal funds from any school system that continues to maintain a segregated school. It was in order to discharge this responsibility that we issued the Guidelines and established the appropriate administrative machinery for enforcing them.

The school desegregation guidelines were issued by the Office of Education to provide an objective basis for carrying out our obligations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Not only did local school districts request consistent guides to assist them in undertaking their obligations, but the Office of Education required a policy statement to assist in administration of a large program. The fundamental principles of the guidelines are based upon the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and upon court decisions. The courts have said, for example: that faculty desegregation is

a necessary element of school desegregation; that free-choice plans must work fairly; and that school boards have an obligation to work affirmatively to achieve desegregation. The guidelines articulate the basic principles already enunciated by the courts and the way they apply to the broad administrative responsibility of the Office of Education.

As a brief summary we would call attention to the following points:

1. The guidelines were developed to meet the needs of the schools for a statement concerning their obligations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The primary purpose of the guidelines and of our administration of Title VI is to help school districts to stay in compliance so that Federal funds may flow to the benefit of school children.

2. Our own attorneys in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and those in the Justice Department were asked to examine the guidelines prior to their issuance in March 1966 to determine whether they are consistent with Title VI. These attorneys have agreed that the guidelines are consistent with Title VI and follow the Federal Court rulings.

3. The Courts have pointed out that as long as school staffs are still assigned on a segregated basis the existence of the Negro school and the white school as separate parts of a dual school system cannot be overcome.

4. The guidelines do not mention and do not require "racial balance" or the correction of racial "imbalance." Nor have we in the administration of our obligations under Title VI sought to establish "racial balance." They deal only with desegregation plans designed to eliminate the dual school systems for whites and Negroes, systems being operated in violation of the 1954 Supreme Court Ruling.

In response to questions which have arisen over the past few months concerning the legality, the purpose, and the operation of the 1966 School Desegregation Guidelines, we prepared a special statement which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John Gardner, sent on April 9, 1966, as a letter to Congressmen and Governors.

What the letter said was this:

> We have received a number of inquiries about our revised school desegregation guidelines, some of which reflect a misunderstanding of their purpose and intent. You will probably have received similar inquiries, so I think it might be useful to restate the purpose, background, and meaning of the revised guidelines.
>
> For the same reason, I have asked U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II and senior members of his staff to meet with State and local school officials to make clear the purpose and nature of these revised guidelines.
>
> The Courts and the Congress have spoken clearly on the basic issue of the desegregation of public schools. The Supreme Court decided that question twelve years ago. Since then Congress has plainly established in law that pupils may not be assigned to schools on the basis of their race or color. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 expressly requires the Executive Branch to insure that funds for federally assisted programs, including education, must not be used to support discrimination or segregation.
>
> This Department, like all other executive agencies, is required by Title VI not to use Federal funds to perpetuate racial segregation. We have found that uniform rules contained in guidelines issued by the Commissioner of Education are the best method of dealing with both the operational problems of school districts and our own responsibilities under the law.
>
> The first school guidelines were issued in April, 1965, and they were not widely questioned. There was a widespread effort by school districts to comply. In many areas, school desegregation began for the first time smoothly and without incident. In other areas, desegregation, already begun, progressed substantially.

From the experience under the original guidelines, we learned that effective desegregation depends on determination by local communities. The guidelines did not ask school districts formerly segregated to desegregate overnight. They recognized that the remedy to be fashioned should take into account administrative problems. Thus, they asked that a substantial beginning be made; and this was done. All but 300 of the more than 2,000 affected school districts agreed to desegregate all 12 grades by the fall of 1966, a full year ahead of the 1967 target contemplated by the original guidelines and required by the Courts. Only 79 chose not to comply.

The legal principle, defined by the Courts, is that desegregation must progress, and that as it proceeds in a particular school district, administrative problems offer progressively less justification for delay. During 1965 and this year, the Courts repeatedly announced requirements which put school districts further along the road toward desegregation than did the original guidelines. This was a foreseeable and inevitable result, since the guidelines were of general applicability while Courts fashioned their orders on a case-by-case basis.

From the issuance of revised Court orders it became clear that school districts not operating under Court orders could and should make more progress this year toward desegregation than was required by the original guidelines. In light of this fact and of our experience with problems under free choice plans for compliance, we revised the guidelines.

One aspect of the revised guidelines about which there has been some inquiry is faculty desegregation. Courts have held that meaningful desegregation cannot occur so long as segregation of faculty members persists. The 1965 guidelines pointed toward faculty desegregation by asking school boards to hold desegregated staff meetings and to plan further steps the ensuing year. The 1966 guidelines, following the decisions of Courts, provide for desegregation of the faculty to begin.

The guidelines do not, as some have assumed, require the instantaneous desegregation of the faculty in every school building in every district. Nor do they prescribe rigid means. They provide considerable flexibility as to how a district might undertake faculty desegregation. What the guidelines do require is that a reasonable beginning be made and that reasonable progress be achieved beyond what was achieved last year. We believe that, with determination and good faith, these goals can be attained.

The second area of concern involves the percentages mentioned in the guidelines. Some have contended that this portion of the guidelines imposes a formula of "racial balance." This contention misconceives the purpose of the percentages.

The prevailing method of desegregation is what is called the "free choice" plan. Under such a plan, students select their schools instead of being assigned to them on a geographic basis. Courts have expressly conditioned their approval of such plans on affirmative action by school boards to insure that "free choice" actually exists. It is our responsibility to review such plans to insure that the choice is, in fact, free and to indicate to school districts what procedures should be used to assure true freedom of choice.

In seeking appropriate criteria to guide us in review of free choice plans, we have adopted the objective criteria applied by the Courts in similar situations. One such criterion is the distribution of students by race in the various schools of a system after the students have made their choices. If substantial numbers of Negro children choose and go to previously all-white schools, the choice system is clearly operating freely. If few or none choose to do so in a community where there has been a pattern of segregation, then it is appropriate that the free choice plan be reviewed and other factors considered to determine whether the system is operating freely.

With more than 2000 separate districts to consider, such percentages are thus an administrative guide which helps us to determine those districts requiring further review. Such review in turn will determine whether or not the freedom of choice plan is in fact working fairly.

If the purposes of the guidelines and their relationship to the decision of the Courts and the laws of the Congress are understood, I believe our general aim also will be clear. It is to assist local officials to comply with the law in good faith and to enable us to fulfill our responsibilities in administering Title VI.

Sincerely,

/s/ John W. Gardner
Secretary

Mr. Chairman, there are just two additional topics I would like to mention. The first has to do with Office of Education administration of its obligations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. In this connection we would make the following points:

1. The purpose of our administrative activities is to help school districts to get into compliance and avoid any issue of loss of funds.

2. As of September 26, there were 37 school districts which had lost all Federal funds because of failure to submit an acceptable desegregation plan. There are an additional 73 districts which have been cited for hearings and which may lose their funds if the rulings of Federal examiners go against them. Approximately 2,000 school districts, which formerly maintained dual school systems, are receiving funds as the result of using the compliance procedures.

3. We have attempted to focus the attention of our small staff on those districts which have had the greatest problems with making their free-choice plans operate effectively. We have deferred the award of new funds to some 70 of these districts, but they continue to receive money for programs already approved. This deferral of funds follows a procedure established by the Attorney General.

Secondly, I would like to mention that we have received substantial help in our school desegregation efforts from State and local officials. The State of Florida provides an example. Two years ago, less than 3 percent of all Florida Negro children attended school with whites. Last year, the percentage had risen almost 10 percent, and it is estimated that this year it will reach close to 20 percent. Such a significant increase is due in

no small part to the acceptance by the State educational agency of a constructive role in eliminating Florida's dual system of schools as rapidly as possible.

Wherever possible, the Office of Education tries to decentralize administrative responsibility for desegregation so that those who make the initial decisions are in close contact with local school officials. We also seek to strengthen the capabilities of existing State and local educational a .cies for providing assistance and leadership. A Title IV grant has been made to the Florida educational agency to establish a full-time unit of 10 people, working at the State level, to help local schools with desegregation problems. Similar units have now also been established in other Southern and border States--Georgia, Tennessee, Delaware, and Maryland.

Finally let me say that any school district that is not in compliance with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act seems to us to represent a defeat. It means failure on our part and failure on the part of those responsible for the schools. Our failure arises from our inability to be of sufficient help in achieving voluntary compliance. The failure of the schools arises from some combination of local conditions that threatens the opportunities of all children to receive the best possible education. We are seeking always to be fair and just. Our legal responsibility is clear--to adhere to the procedures and policies established in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and supported by the decisions of the Federal courts.

(See also Attached Sept. 27 statement)

October 11, 1966

TO: Pat Watters
FROM: Ed Stanfield

Pursuant to our brief conversation Monday afternoon:

It seems to me that we need to stress as an incidental part of many of our studies and publications or in a special report or -- preferrably-- in both ways the far-reaching, unfortunate implications of the emasculation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which is now taking place. I think the subject would be worthy of a special report. (You might call it "The Life and Hard Times of Title VI" or the "Rise and Fall of the Federal Resolve.")

Among the points which need to be made:

(1) Administrative procedures against de facto segregation in schools was the strongest hope, if not the only one, Negroes had of overcoming the pattern and custom of segregated schools in the South.

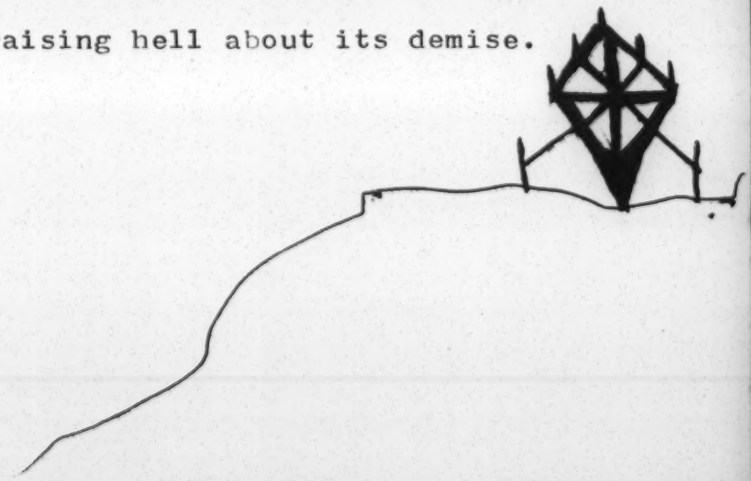
(2) Much of what little belief Negroes had in the civil rights determination of the federal government was riding on Title VI. The administration stands to lose (further) the confidence of Negroes.

(3) While most of the furor has been over school and hospital desegregation policies of H.E.W., the loss of Title VI means the loss of what little leverage we have to secure equal participation for Negroes in agriculture extension services, ASCS (crop allotment) elections, and other programs of the Department of Agriculture (which is notoriously white-dominated and corrupt); in O.E.O. local policy boards; in housing programs (which probably means the loss of the one slim hope of overcoming segregated housing patterns).

See the article by Herbers in the NYT of October 7 or 8 which was excerpted in the Journal-Constitution, October 9. The gist was that Congress and the administration are slowly undermining Title VI.

Sen. Russell said when the 1964 C. R. Bill was being debated that its heart was Title VI -- and that segregationist knows his oats.

We or somebody ought to be raising hell about its demise.



Some Officials Expect Repeal Of Title VI of Rights Act

TITLE VI AJ+C 10/9/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1965 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 — Some administration officials are concerned that the most far-reaching desegregation law —Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — is in danger of repeal — bit by bit.

Both houses of Congress have been chipping away at Title VI, which is intended to prohibit racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

"Now when we call on Southern school officials for compliance, they just laugh at us," an official in the office of education said. "They feel they have the rest of the country on their side now."

On Thursday, the House voted, 220 to 116, to require a hearing before the Office of Education can delay sending federal funds to any school district suspected of practicing discrimination.

Both houses agreed to cut the civil rights enforcement appropriation to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by $927,000. These actions are subject to approval in conference committee.

IN ADDITION, the department and the commissioner of education, Harold Howe II, have been criticized by members of Congress, from both the South and North, who say the department is going beyond the law in enforcement of Title VI.

Some officials within the department believe that damage done to Title VI so far is more psychological than substantative, although some officials in the administration believe Congress is not yet through with Title VI.

"A lot of people would like to see it repealed or gradually eroded away," one official said.

New opposition to Title VI is making a difficult enforcement task harder, a spokesman for HEW said.

If enforcement of Title VI followed every federal dollar, as it could, except for a few exemptions, it would be felt in almost all phases of life.

BUT THE administration has attempted to enforce it only in select programs, chiefly schools, hospitals, and the federal agencies.

Further, Title VI is not popular in the bureaucracy.

Many officials say privately they wish Title VI did not exist. It involves them in the emotional area of race relations they would rather avoid. And it distracts them from what they consider to be their major concerns because it carries the power to withhold funds.

The office of education is committed to integrated education. But some officials feel that civil rights problems have hindered the office's major job of building quality schools, whatever the racial balance.

In administering federal aid to secondary schools, the office has encountered complaints of "federal control" from all areas of the country, partly due, it is believed, to the side effects of Title VI enforcement.

THIS WEEK, Howe proposed before the House Rules Committee that enforcement of Title VI in school desegregation be delegated to the states. He said this could be incorporated in the general state administration of federal education programs, if the states wish to assume that responsibility.

The federal standards and guidelines would have to be maintained, Howe added.

Title VI has been enforced only in the South and border states. The office of education has made no attempt to enforce Title VI outside the South since last year when it deferred funds to Chicago and was overruled by the White House.

The reason for the general assault on Title VI now is that Southerners have mounted a campaign against it and many Northerners are sympathetic for the first time.

The main charge is that HEW is intent on achieving racial balance when the intent of the law is only to remove racial barriers.

HEW officials say that their desegregation guidelines actually permit a slower rate of integration than would have taken place without them.

"If we had just enforced Title VI outright," one official said, "they would have had to desegregate all at once instead of four grades a year. All we are trying to do is stop having Negro schools and white schools and just have schools."

Memo to Paul Anthony:

The school desegregation report should follow this basic outline:

I. Chronological detailing of reaction to the guides
   a. Pre-guidelines comments and preparations
   b. General nature of the guides
   c. Early acceptance by southern schoolmen and politicians
   d. Realization of aims of guidelines leading to resistance by schoolmen
   e. Politicians manipulating "white backlash"
   f. Letter from 18 southern senators and a comparison of it with the Southern Manifesto
   g. Outline of two most vociferous states
      1. Alabama
      2. Georgia
   h. Removal of compliance officers
      1. Mississippi
      2. Georgia-S.C.
      3. Alabama
   i. Senate appropriations committee hearings and results
   j. House judiciary sub-committee hearings and (hopefully) results
   k. Outlook--future of the guidelines.

II. Outline of significant court action pointing to the hoped-for acceptance by the Fifth Circuit of the guidelines as criteria for court-ordered desegregation.
   1. Jackson
   2. Mobile
   3. Alabama and Louisiana districts--pending
   4. Oklahoma City

III. Conclusions
   a. Comment on national standards in education. The nature of "quality education," which Negroes are willing to sacrifice so much for.
   b. Comment on the political situation and its portents for school desegregation.
   c. A general evaluation of the guidelines--on the basis of their effectiveness if they were followed to the letter. What about racial balance? Is faculty desegregation the final answer to removal of dual structure?
   d. Responsibility for failure of guidelines:
      1. Whole concept of school desegregation--especially on federal level and in the federal courts--allowing a debate on the legitimacy of desegregation twelve years after segregation has been declared illegal.

on deliberate speed —?

      2. Southern press (and a generally more responsible but complacent national press
      3. Southern moderates
         a. Acceptance of tokenism
         b. political disinterest and disaster
         c. Racial balance a threat to traditional alliance between upper class whites and Negroes
      4. Southern schoolmen--a frightened and devious lot
      5. Office of education ?
         a. In 1965--naive
         b. In 1966--a generally inept attempt at cracking down. Use of percentages as an "administrative guide" brought all the fuss about racial balance, which in turn brought congressional investigations
         c. Failure to back effective compliance officers--Kruger
      6. Presidential committment--not forthcoming. The Howard Universit speech and the like, but no evidence of any real pressure. Johnson has great skill in getting what he wants from Congress--why no effort to head off the appropriations committee action? Little real executive effort to back the guidelines--or those who are charged with enforcing them.
   e. General weakening in the national will. De jure being replaced in the South by de facto. North willing to accept de facto. Going back now to fighting for public schools again. Governor Johnson of Mississippi remarked that if the guidelines prevailed, there would be a new dual school system: private schools and federal schools.
   f. Outlook--grim.

Wilkins Critical of School Aid Change

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., criticized yesterday an amendment to the school aid bill as "the latest and perhaps most devastating blow in the current campaign to destroy the civil rights advances of the last few years."

The Southern-sponsored amendment, passed in the House of Representatives on Thursday, would require a hearing before the Government could withhold funds from school districts that violated desegretation guidelines.

In a statement issued from his New York City office, the director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said that the amendment "would make it impossible for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, without protracted hearings, to withhold funds from schools that discriminate."

He added:

"It is an extension of the ongoing attack on the school desegregation guidelines and on Commissioner of Education Harold Howe 2d."

Mr. Withins, who also spoke for the 83-organization Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which lobbies for rights legislation, called upon Congress, President Johnson and the American people for support.

He asked that Congress "defend their own laws and reject the crippling amendments of the last two weeks," that Mr. Johnson stand behind Mr. Howe and that the nation as a whole "recognize that nothing can create more disrespect for law than the vilification of public officials trying to uphold it."

The amendment, approved by a 113-to-63 nonrecorded vote, could be reversed by a roll-call vote.

Mr. Wilkins said that the recent attacks on Mr. Howe were aimed at getting rid of the commissioner because he had outspokenly called for compliance with the law.

Mr. Wilkins attacked as "thoroughly baseless" the recent statements that the Department of Health was too harsh in its administration of the guidelines and was moving too fast.

"When after 12 years only 8 per cent of the Southern schools are desegregated, no one can say we are going too fast," Mr. Wilkins said.

"And no one can say H. E. W. has pushed desegregation too vigorously, when despite widely documented violations, it has withheld funds from only 89 of 7,000 hospitals and 37 of 1,800 Southern school districts."

The civil rights leader predicted that if the amendment stood, it would bring about unwanted reactions from elements of both the Negro and white community.

"Its own [Congress's] abuse of the legislive process can only feed unrest and disillusionment among Negroes and spur the bigots of the North and the South to new excesses," he said.

The Administration had sought a $1.75-billion extension for the current fiscal year of the year-old program of aid to elementary and secondary schools.

The Senate passed on Thursday a bill that would authorize $6.4-billion for the next two years. Still in debate, however, is the House version, which is expected to authorize $5.8-billion over the same two-year period.

In a related matter, a spokesman for Mr. Wilkins declined to comment yesterday on the activities of militant young N.A.A.C.P. officials in Milwaukee, pending a special meeting between Mr. Wilkins, officials of the Fraternal Order of Eagles and the youts on Oct. 19th.

The N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council has picketed the homes of officials who belonged to the all-white organization.

In recent days, council members have been sitting in cars outside the homes of police officials. They say that the police have been maintaining a similar and unnecessary watc on their headquarters.

file HEW

PA

ES-110

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Region IV
Room 404 - 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

October 12, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

An invitation is extended to you to attend a briefing on the plans of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity in regard to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and Nursing Homes. The program is planned for Thursday, October 20, 1966, at 1:30 P.M. in Room 10 on the mezzanine of the Biltmore Hotel. It is hoped that you or other representatives of your organization will find it possible to be present.

Yours very truly,

James T. Williams

James T. Williams
Regional Program Director
Office of Equal Health Opportunity

Paul: I'll be in NC. with Mrs. Tilly. Pecoul was planning to sit in on Boone's meeting here. Want to send someone?

Ed

file

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Region IV
Room 404 - 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

October 12, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Pryor Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

An invitation is extended to you to attend a briefing on the plans of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity in regard to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and Nursing Homes. The program is planned for Thursday, October 20, 1966, at 1:30 P.M. in Room 10 on the mezzanine of the Biltmore Hotel. It is hoped that you or other representatives of your organization will find it possible to be present.

Yours very truly,

James T. Williams

James T. Williams
Regional Program Director
Office of Equal Health Opportunity

Louise - Could you possibly attend this?
Ed

What you should know about (agency) H.E.W.

MEDICARE INSURANCE FOR PEOPLE OVER 65

The new MEDICARE program for persons 65 or over begins July 1, 1966. The Hospital Care program will provide almost free care in the hospital and after you leave the hospital. The kinds of care and the costs that are covered are described more fully below. In addition, there is a Medical Insurance program that will help pay your doctor's bills. (Doctor's bills are a separate cost to you, even while you are in a hospital.) If you want to get this Medical Insurance coverage, you must register by March 31, 1966.

Who must register:

1. For Hospital Care. If you are over 65 and you are not getting Social Security or railroad retirement benefits, register at your nearest Social Security Office. (A list of addresses is enclosed.) If you are 65 or over and you are receiving Social Security or railroad retirement benefits, you will automatically be covered under the Hospital Care program, and you do not need to register. If you are younger than 65 years old, register with your district office as soon as you reach 65.

2. For Medical Insurance. EVERYONE must register separately for this program. You must register for Medical Insurance even if you are covered under the Hospital Care program, and you must register by March 31, 1966.

How to register for Medical Insurance: If you have not yet filled out an application form for Medical Insurance, you should write immediately, before March 31, to the Social Security office nearest you. Say that you want to apply for MEDICARE. Your letter is not the same as the application form, but it lets the Social Security office know that you want to apply for Medical Insurance. They will send you an application form, and you must fill it out and send it back. Even if you cannot send back the application form before March 31, you will still qualify for Medical Insurance if you have sent in your short letter before March 31, 1966. If you do not do this by March 31, you will have to wait a year and a half for another chance to register. You will have to pay a higher premium, and you will have to wait longer before you are actually covered under the Medical Insurance.

In order to qualify for MEDICARE benefits, you do not need to have ever been covered before under Social Security, and you do not have to stop working. But you do need to be registered.

Here is a short description of the two MEDICARE programs:

1. Hospital Care Program

Hospital Care in the Hospital: You pay the first $40 of hospital bills, and the program will pay the rest for 60 days. If you need to be in the hospital more than 60 days, you will then pay $10 a day, and the program will pay the rest for another 30 days. If you leave the hospital and find later that you must return, you will still be covered. If you return to the hospital within 60 days from the time you left, you can receive hospital care up to the full 90 days. If you return to the hospital after 60 days from the time you left, you will again have to pay the first $40 of hospital bills.

Home Health Care after You Have Been in a Hospital: If you have been in a hospital (or a nursing home) for 3 or more days, you may receive 100 free home

health care visits any time within one year after you have left the hospital. These visits could provide certain kinds of nursing care, therapy, and other services that will help you recover from your illness.

Outpatient Hospital Services: You are called an "outpatient" when you go to a hospital for certain kinds of services but you do not stay there, just as you might visit a doctor's office. For these outpatient services such as medical examinations and tests, you pay the first $20, and the program pays all other costs for a period of 20 days. After 20 days, you can still receive services but you must pay $20 again.

Extended Care after You Have Been in a Hospital: This part of the program begins on January 1, 1967. If you have been in a hospital for at least 3 days, you may receive 20 days of extended care at a skilled nursing home after you leave the hospital. This service is available to you within 14 days after you leave the hospital. The first 20 days are free. If you need additional care, you will then pay $5 a day and the program will pay the rest for another 80 days.

Services Covered in a Hospital or in a Facility for Extended Care

You do not have to pay anything to register for the Hospital Care program, but you must register if you are not going to be automatically covered (see other side, under "Who must register"). When you become sick and need hospital care, you must pay only the small amounts listed after each type of service (see other side), and the program will pay the rest of the costs for the number of days listed. The program's payments will cover the following kinds of expenses: the cost of your room and board in a semi-private room, ordinary nursing services, the cost of drugs, supplies, and most other kinds of service that hospitals usually provide. The Hospital Care program does not cover the cost of doctor's bills. The Medical Insurance program described below will help you pay for these bills and some other services.

2. Medical Insurance Program

This Medical Insurance program costs you only $3 a month. You must register for this program (see other side).

This program covers 80% of the costs of the three services listed below, but in any year from January 1 to December 31, you must pay the first $50. This $50 may go for any combination of the three services.

Physicians' and Surgeons' Services: Coverage is for all physicians' and surgeons' services that you receive at home, in a hospital or clinic, or at the doctor's office.

Home Health Visits: You may receive up to 100 home health visits each year, under an approved plan. In this part of the program, you do not need to have been in a hospital, and these visits are in addition to the 100 visits you get under the Hospital Care program.

Other Medical and Health Services: The following services are covered, no matter where you receive them: diagnostic tests (X-rays, laboratory services), X-ray or radium treatments, surgical dressings, splints or casts, certain ambulance services, braces, artificial legs, arms, or eyes, rental of medical equipment such as iron lungs, and many other medical items and services.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

SOCIAL SECURITY

DISTRICT OFFICES FOR MEDICARE APPLICATIONS

GEORGIA

Albany
P. O. Box 1088
500 Pine Avenue
Albany, Georgia 31702

Athens
P. O. Box 191
794 Prince Avenue
Athens, Georgia 30601

Atlanta
Federal Building
Main Floor
275 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Augusta
700 Telfair Street
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Brunswick
(Branch Office of Waycross)
Federal Building, Room 229
Brunswick, Georgia 31521

Columbus
P. O. Box 1888
301-05 15th Street
Columbus, Georgia 31902

Dalton
(Branch Office of Chattanooga, Tenn.)
P. O. Box 908
Dalton, Georgia 30702

Dublin
(Branch Office of Macon)
P. O. Box 670, Room 1318
U.S. Post Office & Court House Bldg.
Dublin, Georgia 31021

Gainesville
P. O. Drawer 682
425 Bradford Street, N.W.
Gainesville, Georgia 30501

Griffin
(Branch Office of Macon)
435 West Solomon Street
Griffin, Georgia 30223

La Grange
P. O. Box 1089
314 North Lewis Street
La Grange, Georgia 30240

Macon
P. O. Box 4128
New Federal Building
451 College Street
Macon, Georgia 31208

Savannah
P. O. Box 2407
Kay Building
101 East Liberty Street
Savannah, Georgia 31402

Thomasville
P. O. Box 770
Federal Building, Room 204
North Broad Street
Thomasville, Georgia 31792

Valdosta
P. O. Box 1122
122 N. Oak Street
Valdosta, Georgia 31602

Waycross
P. O. Box 756
Ferrell Building, Room 1
704 Jane Street
Waycross, Georgia 31501

Rome
P. O. Box 231
308 Glen Milner Boulevard
Rome, Georgia 30162

Health + Welfare

WHAT IS GOOD DAY CARE?

GOOD DAY CARE IS A WELL-PLANNED COMMUNITY PROGRAM

it serves all children whose families cannot care for them at home throughout the day

it takes the place of these children's own homes for part of the day

it offers these children individual attention and affection

it enriches these children's daily lives, helping each to realize his potential

Health + Welfare

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH SERVICE
ANNUAL REPORT
JULY 1964 - JUNE 1965

The Maternal and Child Health Service is charged by law to protect and promote the health of mothers and children. The Service focuses upon those health factors which would help families to become economically independent members of society.

In 1964 there were 100,581 births of which 7,372 were home deliveries by 321 midwives. We can anticipate that 2,500 to 3,000 of these approximately 100,000 babies will be mentally retarded, of these 100 will be completely dependent and require institutional care, 400 will be semi-dependent, and 2,000 will be marginal dependent.

As late as 1934 the maternal death rate was 78.2 per 10,000 live births. In 1964 it was reduced to 4.7. Even though this is an astounding improvement, Georgia must materially improve both the maternal and infant mortality rates in order to compare favorably with the national average. In the last eight years there has been an alarming and persistent rising death rate among the one through eleven months age group. This has raised the infant mortality rate. Georgia ranks 45th among the states.

A majority of congenital defects, both mental and physical, are directly associated with the complications of pregnancy and heredity. Therefore, primary emphasis is placed upon promotion of family planning and good prenatal care, terminating in hospital delivery by a physician, and upon continuous well child supervision.

Maternal Care: During the year, 14,194 patients were admitted to prenatal medical care, 23,627 to prenatal nursing care, 3,873 to postnatal medical care. One hundred and six counties have maternal clinics with physicians' services.

As of June 14th the State Board of Health gave approval to a plan and policy for expanding the family planning program to include the more modern

methods.

Well Child Care: Ninety-six counties have well child conferences with physicians in charge. There are nursing conferences in 17 other counties. In the one through four age range over 61,569 immunizations against diphtheria, tetanus and whooping cough were given. In this same age group almost 18,803 received oral polio vaccine. There are clinics in 163 towns and cities of Georgia.

Mental Retardation: More than 300 public health nurses from 114 counties over the state attended one of three regional Workshops on Mental Retardation held in 1965 in Atlanta, Albany, and Macon. After attending one of the workshops the nurse is then eligible to attend a one week course at Gracewood State School and Hospital which is taught by their staff.

There are two maternal and infant care projects for high risk prenatal patients, one located in Augusta, centered at the Medical College, and one in Atlanta, centered at Emory-Grady. There are two child development and evaluation centers, one located in Muscogee County, serving twelve counties, and the one in DeKalb serving two counties. A fifth special project in mental retardation, a child development and evaluation center in District #37 with a risk registry designed toward prevention and early detection has been accepted and funded by Children's Bureau as of July 1.

The voluntary hospital newborn screening program for phenylketonuria, a preventable cause of mental retardation, continues. Twenty-seven of the hospitals in Georgia screen babies born in the hospitals. Fourteen thousand three hundred and fifty-eight were tested last year. Two were found by this method and are being treated by dietary management. Three cases were found by urine tests on older children.

HWB:lcw
12-17-65

MEDICARE IMPACT: BEFORE AND AFTER

How Benefits to Start in July Will Help the Elderly Ill

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 30 — He was an old man, living on a monthly $96 Social Security check, when he underwent an eye operaton.

The bill was $919; doctor's fee, $500; 10-day hospital stay, $419.

That was last year. Today, he is one of the millions of elderly Americans whose future medical bills will be paid, in large part, by the two Medicare insurance programs that go into effect July 1.

As in the case of all the estimated 18.5 million older Americans, 65 and over, he will be automatically entitled to benefits paying much of the costs of hospitalization, outpatient service and home nursing visits. And, effective next Jan. 1, he will be entitled to low-cost care in a nursing home or other extended care facility.

Because he has agreed to pay $3 a month—a sum to be matched by the Federal Government—he will have supplemental insurance covering a large part of his doctor's fees, diagnostic and therapy services and additional home nursing visits.

A Deadline Tonight

The deadline for enrolling in this supplementary insurance program is midnight tomorrow for those who turned 65 before last Jan. 1.

However, there are growing signs that Congress will extend the deadline. The decision will rest on a final tabulation on how many elderly Americans have signed up.

Administration officials estimate that more than 16 million persons have enrolled for the supplementary insurance, and one million others have turned it down. Republicans, seeking a deadline extension, assert that 5 million of the elderly have not been reached.

As one of those who have signed up, the old man who had the eye operation a year ago has, or will soon receive, a wallet-sized card that will be his passport to less expensive medical care.

New Cost of Operation

If he were to have an identical operation, at the same cost, after July 1, he would be billed just $180 instead of $919.

This is why:

Medicare's hospital insurance would pay for all but the first $40 of his 10-day stay. The cost to him: $40 instead of $419.

Under the supplementary medical insurance he has purchased through the Government, he would pay the first $50 of the doctor's fee, plus 20 per cent of the remainder. The cost to him: $140 instead of $500.

The old man with the $919 bill he could not afford is just one of thousands who have written to the Social Security Administration in recent years to explain their plight.

Another wrote:

"I had the misfortune to break my right leg. I had my own bone doctor [who charged] $400. I was only in the hospital 18 days. My bill was $851.51. I was not ill. I did not take any medicine at all. Bill in full, $1,251.51. I am paying it out at $10 a month. I am 80. They will take my home away from me if I miss a payment. I worked very hard for my little home. It would kill me I think if anything would happen to me so I could not keep on paying and paying."

$160 Bill Under Program

In this case, if it were to happen after July 1 and the man had both hospital and medical insurance, his total bill would be $160—hospitalization, $40; doctor's fee, $120.

But suppose, instead of an eye operation on a bone fracture, one of these two elderly men were to undergo two consecutive operations for cancer of the upper gastrointestinal tract after July 1. In this hypothetical case, the total bill might be $8,212. The cost to the patient: $1,651.

The hospital charge for 63 days, at $32 a day, would be $2,016. Hospital insurance would pay $1,946. The patient would be billed $40 for the first 60 days and $10 a day for the three additional days.

(The hospital insurance covers up to 90 days of hospitalization, with the patient billed $10 a day after 60 days.)

Other Benefits

Other charges — for laboratory tests, medications, recovery room, X-rays, electrocardiograms, blood transfusions, would be largely paid by one of the two insurance programs. The supplementary medical insurance also would pay a large part of the surgical and doctor fees.

Also, daily home visits by visiting nurses—in this case over a period of six weeks—would be fully covered by hospital insurance.

The fees of private duty nurses—an estimated total of $1,000—during the hospital stay would be billed to the patient. And the patient also would have to pay for medications taken before or after leaving the hospital.

If this long hospitalization were to end on or after next Jan. 1, the patient would be entitled to up to 100 days of care in a nursing home or other extended care facility.

He would not be required to pay anything for the first 20 days. For the next 80 days, he would be billed just $5 a day.

Midnight Is 1st Deadline For Medicare Sign-Ups

Persons who reached age 65 before last Jan. 1 must be enrolled by midnight tonight to qualify for benefits of the voluntary portion of the Medicare program, which will become effective next July 1.

Those who do not sign up by midnight can qualify if they notify by maid any of the city's 16 district offices of the Social Security Administration. Their intent to enroll must be postmarked by midnight. Those who fail to meet the deadline must wait until the three-month enrollment period beginning Oct. 1, 1967, and their benefits then would not start until July 1, 1968.

Persons reaching 65 after Jan. 1, 1966, must register in the seven-month period extending from three months before their birthday month to three months after it. If they fail to do so, they too will have to wait until the next enrollment period starting Oct. 1, 1967.

The long lines that formed at many of the district offices earlier this week tapered off yesterday and applications at the busiest offices were processed in little more than one hour, instead of up to two hours. The offices will be open today from 9 A. M. to midnight.

Health + Welfare

A STATEWIDE CITIZENS ACTION ASSEMBLY ON HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES FOR GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

DINKLER-PLAZA HOTEL — ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MARCH 31 - APRIL 1, 1966

Coordinated by National Urban League, Southern Regional Office,
Atlanta, Georgia

CO-SPONSORED BY

National Urban League

American Friends Service Committee

Young Women's Christian Association

National Council of Jewish Women, Atlanta Section

Georgia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

Planned Parenthood

B'nai B'rith Women of Atlanta

Georgia State Conference of Branches, NAACP

Atlanta-Fulton County League of Women Voters

AFL-CIO, Division of Civil Rights

National Association of Colored Women's Clubs

Georgia Council of Human Relations

National Conference of Christians and Jews

Catholic Social Services

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Atlanta Alumnae

Maude Daniels Association for Mentally Retarded Children

Southern Regional Council

National Sharecroppers Fund

Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Atlanta University School of Social Work

Georgia Conference on Social Welfare

Atlanta Urban League

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1966

10:30 A.M.-1:00 P.M. REGISTRATION

1:00 P.M. OPENING SESSION

Presiding: Mr. Jon J. Johnston, Chairman
Assembly Advisory Committee

"Comments On A Community In Need"
Mrs. Helen Howard, Member
Vine City Community Council
Atlanta, Georgia

SPEECH: "Intergovernmental Programming In Improving Health and Welfare Services to Children"
Mr. William Page, Jr., Regional Director
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

1:50 P.M. GENERAL SESSION ON DAY CARE SERVICES

Presiding: Mrs. Edward A. Driscoll, Chairman
Metropolitan Atlanta Citizens Committee
On Day Care

Assembly Instructions: Mr. Heman M. Sweatt
Associate Director
Southern Region
National Urban League

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER: Mrs. Edward A. Driscoll

SPEECH: "Day Care In A Changing Concept Of Welfare"
Mr. Thomas M. "Jim" Parham, Director
Division of Children and Youth Services
Department of Family and Children
Services, State of Georgia

REACTION PANEL:

— Mrs. Hellice Clark, Technical Consultant
Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity

— Mrs. C. B. King, Director
Albany Day Care Center
Albany, Georgia

— Mr. Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council

— Mrs. Josephine Wilkes, Civic Leader
Brunswick, Georgia

— Mrs. Charlye Mae Lowe, Executive Director
Gate City Day Care Association

— Mrs. Juanita Williams, Day Care Worker
Children's Center of Metropolitan Atlanta

— Mr. Franklyn Thomas, Executive Secretary
Butler Street Y.M.C.A.

DISCUSSION:

3:00 P.M. GENERAL SESSION ON MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE SERVICES

Presiding: Miss Frankie V. Adams, Director
Neighborhood Services
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

PRESENTATION: "State Maternal and Child Care Services"
Dr. Helen Bellhouse, Director
Maternal and Child Health Services,
Department of Family and Children Services
State of Georgia

PRESENTATION: "State Nutritional Services"
Dr. Eleanor B. Petrie, Director, Nutrition Services
Department of Public Health, State of Georgia

PRESENTATION: "Services for Unwed Mothers in Georgia"
Mrs. Mary S. Cousins, Executive Director
Florence Crittenton Home, Atlanta

REACTION PANEL:

— Mrs. Camille K. Jeffers, Associate Professor
School of Social Work
Atlanta University

— Mr. Russell H. Richardson
Southeast Regional Director
Planned Parenthood-World Population

— Rev. Charles Hamilton, Pastor
Tabernacle Baptist Church
Augusta, Georgia

— Mrs. Alice Washington, Project Counselor
Neighborhood Youth Corp
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

— Mr. Byron Ballard, Asst. Executive Director
Children's Center of Metropolitan Atlanta

— Miss Catherine Boling, Executive Director
Children's Center of Metropolitan Atlanta

— Mrs. Sammy Williams, Education Director
Gate City Day Care Association

4:20 P.M. GENERAL SESSION ON MENTAL RETARDATION

Presiding: Dr. William S. Jackson, Dean
School of Social Work
Atlanta University

PRESENTATION: "Services of the State Retardation Center"
Dr. James Clements, Director
Georgia Retardation Center,
Georgia Department of Public Health

PRESENTATION: "A Private Agency's Role in Serving the Mentally Retarded"
Mrs. Louise Stewart, Executive Director
Georgia Association for Mentally Retarded Children

REACTION PANEL:
— Mrs. Henry Harsch, Social Worker
Atlanta, Georgia
— Rev. Charles Alston, Clinical Chaplain
Milledgeville State Hospital
— Mrs. Georgianna Bishop, Medical Social Worker, Talmadge Memorial Hospital
Augusta, Georgia

DISCUSSION:

8:00 P.M. PUBLIC GENERAL SESSION
Presiding: Mrs. Bruce Schaefer, Director
Department of Family and Children Services
State of Georgia

WELCOME: Honorable LeRoy R. Johnson, Senator
38th District
Georgia General Assembly

PRESENTATION: "Cooperation Between Private Welfare Agencies and Federal and State Governments in Improving Health and Welfare Services"
Miss Jeweldean Jones, Associate Director
Health and Welfare
National Urban League, New York

SPEECH: "Civil Rights In H.E.W. Implementation"
Mr. F. Peter Libassi, Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

SPEECH: "The Citizens' Role In Relation To Inter-Governmental Programs"
Mrs. Mary Weaver, Program Analysis Officer
Office of Secretary
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

ASSEMBLY ANNOUNCEMENTS:
Mr. Jon J. Johnston, Chairman
Assembly Advisory Committee

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1966

9:00 A.M. WORKSHOP A
MODERATOR: Mr. Don McEvoy, Executive Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews

RECORDER: Mrs. Nita Stephens
Consultant, Medical Services, Fulton County Department of Family and Children's Services, Atlanta

CONSULTANTS:

— Mr. Dwight Ferguson, Child Welfare Representative, Department Health, Education and Welfare, Region IV, Atlanta

— Miss Gladys Heath, Senior Child Welfare Consultant, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family andChildren Services, State of Georgia

— Mrs. Frieda Cowling, Senior Licensing Worker Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Famiy and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Mrs. Stewart Smith, Health Educator, Maternal and Child Health Services, Department of Public Health, State of Georgia

— Mr. Al Ulmer, Director of Community Organizations Planning, Southern Regional Council

— Mr. J. Thomas Graf, Executive Director Atlanta Association for Retarded Children

WORKSHOP COORDINATOR:
Miss Jeweldean Jones
Associate Director for Health and Welfare
National Urban League

9:00 A.M. WORKSHOP B

MODERATOR: Mrs. Frances Pauley,
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

RECORDER: Rev. Edward M. Brown, Coordinator
Anti-Poverty Task Force, National Council of Churches
Georgia and Alabama

CONSULTANTS:

— Mr. Charles Ray, Court Service Field Representatives, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Mrs. Nancy Edwards, Director of Day Care Licensing, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Miss Katherine Akin, Senior Coordinator, Nursing Services, Division of Maternal and Child Health Services, Department of Public Health, State of Georgia

— Mr. Jac Wasserman, Regional Director National Sharecroppers Fund

— Mr. Kermit Harrington, Field Representative, Southern Region, National Association for Mentally Retarded Children

WORKSHOP COORDINATOR:

Mr. Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Southern Region
National Urban League

9:00 A.M. WORKSHOP C

MODERATOR: Mr. Joe L. Tucker, Director
Georgia State Conference of Branches
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

RECORDER: Miss Lillian C. McClung, Director
Education and Youth Incentives
Atlanta Urban League

CONSULTANTS:

— Mrs. Frances Baird, Child Welfare Field Representative, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Miss Mahala Harrison, Senior Licensing Worker Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Mr. John R. Elliott, Georgia Area Coordinator, Community Action Program, Regional Office of Economic Opportunity

— Mrs. Aleise A. Sockell, Coordinator of Nursing Services, Local Health Branch, Department of Public Health, State of Georgia

— Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director, AFL-CIO, Division of Civil Rights

— Mrs. Louise Stewart, Executive Director, Georgia Association for Mentally Retarded Children

WORKSHOP COORDINATOR:

Mr. Talmadge Fowler, Area Coordinator
Project ENABLE
Southern Region, National Urban League

9:00 A.M. WORKSHOP D

MODERATOR: Rev. Edward A. Driscoll,
Executive Secretary
Georgia Council of Churches

RECORDER: Miss Annell Ponder, Field Director
Citizens Education Program
S.C.L.C.

— Mr. Robert Riols, Associate Court Service Representative, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Miss Gloria Norris, Licensing Worker, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Miss Hannah Mitchell, Nurse Coordinator, Health Conservation Branch, Department of Public Health, State of Georgia

— Mr. Hubert Thomas, Field Director, Georgia Council of Human Relations

— Mrs. Ellern Hudson, Director, Maude Daniels School for Retarded Children

WORKSHOP COORDINATOR:

Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, Area Coordinator
Project ENABLE
Southern Region, National Urban League

9:00 A.M. WORKSHOP E

MODERATOR: Mrs. Marian Glustrom,
Planning Associate
Community Council of Greater Atlanta, Inc.

RECORDER: Mr. Charles E. Clark,
Field Representative, O.J.T.-M.D.T.A. Project, Atlanta Urban League

CONSULTANTS:

— Mr. John Hunsucker, Court Service Field Representative, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Mrs. Viola Macllhenny, Licensing Representative, Division of Children and Youth Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Mrs. Hazel G. Hutcheson, Consultant Nurse, Division of Maternal and Child Health Services, Department of Family and Children Services, State of Georgia

— Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Director, Operation Breadbasket, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

WORKSHOP COORDINATOR:

Mr. Benjamin Lewis, Field Representative
Labor Project
Southern Region, National Urban League

11:30 A.M. CLOSING LUNCHEON SESSION

Presiding: Mr. Jon J. Johnston

— Report of Workshop Resolutions Committees

— Discussion on Follow-Up Action
Miss Jeweldean Jones, Consultant

— Adjournment

ASSEMBLY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Mr. Jon J. Johnston
Mrs. Olga Fenton
Mr. Hubert Thomas
Mrs. Sunny Bates
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Miss Victoria Scott
Mrs. Mattie L. Dollar
Miss Mary Julia Hogan
Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Mr. Don McEvoy
Mrs. Virginia Alexander
Mr. Joe L. Tucker
Miss Connie Curry
Mrs. Eva Driscoll
Mrs. Bette Small
Mrs. Charlotte Saunders
Mrs. Ilaine Zimmerman
Mr. W. Bruce Herrin
Mrs. John Bredfeld
Miss Annell Ponder
Mrs. Louise Stewart
Dr. Edward A. Driscoll
Mrs. Neils Jacobson
Mrs. Bernita Bennette
Rev. Edward M. Brown
Mr. John Stephens
Miss Jennye M. Townsend
Mrs. Camille Jeffers
Mrs. Mary Fenton Doyle
Mrs. Nita Stephens
Mrs. Marian Glustrom

COORDINATOR OF RECORDS: Mr. Roland Blanding, Director
Community Services
Atlanta Urban League, Inc.

ASSEMBLY COORDINATOR: Miss Revelle Pergament
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial
Foundation Intern with the
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

Georgia Department of Public Health
Georgia Association for Mentally Retarded Children
Maude Daniels Association
Georgia Department of Family and Children Services
American National Red Cross, Southeastern Area
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Coca Cola Company
Shirley Dress Company
Georgia Power Company

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HEALTH & WELFARE

Longer Medicare Deadline Urged

AC 4/4/66

By GENE BERNHARDT

WASHINGTON (UPI)—President Lyndon B. Johnson asked Congress Thursday to extend for two months the deadline for persons over 65 to register for medical care for the aged insurance.

The White House estimated that by midnight, the present deadline, about 17 million persons will have signed up — approximately 90 per cent of the 19.1 million who are eligible.

Swift approval by Congress is expected for the President's request, which came as Social Security offices around the country were remaining open to handle a last-minute rush of applicants.

The supplemental insurance, which costs $3 a month, is a voluntary feature of the program. The old people automatically have hospital costs covered under the program.

In a letter transmitting his request to the House and Senate, Johnson said there had been "remarkable" results for "an energetic campaign to inform all citizens who are already 65 that they must enroll by March 31 to be eligible for medical insurance coverage.

He noted that more than 86 per cent of the 19.1 million eligible had actually signed up by Tuesday.

"Despite this enormous response, there will be some older citizens who will want to enroll after March 31 — because they did not act quickly enough, or because somehow they were not reached with news of this opportunity," Johnson said.

He pointed out that men and women over 65 could enroll after March 31 if they had "good cause" for failing to meet the deadline, but they would lose protection "for six months after enrollment." The insurance benefits start July 1.

"I believe it would be unfortunate to delay protection to these late enrollees — some of whom are those with the greatest need for medical insurance," Johnson said.

"Under my proposal, therefore, those enrolling in April and May would be eligible for protection on July 1 when the program goes into effect."

It was estimated earlier that 19.5 million Americans were eligible for the voluntary program which covers a major part of costs for surgery, visits and office calls by doctors, and other health services.

Some one million of those eligible notified the government in writing they were not interested in the program. Nearly 17 million others had registered before the deadline.

HEALTH & WELFARE

CITIZEN ACTION ASSEMBLY
ON
HEALTH & WELFARE SERVICES
FOR
GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS, as follows, were set forth by the participants of the state-wide Citizen Action Assembly on Health and Welfare Services for Georgia's Children, April 1, 1966.

I. In considering welfare services, it is essential that we resolve to be aware and have concern for current programs, problem areas, and proposed changes in programs and legislation.

A. We resolve that the criteria for qualifying to receive Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) be re-evaluated to eliminate the high rigidity of requirements which deprive our children of basic essentials for their normal existence, and that steps be taken to increase the amount of the grants and the number of benefits (services).

B. We particularly recommend that the "substitute father" or "man in the house" clause be removed as a criteria for denying a family the right of assistance.

II. We recommend that the Georgia General Assembly be reconvened for the purpose of using surplus funds to increase health and welfare benefits; and that such benefits include the Georgia Department of Family and Children's Services launching a special project to distribute surplus foods, and that this Department increasingly use the Food Stamp Program as a more effective means of providing food to people in need.

III. We recommend that mandatory legislation be passed which will....

...require all school superintendents in all school districts to establish classes for retarded children, both educable and trainable, and that there be less rigidity in the accreditation of teachers for these special classes and an increase in the training of volunteer aides.

...establish a mechanism to insure the enforcement of child labor laws and practices throughout Georgia.

...insure enforcement of day care requirements at all centers in Georgia.

IV. We resolve that we be an Action Assembly and Committee, concerned with implementing and insuring adequate services towards improving the health and well-being of all children in Georgia, regardless of race, color, or creed.

A. To actively follow-up the groundwork laid by the Citizen Action Assembly:

1. Funds be sought and secured to develop a program which will bring services to those people most in need.

2. Upon receiving of funds, area meetings be held in the State, as the first phase of the Citizen Health and Welfare Program. These meetings will follow, in principle, the goals, purposes, and structuring of the State-wide Assembly.

3. An Advisory Board (Committee) be established to insure the fulfilling of program goals and plans, and that this Board be composed of a third civic leaders, a third representatives of communities in need, and a third professionals from public and private servicing agencies.

B. Upon establishing a state-wide structure, which will be composed of a state-wide committee with an advisory board, and area committees with boards and community delegates, we recommend the following programs:

1. Consultative services (public or private) be secured for community organizations requesting health and/or welfare programs.

2. Leaders of community organizations be encouraged to assist in educating the general public by interpreting health and welfare programs to their membership, encouraging volunteer service in areas of need, and devising means of disseminating information to the community-at-large.

3. Students should become aware of communities with health welfare problems; they should examine (research) services performed by local agencies, and, in general, analyze areas of need--geographical and problematic.

4. Young people should be motivated towards careers in public health and welfare, particularly in those areas in most need of trained personnel.

5. Local action should be taken to establish a community information center which would be responsible for....

   a) developing a community agency inventory for the purpose of coordinating and co-relating existing services and developing those additionally needed;

   b) devising an uptodate fact sheet on existing services and a means of disseminating this information;

   c) actively involving the people receiving services, and in most need of services, in the planning of methods for more efficient dispersing of services and in the planning for additionally needed services.

C. We recommend that, in cooperation with various citizen action groups in Georgia, public and private servicing agencies....

...examine their current procedures for distributing services, and, wherever feasible, devise means for simplifying procedures.

...make home services available or, where such servicing is not feasible, funds be available for those individuals who cannot present themselves to take advantage of services.

...consider decentralization and extension of services to improve the quality and quantity of services for those communities in need.

...provide the assistance of qualified personnel to train volunteers for services needing aides.

V. We resolve that we as individuals and representatives of our organizations will assume the responsibility for taking the above recommendations and resolutions to our respective communities, that we will actively participate in their implementation and in the elimination of all discriminatory practices existing in health and welfare servicing by public and and private agencies in Georgia.

April 18, 1966

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VOL. 98, No. 261 ★★

HEALTH + WELFARE
AC 4/20/1966

RALPH McGILL

With Federal Partnership—

Under the Hill-Burton Act the federal government has assisted local communities to build more than 2,000 clinics, public hospital and health and rehabilitation centers. Hospitals built with federal aid now provide more than 350,000 nursing home beds.

Most of the hospitals have been built in small towns and rural communities where there was, until the hospitals came, little medical care available. Hospitals may use additional legislation adopted in 1964 to modernize hospitals in larger cities.

Medicare will enable many persons to have medical care who could not before afford it. This will, of course, increase demand for hospital beds.

Since this is known, local authorities should be planning to increase bed and care capacities. It is not comfortable to think how badly off we would be in this nation had it not been for the partnership of the federal government in hospital and public health care.

Local Government

(Conversation: "What I want to know is when is the federal government going to leave things to local government. Why doesn't Washington let the states and the cities do what is needed? I get tired of all this welfare business. Let the churches and local charity take care of the poor and the sick. We used to do that before we let Washington take over.")

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ed in 1964 to modernize hospitals in larger cities.

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About three per cent of the babies born each year are classified as mentally retarded. About 4,000 of these are doomed to a lifetime of dependency. There are in this country today about 5.4 million Americans who are that classification. Their number will increase each year. The Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963 provide a five-year program to assist states in planning comprehensive programs to cope with the increasing number of retarded children.

Since 1963 the number of special clinics for children has increased from 110 to 142. Scores of projects are underway, in partnership with the federal government, to lower the incidence of mental retardation caused by complications of pregnancy and birth. There are now some 5,000 teachers-in-training for mentally retarded and handicapped children.

Goldwater Vote

(Conversation: "I voted for Goldwater and I would do it again because I believe he would get the government out of things. I just don't like this welfare stuff.")

Illness and disability are burdens borne most heavily by the nation's lowest income groups.

Poor families and their children see a doctor less than half as often as do families with incomes of $7,000 and more annually. Last year, more than $1.3 million was spent on all public assistance medical care. Children made up to 60 per cent of the entire assistance caseload, yet they received only 12 per cent of the medical care benefits. The 1965 Social Security Amendments deal with this problem. It enables states to receive substantial federal participation in medical care for needy children under 21.

(Conversation: "Man, let me tell you this — nothing burns me up like this poverty program. Why don't the poor go to work. I'm a conservative because I don't believe in all this welfare help for people. They like being on welfare. Let them get out and get a job and support themselves.")

As the United States nears a population of 200,000,000 people the transition from rural to urban culture accelerates. Need for sharing some of the affluence with the less fortunate keeps the American system strong and flexible. Welfare, or a social conscience, is a necessary ingredient of change. That many citizens are so totally uninformed and in error about conditions in their own country testifies to their isolation from their own society.

A.M.A. HEAD FINDS HOPE IN MEDICARE

6/29/66

Seeks to Calm Doctor Fears —Asks Self-Examination

HEALTH + WELFARE

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, June 28 — Dr. Charles L. Hudson, the new president of the American Medical Association, sought today to quiet fears about Medicare among doctors. He urged a "sound policy of self-examination" by the medical profession.

In sharp contrast to some emotional objections to Medicare by members of the A.M.A.'s policy-making House of Delegates, Dr. Hudson said he was convinced that with the advent of the Government's health care program for the aged, "we are not stepping off the brink into a bottomless pit of professional destruction and despair."

In his speech, he said doctors would face "insinuation and openly adverse criticism" after Medicare took effect, and he called Medicare "unneces-

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MEDICARE PLANS SCORED BY G.O.P.

But Administration Asserts It Is Well Prepared

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 28—The Republican Coordinating Committee said today that the Administration had "failed tragically" to prepare for the start of the Medicare program.

The Administration, meanwhile, said it was well-prepared and did not foresee "major problems" of overcrowding.

These two views of Medicare's impact on the nation's medical facilities came less than three days before the program's start at 12:01 A.M. Friday. The G.O.P. view was expressed in a statement released here. The Administration presented its side in a briefing with reporters at the White House.

The briefing followed a private conference between President Johnson and his top advisers on Medicare, including John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Wilbur Cohen, department Under Secretary; Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service; and Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

Noncompliance in South

Mr. Johnson was told that numerous Southern hospitals still had not been cleared for Medicare patients under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is intended to ban racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

Generally, however, compliance with Title VI among the nation's hospitals has improved markedly over the last few weeks. One report that Mr. Gardner gave the President showed 92.2 per cent of general hospital beds across the country had been certified to receive Medicare patients. Nearly all the hospitals that had not complied were in the South.

For example, the refusal of many Mississippi hospitals to abandon discriminatory practices means that only 26.6 per cent of hospital beds in that state are now available to elderly patients who are eligible for Medicare benefits.

Mississippi is the only state in complaince on less than 50 per cent of its beds. The figures for some other Southern states are: Georgia, 54.9; Louisiana, 57.2; Alabama, 66.1; South Carolina, 66.1.

The worst single instance of discrimination, Mr. Gardner told the President, is Mobile, Ala., where only 30 out of 3,986 beds—less than one per cent—will be available to Medicare patients.

In addition, Mr. Gardner listed Shreveport, La., and Jackson

Associated Press Wirephoto

VIEWS MEDICARE: Dr. Charles L. Hudson, the new president of the American Medical Association, at the Chicago session yesterday.

A.M.A. HEAD CALMS MEDICARE FEARS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

sary." However, on the whole, his address was conciliatory, and at one point he declared that it was "wasteful of our collective professional energy to belabor the past."

Dr. Hudson, a 62-year-old internist at the Cleveland Clinic and a professor at Western Reserve University, set a course of "scientific objectivity" for the 214,000-member organization as a means of preventing extension of Medicare into a "national health service."

Although he discounted "drastic" changes for doctors under Medicare, he did, however, forecast new problems, among them a "reservoir of demand beyond our expectations" because of a supplementary Federal-state program for the needy already in effect.

Doctors, Dr. Hudson continued, must become "receptive to new ideas and become the leaders in experimentation in the mechanisms of medical practice."

Although the introduction of Medicare will be "uneven" and "probably vexatious at first and possibly even useful"

U.S. Hospitals Doubt Rush of Medicare Patients

By DONALD JANSON

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, June 25—With the start of Medicare on Friday, leading specialists are discounting predictions that hospitals will suddenly be overcrowded.

They cite national-occupancy averages to show that most hospitals have room for the expected increase in elderly patients. In hospitals already full, they say, increased demand will not mean the appearance of beds in corridors but simply that patients will go somewhere else or settle for a place on a waiting list.

Many persons of and over 65 years of age who are eligible for Federal benefits have postponed elective surgery until Medicare could pay for much of it. Forecasts of the increase in demand for hospital facilities have ranged up to 50 per cent.

"It will be more like 5 per cent," Dr. Edwin L. Crosby, director of the American Hospital Association, said in an interview.

The hospital association, with headquarters here, represents most of the approximately 7,000 hospitals that have applied to participate in Medicare.

Dr. Crosby's view appears to be the consensus among most other experts. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare agrees with the 5 per cent figure. So does the Blue Cross Association. So do leading hospital administrators.

Can Absorb Influx

Dr. Crosby said hospitals could absorb an influx of this proportion without undue strain.

"Average hospital occupancy is 75 per cent," he pointed out. "Optimum is 85 per cent. With Medicare, it will be 80, without any further ups and downs in the near future."

Walter J. McNerney, president of the Blue Cross Association, said only a few areas faced serious bed-shortage problems.

"In those places," he said, "there will be some queueing of persons who have put off elective surgery."

James E. Hague, editor of Hospitals, the journal of the American Hospital Association, said only 10 per cent of the nation's hospitals with 5 per cent of its beds would face demands too great to handle. All are operating at or near capacity now.

He said these included some prestigious hospitals in metropolitan areas and some small hospitals in rural areas. He said a survey showed that 88 counties, many of them in the Southeast, had full hospitals in the latter category.

Chicago Called Typical

The situation in Chicago is typical of some metropolitan

the nation's hospitals than in its immediate effect on admissions. Many experts believe Medicare will stimulate a succession of improvements that will benefit patients of all ages.

The Medicare law enacted last year demands a strict accounting of hospital charges on the basis of cost. For two-thirds of the nation's hospitals, this is new. They have never used cost-accounting procedures, common to well-managed businesses. They have averaged daily costs and applied them to all patients equally. If this continued, Medicare would be paying part of the cost, for example, of maternity, pediatric and other expensive services the aged do not use.

Hospitals want Medicare business. It and Title XIX of the law, which covers welfare patients of all ages, will pay billion of dollars in bills promptly. So averaging will lose out to cost analysis.

All Patients Affected

The change will probably apply to all patients. Separate systems for Medicare patients and others would be too complicated and expensive. Patients will get bills itemized to reflect actual cost to the hospital of the services provided. Charges for X-rays, for example, traditionally padded to cover other costs, will go down. Intensive care charges will go up. Patients will pay for what they get. Money-losing inefficiencies will be spotlighted for hospitals.

"Modern accounting procedures hold great hope for improvement in hospital operations," said Mr. Hague of the journal hospitals.

Medicare regulations also require a close review of patient cases by physician "utilization" committees. This is to make sure that welfare and Medicare patients are not being charged for faulty judgments by doctors, including decisions to extend hospital stays unnecessarily.

This "reviewing" will be as new to many hospitals as pinning down costs.

"We have not had enough pressure to utilize beds or personnel fully," conceded Pat N. Groner, administrator of Baptist Hospital in Pensecola Fla., at a recent Medicare symposium in the American Hospital Association's headquarters.

"Professional review of utilization should be a regular part of every hospital's activity," Mr. Hague said today. "The primary benefit is better care of patients. A simultaneous gain is more efficient use of facilities. The reviews will provide data never before available in any significant portion of our hospitals."

Nursing Homes Cited

There seems to be unanimous agreement that Medicare's efficiency regulations and its payment of nursing home benefits will mean development of new and better facilities for care of patients recuperating from hospital treatment.

"We will see a great deal of construction of nursing homes," Mr. McNerney of Blue Cross declared. "Private capital will find them a high-return investment."

To get Medicare payments, a nursing home must have a full-time registered nurse and practical nurses from state-approved schools. Only 250,000 of the nation's 700,000 nursing-home beds are in homes that meet these standards now.

The upgrading is expected to lessen a patient's resistance to leaving expensive hospital beds. A recent survey in Rochester found that 23 per cent of the patients in the city's hospitals did not need care in hospital beds.

Medicare is also expected to speed a trend to hospital sponsorship of nursing homes, home care by nurses and hospital wings with low-cost beds for convalescents.

"Medicare will accentuate this need," said Leo J. Elsasser, assistant to the executive vice president of Evanston Hospital in the Chicago suburb of Evanston. "A hospital can operate a very good extended-care facility because it has a lot of know-how and all the facilities to back one up. With the major shortage of such facilities, hospitals can find themselves in a bind if they have no place to send patients who still need attention."

Other Spurs Seen

Hospital administrators also believe Medicare coverage of psychiatric and rehabilitation benefits will spur development of needed mental health and rehabilitation facilities.

"The potential use of rehabilitation services with respect to persons 65 and over is just tremendous," Robert M. Signond, executive director of the Hospital Planning Association in Allegheny County, Pa., said at the symposium. "All of the benefits that apply to general hospital care apply to rehabilitation services. I think the general and long-term impact of this legislation will be a great growth in rehabilitation services, but in particular it will be a boost to the free-standing rehabilitation center."

Medicare will pay hospital bills of about $1.5-billion a year. With Title XIX, it will lift a burden of charity care and bad debts from hospitals. Dr. Crosby of the American Hospital Association hopes the result will be much-needed renovation and modernization of hospitals and equipment.

"Medicare will be a great boon to hospitals financially," he declared.

ance with Title VI among the nation's hospitals has improved markedly over the last few weeks. One report that Mr. Gardner gave the President showed 92.2 per cent of general hospital beds across the country had been certified to receive Medicare patients. Nearly all the hospitals that had not complied were in the South.

For example, the refusal of many Mississippi hospitals to abandon discriminatory practices means that only 26.6 per cent of hospital beds in that state are now available to elderly patients who are eligible for Medicare benefits.

Mississippi is the only state in complaince on less than 50 per cent of its beds. The figures for some other Southern states are: Georgia, 54.9; Louisiana, 57.2; Alabama, 66.1; South Carolina, 66.1.

The worst single instance of discrimination, Mr. Gardner told the President, is Mobile, Ala., where only 30 out of 3,986 beds less than one per cent—will be available to Medicare patients.

In addition, Mr. Gardner listed Shreveport, La., and Jackson and Meridian, Miss., as problem cities. In Shreveport, 341 beds out of 1,939 are available; in Jackson, 346 out of 1,233, and in Meridian, 145 out of 1,784.

The secretary reminded newsmen, however, that these figures could change for the better in the next few days. He also said that in problem areas such as Mobile, Federal officials were trying to persuade hospital administrators to drop discriminatory practices and otherwise comply with the terms of the program.

Douglass Cater Jr., a special assistant to the President, told newsmen that the President and his advisers had also discussed the move by some members of the American Medical Association to persuade their colleagues to send their bills directly to individual patients rather than to the program's billing agents, such as insurance companies and Blue Cross.

The President, Mr. Cater said, took the postion that individual doctors should decide how to handle billings. But Mr. Cater added:

"The President feels sure that doctors will not drive a hard bargain with needy patients by demanding direct, immediate reimbursement."

The Republican statement assailing the Administration was issued while the White House conference was in progress. It called attention to what it said was a shortage of medical facilities across the country, suggested that the advent of Medicare would place new strains on these facilities, and accused the Administration of engaging in a "frantic, eleventh hour scramble to meet a crisis that it should have anticipated long ago."

Gardner Is Quoted

The statement made the following specific points:

¶Little more than 20 per cent of the nursing homes in the country are equipped to provide the nursing care services promised by Medicare.

¶The nation is short "thousands and thousands of nurses and other health personnel, as admitted by Secretary Gardner in his May 23 report to the President."

¶Several programs already enacted by Congress should be immediately implemented "to provide such personnel, services, and facilities that may be necessary to care adequately for the Health of our elderly citizens." Among the programs cited were the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1965 and the Nurse Training Act of 1964.

The Republican Coordinating Committee is composed of the party's former Presidential nominees, members of the Republican leadership of the House and Senate, representatives of the Republican Governors Association, a representative of the Republican State Legislators' Association and representatives of the Republican National Committee.

Following the White House conference, Mr. Gardner acknowledged that the Administration had itemized 88 "problem areas" where overloads might occur.

However, he expressed confidence that any problems that arose could be met by cooperation between local hospital authorities and by Federal help.

sary." However, on the whole, his address was conciliatory, and at one point he declared that it was "wasteful of our collective professional energy to belabor the past."

Dr. Hudson, a 62-year-old internist at the Cleveland Clinic and a professor at Western Reserve University, set a course of "scientific objectivity" for the 214,000-member organization as a means of preventing extension of Medicare into a "national health service."

Although he discounted "drastic" changes for doctors under Medicare, he did, however, forecast new problems, among them a "reservoir of demand beyond our expectations" because of a supplementary Federal-state program for the needy already in effect.

Doctors, Dr. Hudson continued, must become "receptive to new ideas and become the leaders in experimentation in the mechanisms of medical practice."

Although the introduction of Medicare will be "uneven" and "probably vexatious at first and possibly even unfair," this will not necessarily be true everywhere, he said.

Dr. Hudson, as president-elect, worked closely with the outgoing president, Dr. James Z. Appel, to cooperate with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the writing of Medicare regulations. Today Dr. Hudson proposed to continue consultation and cooperation with the Government, but not as "extensions of the Government itself."

He acknowledged that there were fears among doctors about new clerical chores and restrictions on their freedom, but he said that the "real threat" ahead was the longer range one of pressures for more and more coverage of more and more people under Medicare and under the Federal-state supplementary program.

To counteract this, he suggested a program that, as he put it, would use concrete proposals instead of "philosophy." This embraces a demonstration of the competency of private doctors to perform necessary technical, professional and administrative services. It also includes a program to meet increased demands with more doctors and facilities, a break with the traditional A.M.A. reluctance to concede there is a doctor shortage, and a statement that is in line with other official actions at this convention.

Dr. Hudson also urged coordinated planning in the profession.

Dr. Hudson, in his inaugural speech this afternoon to the House of Delegates, avoided reference to the controversy over Medicare direct billing. At a news conference this morning, however, he advocated direct billing.

He said doctors would feel more comfortable under it, and conceded that direct billing was a way "to exhibit disapproval of the whole Medicare law."

Dr. Hudson's news conference remarks preceded a statement attributed to President Johnson in Washington that doctors should decide how to handle billings and that the President felt "sure" doctors "will not drive a hard bargain with needy patients by demanding direct, immediate reimbursement."

In response to a question about fears within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that there would be sharp public reaction to an expected A.M.A. recommendation tomorrow calling for direct billing, Dr. Hudson said department officials were "prematurely anxious."

He conceded that there was little difference mechanically between the use of Medicare machinery for billing and the traditional Blue Shield plan of billing procedures. He noted, however, that under Medicare doctors would be subject to a "reasonable charge" limitation.

To the suggestion that direct billing would stimulate opposition to doctors, Dr. Hudson declared:

"The only way to bring the house down on us is to demonstrate a discrepancy between actual charges and reasonable charges."

Dr. Hudson said patients would be satisfied if the two fees were the same, indicating he thought that they usually would be.

"Average hospital occupancy is 75 per cent," he pointed out. "Optimum is 85 per cent. With Medicare, it will be 80, without any further ups and downs in the near future."

Walter J. McNerney, president of the Blue Cross Association, said only a few areas faced serious bed-shortage problems.

"In those places," he said, "there will be some queueing of persons who have put off elective surgery."

James E. Hague, editor of Hospitals, the journal of the American Hospital Association, said only 10 per cent of the nation's hospitals with 5 per cent of its beds would face demands too great to handle. All are operating at or near capacity now.

He said these included some prestigious hospitals in metropolitan areas and some small hospitals in rural areas. He said a survey showed that 88 counties, many of them in the Southeast, had full hospitals in the latter category.

Chicago Called Typical

The situation in Chicago is typical of some metropolitan areas. Hospitals here are operating at 90 per cent of capacity.

Howard F. Cook, executive director of the Chicago Hospital Council, said they could continue to take all urgent cases immediately. Others will continue to be taken in turn, he said. In Chicago this often means a short wait.

Mr. Cook said he expected no large increase in the waiting list. The tip-off, he continued is that hospital occupancy here has remained constant at 90 per cent. If large numbers of people were putting off surgery until after July 1, he said, occupancy would be down now.

"There has been no decline," he declared. "We have been watching it closely."

Mr. Cook said that 80 per cent of the elderly had health insurance or welfare aid before Medicare, so would not be waiting for surgery out of a need to save money.

Rush Is Discounted

Dr. Edward Henderson, executive director of the American Geriatrics Society, has been one of the forecasters of "an overwhelming rush" on hospitals. He estimated the increase in demand at 50 per cent "or more."

"We find no basis at all for such predictions," said Arthur E. Hess, the man most directly responsible for making Medicare work. "Such figures are pulled right out of the sky."

Mr. Hess is director of the new Bureau of Health Insurance of the Social Security Administration. He said the Government's "outside estimate" was for an increase in elderly patients of 20 per cent.

He noted that the elderly now take a fourth of the country's hospital beds and a 20 per cent increase would push total occupancy up only 5 per cent.

"There are no indications to point to any startling increase," he declared.

Ray E. Brown, director of the graduate program in hospital administration at Duke University, agrees. In the current issue of Trustee, a journal for hospital trustees, he notes that the elderly represent only 9 per cent of the nation's population.

As a practical matter, he goes on, there would probably be no overcrowding no matter how many sought to go to the hospital at one time because under Medicare each patient's physician must attest to need for treatment. Then the doctor would have to schedule the surgery with a hospital that had the bed space and staff to handle the case.

"Surgery the patient could postpone before," said Mr. Cook, "is not so urgent that the physician cannot postpone it further, if necessary."

The problem will be aggravated in areas that have severe shortages of nursing homes and other extended-care facilities, because patients well enough to recuperate out of a hospital but not well enough to go home have no place to go. The Government has offset this to some extent by scheduling Medicare to begin in midsummer, when hospitals are least full because many patients wait to go to hospitals after their summer vacations.

Hospital spokesmen expect far greater impact from Medicare on long-range development of

quire a close review of patient cases by physician "utilization" committees. This is to make sure that welfare and Medicare patients are not being charged for faulty judgments

leaving expensive hospital beds. A recent survey in Rochester found that 23 per cent of the patients in the city's hospitals did not need care in hospital beds.

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A.M.A. HEADS LOSE ON DIRECT BILLING

HEALTH & WELFARE

Resolution Urging Doctors to Deal With Patients Approved at Parley

6/30/66

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, June 29 — The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association adopted today a resolution that recommended direct billing of patients by each member under Medicare.

Under direct billing doctors would be enabled to ignore the machinery of Medicare, which goes into efect Friday. But in its zeal to encourage use of the method, the 238-member policy-making house went beyond the wishes of its leadership.

The leadership also favors direct billing, but in a carefully worded form. By adopting the resolution, the delegates emphasized they favored "individual responsibility" on the part of patients and their conviction that they were protecting the doctor-patient relationship.

Picked by Acclamation

The development was seen as indicative of the dominant conservative sentiment in the House of delegates, most of whose members are unreconciled to the whole Medicare law and intend to employ direct billing as one means of demonstrating this to patients, the public, Congress and the Johnson Administration.

By acclamation, the delegates selected Dr. Milford O. Rouse, speaker of the House of Delegates, as president-elect, to take office next year. Dr. Rouse, who is from Dallas, is rated as a conservative.

He will follow two president who have set the organization on a moderate course in its relations with the Federal Government—the outgoing president, Dr. James Z. Appel, and the new president, Dr. Charles L. Hudson, who took office yesterday.

Dr. Rouse has wide popularity as a skilled parliamentarian, and this, rather than any ideological factor, is said to have explained his selection in an organization than can often divide

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

A.M.A. URGES ALL TO BILL DIRECTLY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

on many geographical and professional issues other than political philosophy. He was without opposition for the office.

While the House also adopted a leadership-sponsored position urging voluntary direct billing "under ordinary circumstances," it was thus left with formal approval of a position that a committee had earlier branded as one that set a "required method" inconsistent with A.M.A. principles of free choice by doctors.

Back of the leadership concern was an apparent fear of falling afoul of the antitrust laws. After the noon recess, Dr. John S. Donaldson Jr. of Pittsburgh, in the home state of Dr. Appel, moved first for reconsideration and when that failed, obtained an amendment stating that the hard-line position should not be interpreted as contrary to an October, 1965, A.M.A. position endorsing free choice.

Dr. Rouse said he wanted to emphasize that the resolutions were meant to be "purely voluntary and not compulsory."

A Trade Association

The A.M.A. is legally a trade association in the eyes of the law and it would run the danger of antitrust prosecution, according to lawyers, if it took a mandatory position directing doctors to take one course or another.

Earlier the House rejected a committee recommendation on a Medicare-related issue. This also aroused private fears among the leadership that it could set up a situation in which an illegal boycott could be charged.

The delegates passed this resolution, although a committee had recommended that it be referred to the trustees for study of its legality. Delegates contended that the time before Medicare goes into effect was too short for legalisms.

Dr. Carroll Witten of Louisville, Ky., said, "I hope we can forget the 'bit' whether it is legal or not."

This resolution from Oregon would make it "unethical" for an A.M.A. member to work in a hospital that dismissed a doctor, such as a radiologist, who insisted on direct billing. Passage of this Oregon resolution brought the moderate new president, Dr. Hudson, to the microphone for an appeal that the action ve reconsidered tomorrow.

Dr. Hudson said "ethics" was a rather "sacred" matter to him that involved "harm to a patient."

Race Move Rejected

The delegates also rejected a move to put teeth into the parent A. M. A. organization's position against racial discrimination at the state and local level. At the same time the delegates took a careful step forward in the civil rights field by agreeing to a study for an appeal procedure by those who allege they are discriminated against.

Also, the A. M. A. moved into the vast area of Federal-state supplementary Medicare law, the law that covers the needy. This is the "Title 19" program that has created dissension in New York. The delegates adopted resolutions urging direct billing under this program in every state.

Under Title 19, the Federal Government provides matching money to states for free medical care for the needy under welfare programs. The states make the basic rules and often under such welfare programs doctors get set fees from the state.

New state legislation would be needed generally to permit direct billing, it was understood here. Direct billing in any event would create major changes in every state welfare system, it is believed. The Federal law is silent on direct billing under Title 19.

Under Medicare as such, which covers persons 65 years of age or older under Social Security, the alternative to direct billing provided in the law is for the doctor to accept an assignment under which the outside limits of his fees are set by a "reasonable charge."

But that reasonable charge is set up by a middle body, typically Blue Shield, rather than by direct governmental action.

The delegates also adopted a resolution asking for a continuing A.M.A. advisory committee for the Federal Committee under Title 19, similar to that set up under Medicare.

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HEALTH + WELFARE NYT 6/30/66

New Power in A.M.A.

Milford Owen Rouse

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, June 29—Dr. Milford Owen Rouse, the speaker of the American Medical Association House of Delegates who has been chosen president-elect, is a 63-year-old Dallas gastroenterologist.

Physically on the slight side (he stands 5 feet 8 inches, and is slim), Dr. Rouse is soft-spoken, unruffled and elaborately courteous in the old Southern tradition. These qualities served him well during his three years as speaker, a task he performed with evident satisfaction. But his mildness was never taken as softness by the 238 members of the House of Delegates.

Man in the News

Dr. Rouse's quiet manner is deceptive. In fact, he is a doer and a joiner on a large scale, and many honors have come his way. The prize in his hands now is the top position in organized medicine, which is usually reserved by the medical power structure for those who first labor in the lower substructures and go along with the system.

Associated Press

A doer and a joiner

Was Vice Speaker

He has served on many A.M.A. committees, including international health, adviser to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and joint commission on medicine and pharmacy. He is past president of the Texas Medical Association and the Southern Medical Association and served as vice speaker from 1959 to 1963.

Dr. Rouse is considered more conservative than the outgoing president, Dr. James Z. Appel of Pennsylvania and the incoming president, Dr. Charles L. Hudson of Cleveland. The president-elect waits in the wings for a year before becoming president.

Dr. Rouse has characterized himself as an "independent conservative," although he once filled in a biographical form for The Dallas News with the notation, "formerly Democrat — ashamed of it." More recently, Dr. Rouse has put it: "I'm a Democrat whose party has left him."

His chairmanship of the A.M.A. Committee on Medicine and Religion since 1962 has afforded him even more satisfaction than the speaker's gavel. Dr. Rouse said that the doctor-minister relationship was important and that whereas it was "a disjointed thing, now clergymen are recognized members of the health team."

This, he believes, brings the patient closer to "complete care."

Dr. Rouse belongs to the ultra-right-wing Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, made up of A.M.A. members but without any link to the A.M.A. It is a political-economic rather than a medical group, and some of its leaders are members of the John Birch Society.

Dr. Rouse is a former director of the Life-Line Foundation, an ultra-right organization supported by H. L. Hunt, the Texas oil millionaire.

As speaker, Dr. Rouse was neutral during debate, but he made no secret of his bitter opposition to Medicare. In this context, he has said:

"We should be citizens first and then physicians. We ought to regard ourselves as consultants in health to the whole community."

Dr. Rouse was born in Jacksonville, Tex., on Aug. 10, 1902, of Southern Baptist missionary parents and early in life spent a year with them in Brazil and another in Cuba. He dates his desire to become a doctor to his childhood, when a Brazilian physician pulled him through meningtis.

He received A.B., M.A. and M.D. degrees from Baylor University and in 1927 married a fellow student, Miss Leaureame McDavid. He then joined the Army Medical Service at Fort Sam Houston.

After finishing Army duty, Dr. Rouse went to Dallas and joined the late Dr. H. G. Walcott. He is now the senior member in a team of five doctors with headquarters in the Medical Arts Building.

Helped Found Museum

Dr. Rouse helped found the Dallas Health and Science Museum in 1946 on the grounds of the state fair of Texas. He is a life member of the Optimist Club, a 32d-degree Scottish Rite Mason and a Shriner. He was a founding director of the Dallas Council on Aging, the Dallas Citizens Traffic Commission, the Community Planning Council and the Texas chapter of the American Cancer Society. He is an avid amateur photographer, and has a library of more than 3,000 volumes.

The Texas Medical Association in 1964 gave him its distinguished service award for "meritorious achievement in medical science, public service and service to the medical profession." That same year, the Texas Hospital Association conferred honorary membership on him "for serving the citizens of Texas both publicly and privately."

Dr. and Mrs. Rouse have one daughter, Mrs. C. L. Sawyer of Dallas, and three grandchildren.

file

August 30, 1966

Mr. John W. Gardner, Secretary
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gardner:

At least twice within the past two or three weeks I have noticed reports in local newspapers that southern school officials and some politicans are advocating dismissal of Mr. Stanley Kruger, director of the Equal Education Opportunity Program for Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

For whatever it may be worth -- and without solicitation from anyone -- I would like to say that it has been my privilege to participate in several conferences at which Mr. Kruger spoke and answered questions (some hostile questions), that I have had a few conversations with him, and that I have observed him to be notably and unfailingly calm, objective, and fair. He has at the same time explained quite clearly the intent and requirements of the law concerning school desegregation. Many of us who are professionally concerned with civil rights and human relations problems in the South have appreciated very much his understanding of the problem of dealing with southern officials.

I, for one, think that he has done an excellent job and that no one could do what is necessary at all without incurring the antipathy of those who are now calling for his dismissal. I sincerely hope that the outcry against Mr. Kruger will be ignored.

Yours truly,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES/mmj
Enclosures
cc: Mr. Harold Howe, II
Commissioner
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

HEALTH + WELFARE

Nursing Homes Get Guides; Told to Desegregate by Jan. 1

AC 8/31/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nursing homes providing skilled care must demonstrate to the federal government by Jan. 1 that they do not practice racial discrimination or lose all U.S. funds, the Public Health Service announced Tuesday.

These were the latest set of desegregation guidelines aimed primarily at Southern institutions to be issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Robert M. Nash, chief of the PHS's Office of Equal Health Opportunity, said in announcing the guidelines:

"Nursing homes which practice discrimination face termination of all federal funds they may be receiving now and will not be able to receive any federal funds in the future.

"The Office of Equal Health Opportunity will make the determinations of compliance with the assistance of other units in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

Part of a PHS release stated, "Nursing homes that wish to take part in Medicare or welfare programs must demonstrate that they provide services to all people without regard to race, color or national origin."

Substantial funds also are available from the federal government for construction of nursing homes.

In addition to meeting the non-discrimination provision of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, nursing homes will be required to meet by next Jan. 1 the quality-of-care standards set by the Social Security Administration in order to participate in the Medicare program.

The PHS had put off announcement of the guidelines for nursing homes because of massive work involved in hospital desegregation this summer.

The guidelines will be sent to nursing homes through state agencies this week along with detailed instructions on how to complete compliance report forms.

Taxes Shut Tavern

VIENNA, Austria (AP) — Anton Karas, 60, composer of "The Third Man" theme song whose haunting zither renditions helped make the movie a worldwide hit, has closed his popular Viennese wine tavern because, he said, "the taxes nearly killed me."

HEALTH + WELFARE

TITLE VI...

one year after

a survey of desegregation of health and welfare services in the south

United States Commission on Civil Rights

1966

Health + Welfare

Services for Children of Georgia

Resources

Program:	Child Welfare Services
Children Served in Georgia:	1. Neglected and dependent children. 2. Children involved in delinquency. 3. Unmarried mothers needing protection.
Services provided:	1. Protection of neglected and abused children, preferably in their own homes, through the use of casework and counseling services. 2. Adoption services for children who need temporary care away from their own homes. 3. Foster boarding home care for children who need temporary care away from their own homes. 4. Group care for children involved in delinquency through State child development centers. 5. Day care through establishing standards for all children served in private and day care centers. 6. Purchase of day care services for families served by child welfare services. 7. Probation services to children coming before the juvenile courts. 8. Regional detention homes and diagnostic centers for children involved in delinquency.

Child Welfare Services (continued)

Services provided:	9. Services to runaway children from another State. 10. Standard setting for the care of children in institutions through the State licensing responsibilities.
Sources of information:	County Welfare Departments State Department of Family and Children Services State Office Building Atlanta, Georgia Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Regional Child Welfare Representative Children's Bureau 50 Seventh Street, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30323

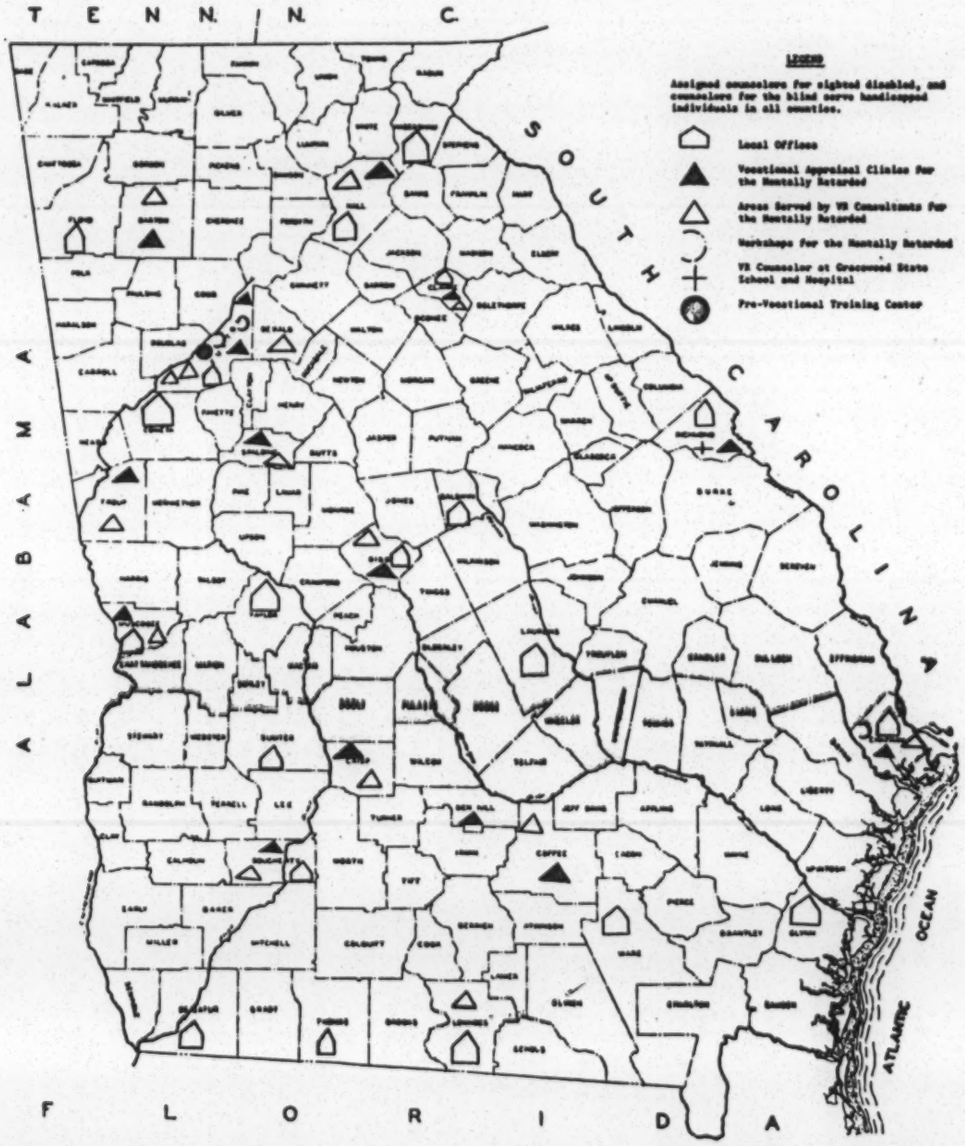
Program:	Maternal and Child Health
Services provided:	1. Pre-natal and Post-natal clinics. 2. Baby clinics - preventive medicine. 3. School health programs -- screening for defects. 4. Special maternity and infant care for patients with complications.
Sources of information:	1. Each County Health Department. 2. Georgia Department of Public Health State Office Building Atlanta, Georgia 3. Regional Child Welfare Representative Children's Bureau U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 50 Seventh Street, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia

Program	Mental Retardation
Services provided:	1. Educational programs for children whose intellectual, social or emotional needs are such that they often require an adjustment, or a change in their school program and management, in order to receive maximum benefits from educational experiences. 2. The Georgia Division of Vocational Rehabilitation provides the following services to educable mentally retarded individuals: 1. Psychological evaluation 2. Medical diagnosis 3. Vocational appraisal 4. Vocational counseling 5. Pre-vocational experiences 6. Vocational training 7. Vocational guidance 8. Job placement 9. Surgery, hospitalization, maintenance during training, supplies, occupational tools, equipment, and licenses are provided on the basis of economic need.
Sources of information:	1. Unit Services for Exceptional Children State Department of Education State Office Building Atlanta, Georgia 2. Each County Board of Education System.

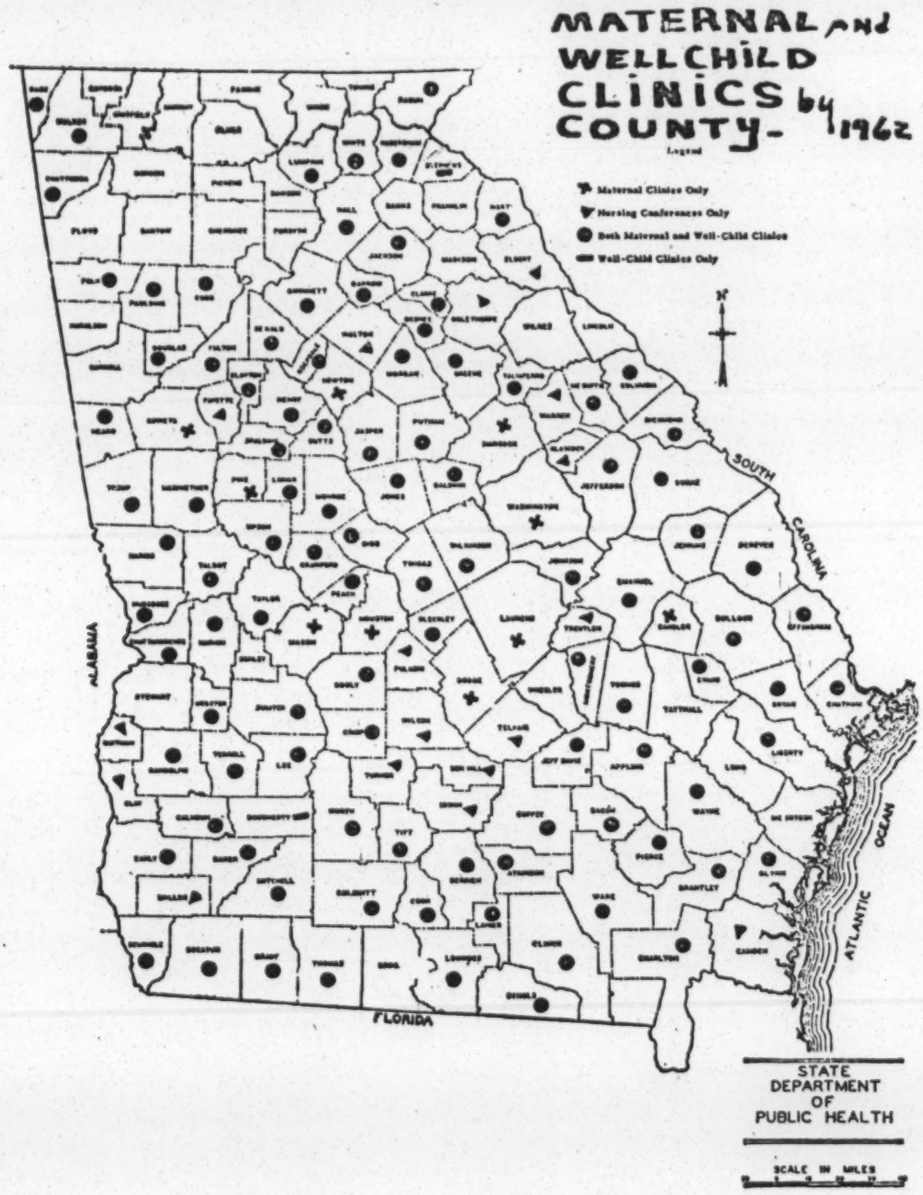
	Mental Retardation(continued)
Sources of information:	3. Regional Child Welfare Representative Children's Bureau U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 50 Seventh Street, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30323 4. Director, Rehabilitation Services Georgia Division of Vocational Rehabilitation Department of Education State Office Building Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGIA DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Dr. A. P. Jarrell, Director



Further information may be obtained from the local health department or Maternal and Child Health Service, Georgia Department of Public Health, 47 Trinity Avenue, Atlanta 3, Georgia.



4,000 Hospitals Face Integration

HOSPITALS

AC-3/9/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times News Co.)

WASHINGTON—The Public Health Service is planning to use funds designated for health care for the aged to bring some 7,000 hospitals into compliance with the federal law against racial discrimination.

These are hospitals which have not been required to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because they have not been receiving direct assistance from the federal government.

Surgeon General William H. Stewart said virtually all hospitals in the nation will benefit from the health insurance program for the aged which goes into effect July 1. Most hospitals, he said, will receive more than 20 per cent of their income from the program.

In some 4,000 hospitals which have been receiving direct aid, the insurance program for the aged money will be used as an additional means of securing compliance with Title VI, which prohibits discrimination because of race or national origin in any federally assisted program.

The service has mailed letters to all hospitals detailing what will be expected if they expect to receive the aged care money or other federal assistance. In order to enforce its regulations, the service has set up a special office with a staff of 100, most of whom will be stationed in regional offices to investigate complaints.

Although there has been widespread voluntary compliance with Title VI in hospitals and other health facilities, civil rights groups have charged that many hospitals, most in the South, have persisted in discrimination while continuing to receive federal assistance.

The chief problem, official sources said, is that the service has not been able to investigate adequately the instances of noncompliance.

Under the new setup, there will be more investigations. In addition, all hospitals will be asked to designate on a questionnaire their handling of patients and staff by race. If discrimination is found, hospitals will be given an opportunity to correct it.

"Where the discrimination persists," Stewart said, "the hospital will be excluded from any new federal assistance programs. . . . When negotiations fail to achieve compliance, steps will be taken under Title VI to terminate present assistance, or compliance will be secured through enforcement by the courts."

The guidelines for compliance include assigning patients to wards and rooms on a non-racial basis and patients are not to be asked if they are willing to share a room with a person of another race. Doctors and nurses are to be assigned to patients without regard to race.

"Courtesy titles (Mr., Mrs., Dr., etc.), whenever used, are to be used throughout the hospital, including patient care areas, and in news releases announcing admissions, births, deaths, etc.," the guidelines say.

MEDICARE TO SPUR RIGHTS ACT DRIVE

HOSPITALS

Hospitals Warned U.S. Aid Will Hinge on Compliance

3/9/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8—The United States Public Health Service is planning to use Medicare funds to bring about 7,000 hospitals into compliance with the Federal law against racial discrimination.

These are hospitals that have not been required to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because they have not been receiving direct assistance from the Federal Government.

Surgeon General William H. Stewart said virtually all hospitals in the nation would benefit from Medicare, the health insurance program for the aged that goes into effect July 1. Most hospitals, he said, will receive more than 20 per cent of their income from Medicare.

In about 4,000 hospitals that have been receiving direct aid, Medicare money will be used as an additional means of assuring compliance with Title VI, which prohibits discrimination because of race or national origin in any federally assisted program.

Officials believe that Medicare and other Federal assistance will make up so large a portion of hospital budgets that virtually all will comply with the Civil Rights Act in order to continue receiving it.

Hospitals Are Warned

The Public Health Service has mailed letters to all hospitals detailing what will be expected under Title VI if they expect to receive Medicare or other Federal assistance. In order to enforce its regulations, the service has set up a special Office of Equal Health Opportunity, which will have a staff of 100 persons, most of whom will be stationed in regional offices to investigate complaints.

Although there has been widespread voluntary compliance with Title VI in hospitals and other health facilities, civil rights groups have charged that many hospitals, mostly in the South, have persisted in discrimination while continuing to receive Federal assistance.

The chief problem, official sources said, is that the Public Health Service has not been able to investigate adequately the instances of noncompliance.

Under the new setup, there will be more investigations. In addition, all hospitals will be asked to designate on a questionnaire their handling of patients and staff by race. If discrimination is found, hospitals will be given an opportunity to correct it.

"Where the discrimination persists," Dr. Stewart said, "the hospital will be excluded from any new Federal assistance programs. When negotiations fail to achieve compliance, steps will be taken under Title VI to terminate present assistance, or compliance will be secured through enforcement by the courts."

The guidelines for compliance include the assigning of patients to wards and rooms on a nonracial basis. In addition, patients are not to be asked if they are willing to share a room with a person of another race, and doctors and nurses are to be assigned to patients without regard to race.

"Courtesy titles (Mr. Mrs. Dr., etc.), whenever used, are to be used throughout the hospital, including patient-care areas, an including patient-care areas, and missions, births, deaths, etc.," the guidelines say.

The guidelines also say that dining or other facilities are not to be used only by nonwhites through "custom" or "preference," and that hospitals that have dual facilities must "convert one of them to a different purpose or take steps to change the traffic flow so that they are actually used biracially."

Nursing homes and other health facilities receiving Federal assistance will also be subject to the new regulations. Letters will go out to them later.

Associated Press

TELLS OF NEW POLICY: Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General, said Medicare funds would be used to make hospitals comply with the Civil Rights Act.

HOSPITALS

Hospitals Checked For Integration

U.S. Is Centering Probe In South on Negro Protests

By GENE ROBERTS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare plans to begin a massive inspection program Monday to bring the nation's hospitals into compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A spokesman for the department said in Atlanta it will use "approximately 100" Social Security Administration and Public Health Service employes, all of them trained in special classes which ended here last week, to make the on-the-scene studies of the hospitals.

If any hospital is not taking immediate steps to end racial discrimination, he said, it will not be eligible for federal funds, beginning July 1. On that date, the department plans to begin releasing $1.9 billion in funds for hospital construction, medical training programs and vocational rehabilitation.

"The inspectors will determine whether or not a hospital is in compliance with the act," the spokesman said, "and if it is not, the inspectors will be available to advise and assist them."

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act says that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participating in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program receiving financial assistance."

Thus far, 60 per cent of the nation's hospitals have filed compliance forms with the department, indicating that they are willing to abide by the act. About half this number stated on the forms that they are already in "full compliance."

The department has been doing some inspection almost continually since the passage of the act, a spokesman said, and has stepped up the program in recent weeks. But Monday will mark the beginning of the first massive inspection, he added.

Although the inspections will be carried on throughout the nation, a major portion of the inspectors will be concentrated in the South where hospitals traditionally have been segregated.

In recent months, southern Negroes have become increasingly critical of the failure of some of the region's hospitals to drop racial barriers. In Natchez, one of the South's major racial battlegrounds late last year, hospital desegregation was one of the key demands made on the city by civil rights demonstrators.

Hospitals Told to Desegregate By July 1 or Face U.S. Lawsuit

Wash. Post 4/13/66

ATLANTA, April 12 (AP) Hospitals are going to be required to comply with the civil rights act by July 1, and are not going to be permitted a gradual transition such as that in the schools, a Federal spokesman said today.

Federal workers are meeting with hospital administrators in six Southern states. The hospitals must comply by July 1 to meet medicare standards. However, other Federal requirements must be taken into account, too, the spokesman said.

Although some hospitals said last year they would not comply, William J. Page Jr., regional director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said they have no choice and must comply.

Page said that when a hospital does not comply to Title 6 (referring to grants and aid), the Justice Department can bring suit under Title 3, which is the public accommodations section.

Although some administrators have said the desegregation should be done gradually, Page said this wasn't going to happen.

"There is going to be no gradual transition in desegregation of hospitals, like that in the school systems," he said. "It will have to be done now."

Maine Tavern Refuses Service to Mixed Couple

PORTLAND, Maine, April 12 (AP)—A waitress in a Portland beer parlor was charged today with violating Maine's anti-discrimination public accomodations law by refusing to serve a white woman who was accompanied by a Negro man.

The complaint was signed by Mrs. Ann Jordan of Portland, local secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who went into the restaurant with another NAACP official.

Gerald E. Talbot, president to the local NAACP chapter said his organization had received at least five complaints that Donahue's Restaurant wouldn't serve mixed couples, and decided to test the restaurant.

Negroes End Boycott In Mississippi Town

FAYETTE, Miss., April 12 (AP)—A five-month boycott by Negroes of white merchants here has quietly eased off with this southwest Mississippi town making a number of concessions, a spokesman said today.

Attorney Jimmy Walker, spokesman for the merchants, said henceforth Negroes will be called by courtesy titles—Mr., Mrs. or Miss. He said the town has hired a Negro policeman and the county has employed a parttime Negro deputy sheriff.

White and Negro leaders quietly reached an agreement following a series of talks on Negro grievances, Walker said.

Rights Commission Plans Philadelphia Probe

United Press International

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission said yesterday it has sent a fact finding team to Philadelphia to learn how the city is handling its school desegregation problems, a practice it plans to follow in a number of cities across the nation.

"We're not going into a city to be critical of its schools or school management," the spokesman said. "In the case of Philadelphia, we want to see what the schools are doing in the way of desegregation—the progress it has made, programs under way and the problems incurred along the way."

End of U.S. School Aid Asked in Mississippi City

Associated Press

A hearing examiner has ruled that Federal aid to the Greenwood, Miss., municipal separate school district should be ended because of failure to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it was learned yesterday.

This is the 42d initial decision dealing with school districts in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi in which hearing examiners have ruled that Federal aid should be terminated.

5 Mississippi Counties Face U.S. Vote Probes

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach ordered Federal examiners into five more Mississippi counties yesterday to register Negroes under the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The action brings to 42 the number of counties designated for examiners under the act—24 in Mississippi, 11 in Alabama, 5 in Louisiana and 2 in South Carolina.

Katzenbach said examiners will be sent next week to Claiborne, Jasper, Noxubee, Rankin and Winston counties.

HOSPITALS

3 Area Hospitals Facing Charges Of Discrimination

4/14/66 WP

Complaints to the Federal Government alleging racial discrimination have been filed against at least ten hospitals in Virginia and two in Maryland, officials confirmed yesterday.

Among them are Arlington Hospital, Alexandria Hospital and Leland Memorial in Riverdale.

Complaints against these facilities are among 364 filed across the Nation as of April 1, according to a Department of Health, Education and Welfare list.

Officials emphasized these are individuals' complaints rather than government charges. A team of more than 100 Federal agents has been organized to check out the allegations, with the ultimate possibility of Medicare and other Federal funds being cut off from hospitals found to discriminate in patient treatment.

Spokesmen for Alexandria and Leland hospitals denied any discrimination, and Arlington administrators were unavailable for comment late yesterday.

Frank Whalen, Alexandria assistant administrator, said his hospital had been "thoroughly checked out" and "to the best of our knowledge given a clean bill of health." It is "probably a question of a time lag," he said.

Lloyd P. Lind, Leland Hospital administrator, said there has "never been any discrimination regarding employes or patients and never will be" at Leland.

Names of the Virginia hospitals against which complaints were filed were initially released by the Virginia Council on Human Relations, which urged speedy and full compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act mandate for equal treatment and offered assistance in arranging compliance procedures.

Other Virginia hospitals cited included:

Chesapeake and Ohio Hospital and Nursing School in Clifton Forge, Loudoun County Memorial Hospital in Leesburg, Lynchburg General Hospital and Nursing School, Mary View Hospital in Portsmouth, Petersburg General Hospital, Portsmouth General Hospital, South Hill Public Hospital and Southampton Memorial Hospital in Franklin.

Complaints reportedly have been led against two other Virginia hospitals but they were not officially listed.

In addition to Leland Calvert County Hospital in Maryland was listed.

The Federal probe has brought a protest from the executive secretary of the Virginia Hospital Association, Stuart Ogren, who said some hospitals will "forget Medicare and other welfare programs" rather than bow to Federal demands.

HOSPITALS

WALLACE ORDERS NEW SEGREGATION

Rescinds the Integration of Alabama Mental Hospitals

4/28/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 27 — Segregation returned to Alabama's mental hospitals today at the order of Gov. George C. Wallace.

The action came just one week after the hospitals were desegregated and just six days before a Democratic gubernatori primary in which Governor Wallace's wife is seeking to succeed him.

The State Hospital Board h desegregated the hospitals, a spokesman said, in order t comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and to maintain the state's eligibility for Federal hospital aid.

This morning, however, 30 white patients were removed from predominantly Negro wards at Search Hospital in Mount Vernon and returned to Bryce Hospital at Tuscaloosa 140 miles away.

At the same time 30 Negro patients were returned to Searcy from predominantly white wards at Bryce.

The shuffle left Searcy Hospital with 2,500 Negro patients, and no white patients and left Bryce with 4,800 white patients and 400 Negroes in segregated buildings.

'Retransfer' in Morning

Dr. J. S. Tarwater, director of the State Department of Mental Health, confirmed that the "retransfer" had taken plac this morning less than 24 hours after he had "received a communication" from the Governor's office in which Mr. Wallace expressed opposition to the desegregation program.

Although the State Hospitals Board had voted on Dec. 16 to desegregate the hospitals and announced its decision publicly on March 14, yesterday's communication was the first time that Governor Wallace made his views known to hospital authorities, Dr. Tarwater said.

"After today," Dr. Tarwater added, "I would imagine that we would no longer be eligible for Federal aid."

The timing of Governor Wallace' action caused some of his opponents to complain privately that the move was taken to increase segregationist support for his wife's campaign.

Opponents Silent

But as of late today none of the other nine candidates in the race had attacked the Governor for the move.

Governor Wallace has become nationally known as a militant segregationist, but in the current campaign he has avoided the words "segregation" in speeches for his wife and has been careful to pronounce the word "Negro" correctly.

A spokesman for the Governor said that Mr. Wallace had "demanded that the patients in question be returned to the hospitals from which they had been removed."

"The Governor's action was taken," the spokesman added, "after his office received several complaints from patients' families."

Dr. Tarwater said that there had been complaints from two white families, but that otherwise the week-long experiment and desegregation had gone "smoothly."

HOSPITALS

HE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1966.

MEDICARE FACING CIVIL RIGHTS SNAG

Hospitals in South Fighting Compliance With Title VI

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 25—A color map in the corner of the room told the story.

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia were painted a vivid orange, meaning that fewer than 25 per cent of the hospital beds in those states had been cleared for Medicare patients under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is intended to ban racial discrimination in any Federally assisted program.

Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida were painted with blue stripes, indicating that less than 50 per cent of the beds in those states had been cleared.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare faces a crisis in achieving Title VI comcompliance in large areas of the South before July 1, when the Federal program of health care for the aged becomes effective.

The program is expected to put a strain on medical facilities throughout the nation, and unless hospitals are certified for Federal funds many patients, both whites and Negroes, will have to be turned away.

The department is now engaged in a crash program to achieve compliance in the few weeks remaining. As part of that program, top officials of state hospital associations in 20 states were called in today for an emergency conference down the hall from Secretary John W. Gardner's office.

Although the meeting was closed, H. E. Hamilton, president of the Louisiana Hospital Association, told reporters afterward what the greatest problem is.

"It's the requirement that Negroes and whites be permitted to share the same hospital room," he said. "I don't know what the hospitals will do but I hear that some of them don't see how they can comply."

Mr. Hamilton said the hospital at Oxford, La., of which he is administrator, has been fully integrated for a year but 90 per cent of the personnel who work there do not like it.

Dr. Leo J. Gehrig, deputy surgeon general, said he was encouraged by the tone of the meeting and expressed hope that general compliance would be forthcoming before the July 1 deadline. Some informed officials in the department, however, said privately that they were less optimistic.

Title VI has met with less success in hospitals than in almost any other area where the Administration has attempted to apply it. Civil rights groups have filed hundreds of complaints against hospitals receiving Federal funds.

Several months ago, the department decided to use Medicare as a new lever for bringing many of them into compliance. It is expected that Medicare funds will constitute a substantial share of the budgets of most hospitals.

All hospitals were asked to fill in forms indicating the extent of integration. What rankled some hospitals in the South was a section asking how many rooms, wards and floors contained both whites and Negroes. The hospitals were also asked to show the percentage of nonwhite population in the area served.

In hospital circles this became known as "the numbers game" and it was understood that the Government would require a percentage of integration in wards and rooms equivalent to the Negro-white ratio in the community.

Doctors Reassured

F. Peter Libassi, special assistant to Secretary Gardner in charge of civil rights, is now assuring hospital administrators that this is not intended — that white and Negro patients must merely be assigned without regard to race. A doctor may move a patient out of an integrated room if he considers such a move necessary to the health of the patient.

If a check shows, however, that whites and Negroes are never assigned to the same room the hospital obviously will not be considered in compliance, Mr. Libassi said.

The department now has 300 staff members out checking on and attempting to achieve compliance. A White House statement released yesterday said about 1,000 hospitals, most of them in the South had not been brought into compliance with Title VI.

These include most of the hospitals in the large metropolitan areas, such as Atlanta and New Orleans. Officials say these will probably be brought into compliance before the deadline, but they are less optimistic about hospitals in small cities and towns

HOSPITALS
(C+d file)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

HOSPITALS AND TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

During the past three months, about 5200 hospitals in the United States have demonstrated that they are in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and will be approved for Medicare when it begins July 1. But hundreds of other hospitals, wishing to comply, are bound up in procedural and other difficulties.

To help these hospitals, the American Hospital Association has asked the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare certain questions about compliance procedures and criteria. The department has answered them. These answers have been reviewed by Secretary John W. Gardner and Surgeon General William H. Stewart, and they are printed below. Any administrator who has further questions should call the nearest of the department's regional offices immediately. A member of its field force will respond to the hospitals at once.

1. What does a hospital have to do to be in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act for purposes of Medicare?

The law says "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

Discrimination in hospitals exists when a patient, visitor, professional staff member, or trainee is treated differently solely because of his race, color, or national origin. Compliance with Title VI, in brief, involves admission policies, patient room assignments, availability of services and facilities, staff privileges, and training programs.

2. How can a hospital accomplish all of this between now and July 1?

Hospitals already have had nearly two years to comply and many have acted to do so. The Civil Rights Act was passed in July 1964, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued its regulations in January 1965. During the past three months the U.S. Public Health Service has assigned some 300 professionals to the field to work with hospitals and answer their questions.

It is true that not all steps toward compliance can be taken overnight. Student nurse classes, for example, do not begin until September, and it takes time to grant staff privileges to physicians.

But some other things can be done immediately. Physicians previously excluded from staff privileges can be informed that their applications will now be considered without regard to race, color, or national origin. Applications can be invited and discriminatory selection policies can be changed. Recruitment plans can be developed and carried out with equal emphasis on predominantly white and predominantly Negro high schools. Cessation of discriminatory room assignments can be accomplished immediately and the result can be demonstrated to the satisfaction of the federal government in a couple of weeks.

3. Will the government approve a hospital on the evidence of a questionnaire alone?

Subject to an on-site visit later, yes. A written assurance of compliance already has been accepted from about 5200 hospitals on this basis.

4. Will the government disapprove a hospital on the basis of a questionnaire alone?

No. No hospital wishing to comply will be disapproved without a personal visit by a representative of HEW and a full consultation with the hospital administrator.

5. What kind of inspection does the federal government carry on in connection with Title VI?

Representatives of the federal government do not visit a hospital unannounced unless there is gross evidence that a hospital deliberately concealed discrimination during a previous visit. With the administrator and members of his staff, the representatives will tour the hospital and its service areas. They will be interested in observing room assignments, dining areas, waiting rooms, sitting rooms, and other general service facilities. They will also want to see whether outpatient services are used without regard to race, color, or national origin.

From the reports of these representatives, the Public Health Service hopes to assist those hospitals that may be practicing discrimination in some aspects of their operations and to show them what actions must be taken to assure compliance.

6. Why are the government's procedures so complicated?

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare does not believe they are complicated; quite the reverse. It is perfectly natural that there are and will continue to be difficulties in carrying out the present program. On the other hand, a large number of hospitals have already been approved; they have accomplished this by nothing more than filling out a one-page questionnaire. This one questionnaire meets the needs not only of Medicare and the Social Security Administration, but of at least 50 other govern-

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ment programs, including Hill-Burton, federal manpower training, and the surplus foods program of the Department of Agriculture.

7. If 30 per cent of a hospital's community is Negro, must 30 per cent of its patients be Negro, too?

Title VI for hospitals is not being administered as a numbers game. If there is any misunderstanding about this, it needs correction. The purpose of the department's examination is to determine whether every citizen in the community receives nondiscriminatory treatment. It must be established that this is true, not as an occasional exception to the rule, but as a regular thing. But there is no quota.

8. How can a hospital control the racial balance of its patients?

Again, it is not a "balance" that is required, but the assurance that Negro and white patients are not treated differently—that physicians are not sending their Negro patients to one hospital and white patients to another.

When a hospital grants staff privileges to both Negro and white physicians, when it is free of discrimination in every way, then the ratio of patient population, Negro and white, takes care of itself.

9. Does Title VI require that there be a Negro and a white patient in every room?

It does not. But it does require that all patients be assigned to rooms, wards, floors, or buildings of hospitals without regard to race, color, or national origin.

Hospitals routinely take into consideration such factors as medical condition, room rates, and age in the assignment of rooms. These normal procedures which do not involve racial questions may be continued, just so long as the rules apply to both white and Negro patients.

Patients may not be asked if they would be willing to share a room with a person of a particular race.

10. If a physician believes that his patient should be moved from a nonsegregated room after his admission, can this be done?

In some cases there may be valid medical reasons or special compelling circumstances for the reassignment of patients, and in these cases, reassignment may be made. Patients are, of course, free at any time to request assignment to available private rooms. But transfer of patients may not be used as a device to evade compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Although room for the exercise of good judgment is recognized as necessary, a pattern of resegregation in the use of rooms is a violation.

The ultimate concern is with the end result of the hospital's practices. Do patients, in fact, use accommodations throughout the hospital without regard to race? If there is a pattern of desegregated rooms, wings, and floors, the hospital is in compliance. If this is not the pattern, the hospital is not in compliance.

11. How can a hospital give staff privileges to Negro physicians between now and July 1?

Obviously it may take time to evaluate a physician's qualifications for staff privileges. The Public Health Service's immediate—before July 1—requirements are (1) that Negro physicians be informed that staff privileges are granted at the hospital without regard to race, and that they may apply for those privileges, (2) that any selection factors that directly or indirectly exclude physicians because of race, color, or national origin be abolished, and (3) that all pending applications for staff privileges be considered and acted on promptly without regard to the applicant's race, color, or national origin. The Civil Rights Act does not require that staff privileges be granted to any physician who is not qualified.

12. What happens if a hospital does not comply?

It now appears that the great majority of American hospitals—and hospitals in all sections of the country—will be qualified and ready to receive Medicare patients on July 1. For this, the whole country can be grateful.

If, in the short time left, anything can be done to bring every hospital into compliance with the Civil Rights Act, the department will do everything in its power to help.

If a hospital does not comply with the provisions of Title VI, it will not receive funds under Medicare and will not be able to apply for grants under other federal programs. More importantly, patients who are qualified for Medicare benefits will not have Medicare funds for use in their own hospital.

In the department's opinion, hospitals who are not in compliance with Title VI and who forgo participation in Medicare will, to this degree, be out of the mainstream of medical care in this country. However, the law does not compel a private hospital to qualify.■

[*When the Title VI questionnaire was distributed to hospitals on March 7, guidelines from HEW were enclosed with it. Additional copies of the guidelines may be obtained at any regional HEW office.—Editor's Note.*]

HOSPITALS

HOSPITAL OFFICIALS BATTLE RED TAPE

Medicare Makes Them Cringe

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

Want to see a hospital administrator wince?

The magic word is "Medicare."

With the advent of Uncle Sam's revolutionary new program of health care for senior citizens less than a month away, most Georgia hospital officials are still bogged down in the paper work and federal red tape of getting "approved."

At last official count, 291,000 Georgians aged 65 and over had signed up for Medicare. (Thousands more undoubtedly got under the May 31 wire last week, but late figures haven't been compiled.)

At last official count, five — count 'em, five — Georgia hospitals had been certified, none of them in the Atlanta area.

The hospital certification figure, at this stage, "doesn't give the picture at all," insists Douglas Richard, of the Social Security Administration's Hospital Insurance Bureau.

Richard and Glenn M. Hogan, executive director of the Georgia Hospital Association, both express "growing confidence" that by July 1 "majority of Georgia hospitals" will be approved for Medicare.

ON WEDNESDAY — exactly one month before the hospital phase of Medicare benefits begins — Georgia State Health Department's Branch of Certification and Licensure had surveyed and-or received utilization information from nearly 150 hospitals across the state.

Raymond J. Hereth, branch Medicare services administrator, on the same day reported 76 Georgia hospitals had received the branch's stamp of approval on standards. In this group were a dozen Atlanta hospitals with a total of 3,513 beds.

Thirty-five Georgia hospitals, Richard said, have cleared another hurdle — eligibility under Title VI, or the civil rights provision.

The rub is getting both kinds of approval, with the papers to prove it. The official forms and notice take time.

That's why, a month before Medicare, only five Georgia hospitals were on the official certified list. They are: Memorial

be due to the variety of government units involved.

State Health Department spokesmen blame hospitals for not acting sooner to get necessary papers in. Hospital spokesmen vow they got up required information and then "Washington changed it on us, called for something new, or even lost our papers."

Some fear new changes in regulations may come at the last minute "to ball things up again."

At a meeting here less than two weeks ago — where some Georgia members of the American Association of Hospital Accountants expressed confusion and less than enthusiastic approval of Medicare billing methods — Dr. Madison R. Brown, of Chicago, associate director of the American Hospital Association, hinted at a possible "eleventh hour, 59th minute change" following criticism by Sen. Russell Long, Dem.-La., of planned advance Medicare payments to participating hospitals.

DR. BROWN SAID that he felt most hospitals across the country "will meet the challenge." He also said he did not anticipate the sudden influx of Medicare patients some fear in July.

Norman D. Burkett, administrator of Whitfield County's Hamilton Memorial Hospital in Dalton, the first Georgia hospital certified to provide Medicare health services, commented:

"I may be surprised, but I don't expect any sudden surge of Medicare patients. Certainly there will be an impact, but we feel Medicare will mean only about a 5 per cent increase in patient days."

Last month, Burkett reported, the Dalton hospital had 66 patients aged 65 or older out of a total of 688 patients admitted.

He attributed early certification of Hamilton Memorial to "fine leadership" of his staff.

"As soon as we knew the requirements," he said, "we moved with our utilization plan."

Burkett pulled records to show that his hospital has had 495 patients of Medicare age since October, 1965. Their average stay was nine days — twice that

patient's whim or prejudice" would not.

A check of Atlanta area hospital administrators showed most expect ultimate clearance and are "hopeful for the best" in coping with new demands for beds and service.

Most reminded of Atlanta's long - standing hospital bed shortages and of worsening shortages of nurses, doctors, almost all paramedical workers.

The "help shortage," Richard declared, is "a far worse problem than slow certification of hospitals."

In many metropolitan areas across the nation — more so than in small towns and rural areas — hospital bed shortages already are acute. Here in Atlanta in April the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., reported that an estimated 2,544 beds will be added in the metropolitan area within the next 10 years. Eventually, for example, DeKalb General hopes to double its capacity.

But that is ahead, and Medicare is almost here. Only last winter physicians here had ill patients, including in several instances victims of heart attacks, "on waiting lists" to get into badly crowded Atlanta hospitals. In New York City most hospitals run 75 to 78 per cent of capacity; in Atlanta for several years the percentage is closer to 90 per cent, especially in "popular" modern hospitals like Piedmont.

ANOTHER NOT - GOOD STRAW in the wind: The Community Council's report noted that future expansion of medical, nursing and paramedical education programs here are less well-defined.

"Unless we can turn more people toward careers in the health field," one observer said, "we're in trouble, with or without Medicare."

Officials less worried about the impact of Medicare point out that already most Georgia hospitals handle Kerr - Mills patients and that, by and large, senior citizens are expected to increase hospital leads only about 5 per cent.

All through June hospital insurance servicemen will be sur-

vision and radio spots" recently released.

"Medicare is so tremendous and complex," the announcer is supposed to say soothingly, "there's bound to be some confusion at first. Not all hospitals will receive government approval for Medicare participation by the time it starts July 1, which means those approved might have more applicants than there are available hospital beds.

"Remember . . . Medicare does not guarantee you a hospital bed. It only promises to pay the bills after you are admitted to the hospital. . . . Don't drop your present hospitalization insurance policies until you check first. . . . Keep your present insurance in force as long as necessary."

MEDICARE COVERAGE of nursing homes does not go into effect until Jan. 1, 1967. There are shortages there, too.

The other Medicare phase that begins July 1, the government's footing of doctor bills under a $3-per-month voluntary program of medical insurance for oldsters, has caused less public consternation lately.

Originally physicians across the nation protested Medicare. Most now plan to cooperate, al-

though a lot of Atlanta doctors are privately grim about prospects ahead.

Many already-overworked medical men dread increased demands on their time. But the American Medical Association cooperated with Robert M. Ball, commissioner of Social Security, in preparing a Medicare reference guide for physicians.

And a recent AMA memorandum, prepared by the association's law department, told physicians they can make a distinction between private and federally assisted welfare patients without incurring penalties under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Doctors can maintain separate offices and office hours for Medicare patients, as long as they do not discriminate among them on racial grounds, the memo states.

To Pinkston and some other administrators, Medicare mainly will mean more funds for care of the aged. But a lot of the others are muttering over bookkeeping problems, aggravated personnel shortages, the

prospect of turning away disappointed patients, above all "that cussed red tape."

A hospital business manager's wife put it this way: "I don't mind so much my husband talking about Medicare in his sleep —but, oh, the language he uses!

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Thirty-five Georgia hospitals, Richard said, have cleared another hurdle — eligibility under Title VI, or the civil rights provision.

The rub is getting both kinds of approval, with the papers to prove it. The official forms and notice take time.

That's why, a month before Medicare, only five Georgia hospitals were on the official certified list. They are: Memorial Hospital, Waycross (209 beds); John L. Hutcheson Memorial-Tri-Counties Hospital, Fort Oglethorpe (141 beds); Hamilton Memorial Hospital, Dalton (150 beds); Upson County Hospital, Thomaston (88 beds), and Forsyth County Hospital, Cumming (36 beds).

"DON'T NEEDLESSLY ALARM our elderly citizens," Richard commented. "From our point of view, things are moving on schedule and there will be a big change in the figures by mid-June."

Richard is the man who "countersigns" hospitals approved as to operating standards when he gets the word from HEW that they are also eligible on Title VI — that is, that they will show no racial discrimination.

On his desk Wednesday, he said, were papers for most Atlanta area hospitals showing that administrators have signed Medicare agreements and that they meet operating standards and have satisfied state surveyors with their utilization plans.

Only Title VI survey approval is missing from papers for Crawford Long (415 beds), DeKalb General (230), Emory (341), Georgia Baptist (466), Grady Memorial (1,086), Holy Family (135), Jesse Parker Williams (44), Marietta's Kennestone (383), Piedmont (282), Ponce de Leon Infirmary (32), St. Joseph's Infirmary (153), and South Fulton (153).

"It is only a matter of time" before these hospitals are cleared, Richard believes. Most, he pointed out, are already working with Blue Cross and other hospital insurance representatives on the intricacies of payment plans.

Grady Hospital administrator J. W. Pinkston Jr. not only expects Medicare clearance but sometime ago ascertained "a good estimate" of what Medicare patients would mean to his annual budget and "has already budgeted for it," he reported.

HOGAN, SLIGHTLY LESS optimistic than Richard, hedges a little on July 1 approval for all Georgia hospitals but thinks it certain "by end of the year."

The other $64 question—"Can we cope?" — has different answers, depending on area and official.

It also depends on whether you ask a Blue Cross surveyor, a State Health Department surveyor, or an HEW surveyor.

To the uninitiated outsider, it would appear that some of the slow processing of approvals and the confusion that undoubtedly exists (although involved officials hate to admit it) might

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"As soon as we knew the requirements," he said, "we moved with our utilization plan."

Burkett pulled records to show that his hospital has had 495 patients of Medicare age since October, 1965. Their average stay was nine days — twice that of the average younger patient.

There were no problems with Title VI requirements in Dalton. Hamilton Memorial, Burkett said, "has had an integrated cafeteria for about 10 years and all along has admitted Negro patients to private and semiprivate rooms, but only recently became integrated in the fullest sense."

Title VI, the touchiest section of Medicare provisions, has "resulted in much misunderstanding," HEW officials said.

HEW HAS THE SPECIFIC task of checking on integration qualifications, while State Health Departments check on hospital care standards. Southern hospitals have received considerable publicity on grounds they are dragging their feet on civil rights.

AHA spokesman Dr. Brown declared here, however, that this was a problem "not just in the South, but in all sections of the country, East, West, North and South."

Some hospital administrators try to accuse HEW of "playing the numbers game" and of "bureaucratic demands" that a certain ratio of patients and a certain number of physicians on hospital staffs be nonwhite. One hospital administrator in a part of Georgia where there are few Negro citizens reportedly was so anxious to prove his eligibility that he kept the single Negro patient he had "longer than was necessary so she would be in a bed when HEW surveyors arrived."

William H. Thrasher, administrator of DeKalb General Hospital and president of the Metropolitan Atlanta Hospital Council, said most Atlanta hospitals —accused last summer by the NAACP of discrimination—had been "visited and visited by HEW surveyors."

"I think this was about the fifth time for DeKalb General," he said.

HEW's Peter Libassi, special assistant to Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Gardner, went on film, along with an AHA official and a hospital administrator, to try to squelch many civil rights rumors.

A HASTILY-MADE MOVIE, "Medicare and Title VI," denies any "numbers games" but stressed HEW's aim of ensuring health care without discrimination and of making available to qualified Negro physicians and paramedical personnel all "privileges" on hospital staffs.

In a case where a physician feels a person should be moved from one hospital room to another, the movie states, such a request "for medical reasons" would be honored. One "at a

hospitals run 75 to 78 per cent of capacity; in Atlanta for several years the percentage is closer to 90 per cent, especially in "popular" modern hospitals like Piedmont.

ANOTHER NOT-GOOD STRAW in the wind: The Community Council's report noted that future expansion of medical, nursing and paramedical education programs here are less well-defined.

"Unless we can turn more people toward careers in the health field," one observer said, "we're in trouble, with or without Medicare."

Officials less worried about the impact of Medicare point out that already most Georgia hospitals handle Kerr-Mills patients and that, by and large, senior citizens are expected to increase hospital loads only about 5 per cent.

All through June hospital insurance servicemen will be surveying state hospitals who have or expect Medicare certification to determine in advance just what their Medicare load will be.

Already surveys indicate that Medicare patients, by and large, will stay in beds longer and make more use of routine service and less of ancillary services.

Dalton's Hamilton Memorial Hospital administrator Burkett and a few others have had no advance registrations for Medicare patients.

Once the bugs are out, some observers feel Medicare publicity and planning will encourage persons to go into the health field jobs so badly needed. And all sorts of new jobs will open up, they are sure, for persons now hard to place on the job market—physically handicapped and workers over 40.

In a program so new and complex, government official stress, "there cannot help but be delays, some mistakes, some confusion."

If there is a great sudden wave of Medicare applicants just after July 1, when the program officially starts — and Dr. Edward Henderson, executive director of the American Geriatrics Society, predicts "an overwhelming rush" on hospitals — it now appears likely that persons other than senior citizens may be the ones suffering.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON is said to be exerting pressure within the government to make sure overcrowding in hospitals will not prevent elderly persons from benefitting from Medicare.

It may be that the problem will be solved, for those elderly, by turning other types of beds, even pediatric, into "Medicare beds." In that case, there would then be a shortage of pediatric beds or whatever kind were "robbed from Paul to pay Peter."

Government experts, however, do not see such a dire condition. HEW, going all out to prepare and plan and publicize, point out that of the 17 million plus oldsters signed up for Medicare across the country, 11.5 million already are covered by some form of prepaid system. The elderly, officials stress, now represent only 20 per cent of all hospital users.

They think Medicare's anticipated 5 per cent increase load can be absorbed by "the average hospital." They think the snarled red tape will be untied in time for July 1.

But, just in case, the Georgia Hospital Association has a word of caution in "suggested tele-

MEDICARE AIDES TOUR HOSPITALS

Press Southern Institutions for Racial Compliance

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 9 — Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, and 360 service officers were in the South today trying to persuade hospitals to desegregate in time to make them available for Medicare patients July 1.

As they appealed for action, John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, called a news conference here and expressed confidence in the success of their effort.

Mr. Gardner acknowledged, however, that the Administration had a long way to go in the next three weeks to assure that there would be no large areas where the elderly would be denied care under the new health insurance program.

Mr. Gardner said 5,511 hospitals had been found eligible under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to participate in Medicare. Title VI bans racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

This is 72 per cent of the 7,654 hospitals able to care for elderly patients, or 77 per cent of the hospital beds in this category.

400 Added to List

In the last month, while the special program for Title VI compliance has been under way, only about 400 hospitals have been added to the approved list.

F. Peter Libassi, Mr. Gardner's special assistant for civil rights, said about 1,000 hospitals not yet in compliance would present no problem. Most of these are outside the South.

But this leaves about 1,000, mostly in the deep South, that have not yet given any assurance that they will meet the Government's requirements for assignment of patients and staff on a nonracial basis.

Mr. Libassi said one problem had been that many Southern hospital administrators had thought they were required to integrate every room or maintain a racial balance of patients equivalent to the population of the area served by the hospital.

Examiners, now visiting some 400 hospitals a week, are assuring the administrators that this is not so.

Could Instruct Doctors

Hospitals in some instances are required to take affirmative action to assure patients there is no assignment by race. This could be written instructions to doctors not to assign patients to hospitals by race.

Progress in integration is gauged by a two-week check of assignments. A hospital having a substantial patient load of both Negroes and whites is expected to show some integration of wards and other facilities.

Aside from civil rights, Mr. Gardner said a survey has found 82 counties likely to be "trouble spots" from overcrowding by Medicare patients, who are expected to increase the average patient load by 5 per cent.

These counties are mostly rural and have only 2.7 per cent of the nation's population. Only nine have populations of 100,000 or more.

They are Pinellas (St. Petersburg), Fla.; Rock Island, Ill.; Delaware (Muncie), Ind.; Middlesex (Nzw Brunswick), and Ocean (Lakewood), N. J.; Lucas (Toledo) and Summit (Akron), Ohio; and Ponce and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Anglican Conference in 1968 To Stress Church Renewal

LONDON (Religious News Service) — "Renewal of the Church" will be the general theme of the Lambeth Conference in 1968 of bishops of the worldwide Anglican Communion, the Church of England has announced.

The bishops are expected to give particular consideration to the faith of the church, the ministry of the church—ordained and lay—and Christian unity.

Preliminary arrangements for the conference—the 10th of a series of meetings of Anglican bishops which have been held at Lambeth Palace here at approximately 10-year intervals since 1867—were made by the Lambeth Consultative Body when it met in Jerusalem in April.

Metropolitans and Primates who attended that meeting decided the 1968 conference would be held from July 25 to Aug. 25 at Lambeth Palace, official residence of the Archbishop of Conterbury.

Close-Up

AC 6/11/66 HOSPITALS

Medicare: Concern, Anguish and Confusion

Like the Health, Education and Welfare man said, the meeting Thursday at the Academy of Medicine generated a lot of interest and concern over eligibility of Atlanta hospitals for medicare. It also generated quite a bit of anguish and confusion.

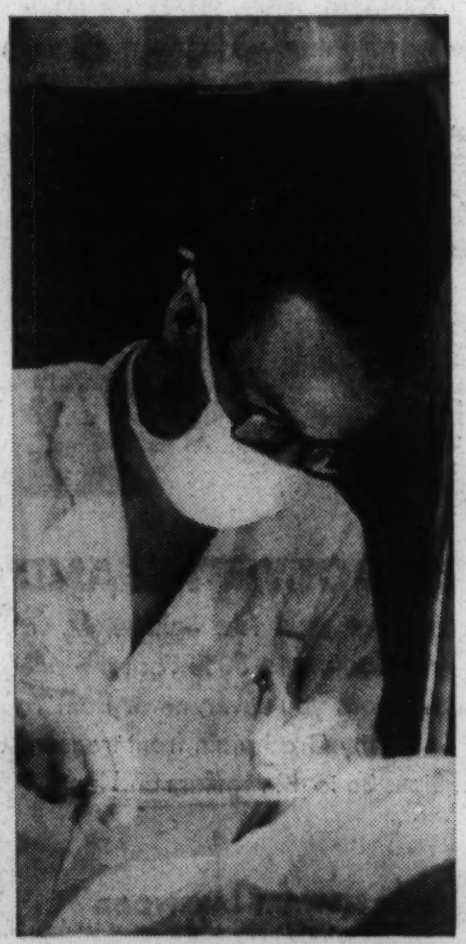
HEW officials, led by U.S. Surgeon General William H. Stewart, came to town to talk with medical, hospital and civil rights leaders about ways to bring Atlanta hospitals into compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

If all are not in compliance by July 1—just 19 days from now—about 100,000 elderly people in this city will be eligible for medicare but won't be able to get it. And all federal funds to these hospitals for training, construction and research will be cut off.

At least that's what one of the HEW men said. And Dr. Stewart said the problem in Atlanta is a pattern of segregation that cannot be solved by individual hospitals.

But is this a reasonable approach to a problem that has reached a crash stage, in which compliance guidelines are vague and being modified almost day to day? An individual hospital should not be penalized for conditions it cannot control. The guidelines do not apply to the community, they apply specifically to individual hospitals.

What the HEW people apparently want is proof of performance, rather than good-faith willingness to perform. And though they repeatedly deny it, they're playing a numbers game.



NO ROOM FOR PREJUDICE

A chart was distributed at the meeting showing that of the 40 active Negro physicians here, all of whom are on the staff at Hughes Spalding Pavilion, 11 have staff privileges at Grady Memorial, 32 at Holy Family, and 25 at McLendon hospitals. Of the other 14 hospitals listed, nine have no Negro staff physicians, two have two, and two have one.

This certainly tends to show discrimination among the 14. But if these hospitals, in good faith, accept applications from Negro doctors for staff privileges, and pass on them without discrimination, what is this going to do to the numbers game?

A Negro doctor is not going to want his patients scattered all the way from Holy Family to Georgia Baptist and Piedmont hospitals. He's going to want his patients within reasonable driving time of his office.

Patient distribution was another factor stressed on the chart. On the day the count was taken, there were 652 Negro patients in four hospitals, 41 in 10 others and none in the remaining four. While this also shows racial discrimination, it also shows financial discrimination because 586 of these Negro patients were at Grady and Hughes Spalding.

Financial discrimination is the result of widespread poverty in our Negro population and is a problem we should continue to try to solve. But it certainly is not a direct concern of our hospitals.

What is needed is for HEW to get away from the numbers game and direct its attention to individual hospitals. If a hospital agrees to end discrimination in admissions, room assignments, staff qualifications and in all the many other areas specified in the guidelines, it should be presumed qualified under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The cynics will object to this, pointing to how subterfuge was used in many areas to circumvent the "freedom of choice" plan for school desegregation. But it is the opinion here that the time to measure performance is after July 1, when many medicare beneficiaries will be able to afford freedom of choice of hospitals for the first time.

There is too much at stake now to take punitive action against hospitals for past discrimination. HEW officials and the medical and hospital communities of Atlanta should work together in good faith to end discrimination in the care of the sick, to assure that all our hospitals are eligible on July 1 for medicare and continued federal financial support.—JIM RANKIN.

HOSPITALS

Medicare Discriminates, 2 Hospital Leaders Say

AC 6/11/66

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

Two Georgia hospital leaders Friday protested as "discrimination" the federal government's failure to clear most Atlanta hospitals to date under the civil rights restrictions for Medicare participation.

William H. Thrasher, president of the Metropolitan Atlanta Hospital Council, insisted hospitals here have been trying "in every way possible" to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Glenn M. Hogan, executive director of the Georgia Hospital Association, declared that "some 5,000 hospitals over the nation have been approved automatically, without checks."

"We feel this is discrimination against us," he said. "We feel that if they had checked hospitals out all over the nation as they did in Georgia, there would be less than 1,000 that qualified."

The statements followed a second meeting in two days here between hospital spokesmen and Health, Education and Welfare officials.

Rolbert Nash, chief of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity under U.S. Surgeon General William H. Stewart, and other HEW personnel Friday

Continued on Page 11, Column 2

Hospital Leaders Accuse Medicare

Continued from Page 1

afternoon held a session with Hogan and Thrasher in the office of State Health department director Dr. John Venable.

CALLED THE KEY

Hogan said Nash indicated — as he had done in a Thursday meeting here where Dr. Stewart and local civil rights leaders were present — that Grady Hospital's Hughes Spalding Pavillion, which has all-Negro patients, "is the key to a community problem."

The pavillion, as does Grady, comes under jurisdiction of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority.

Hogan and Thrasher indicated that they felt it "unfair" that a single hospital might hold up certification of others. HEW spokesmen Thursday had cited the fact that most Atlanta Negro patients are treated at four hospitals — Grady, Hughes Spalding, Holy Family, and McLendon.

HINT GROUP ACTION

Nash, at the Thursday meeting, hinted strongly that hospitals here should take group action to "change the pattern of hospital use that had resulted from development of an all-Negro hospital."

Hogan said he felt the Thursday meeting "ignored the old people, the future Medicare patients who should be the prime consideration." Thrasher, citing "meeting after meeting after meeting" on Medicare planning recently, said, "We feel that we are in compliance with the law, and we were embarrassed by the accusation that we are not. Hospitals have filed applications on an individual basis, and we feel that each hospital should be treated individually."

Federal government tabulators, admittedly behind in their paper work, have cleared only two Atlanta area hospitals, Ponce de Leon Infirmary and Aidmore, on Title VI (civil rights eligibility).

19 OKAYED

Although 48 Georgia hospitals were reported to have Title VI clearance, only 19, with a total of 1,868 beds, have officially passed both civil rights and operating standards tests for-no-more-questions Medicare certification. Ponce de Leon Infirmary, officially okayed Friday morning, is Atlanta's first approval. Hogan stressed that, once Title VI is cleared, the other clearance is virtually automatic since most eligible Georgia hospitals have been cleared by State Health Department inspectors on operating standards.

Official state Medicare hospitals to date are: Phoebe Putnam, Albany (284 beds); R. T. Jones, Canton (67); Peach County, Fort Valley (73); Hamilton, Dalton (150); Upson County, Thomaston (88); Memorial, Waycross (209); Forsyth, Cumming (36), John L. Hutcheson, Fort Oglethorpe (141); St. Mary's, Athens, 132; Coweta General, Newnan, 121; Newton County, Covington (80); Oglethorpe Sanitarium, Savannah (50); City-County, LaGrange (185); Valley, West Point (29); Tanner, Carrollton (82) Villa Rica Hospital, Villa Rica (35); Meriwether, Warm Springs (32); Seminole, Donaldsonville (42), and Ponce de Leon Infirmary, Atlanta (32).

State Hospitals Get Approval For Medicare

HOSPITALS
BC 6/12/66

WASHINGTON, June 11 (AP) — The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has made public the names of 5,558 hospitals which it lists as being in compliance with laws against racial discrimination.

Ths means, a spokesman said, that they are considered currently eligible to participate in the Medicare program of care for the elderly, insofar as civil rights law is concerned.

The department listed those rated as eligible but did not release the names of those viewed as being not in compliance.

A spokesman said that it is believed many of the 2,096 hospitals—largely in the South—not listed will comply before the program actually starts on July 1.

Georgia hospitals listed as being in compliance are:

Albany, Phoebe Putney Memorial; Athens, St. Marys; Atlanta, Ponce de Leon; Augusta, St. Josephs; Augusta, University; Austell, Austell; Blackshear, Pierce Memorial; Blairsville, Union General; Calhoun, Gordon; Canton, R. T. Jones Memorial.

Cartersville, Sam Howell Memorial; Chatsworth, Murray County Memorial; Clayton, Rabun County; Colquitt, Miller County; Columbus, Webb; Commerce, Banks-Jackson Community; Covington, Newton County; Cumming, Forsyth County; Dahlonega, Woodward; Dallas, Paulding County.

Demorest, Habersham County; Donalsonville, Seminole Memorial; Dublin, Laurens County; Franklin, Ernest Memorial; Fort Gaines, Clay County; Fort Oglethorpe, Tri-County; Fort Valley, Peach County; Gainesville, Hall County; Griffin, Griffin-Spalding; Hartwell, Hart County; Hazlehurst, Clyde Duncan Memorial; Hiawassee, Towns County; LaGrange, City-County.

LaFayette, Kitchens; Milledgeville, Milledgeville State; Monroe, Walton County; Newnan, Coweta; Powder Springs; Quitman, Brooks County; Ringgold, Stephensons; Royston, Cobb Memorial; Savannah, Oglethorpe, W. A. Chandler, Smyrna, Brawners; Statesboro, Bulloch County; Summerville, Chattooga County.

Thomaston, Upson County; Toccoa, Stephens County; Trion, Trion Community; Tucker, Doctors; Villa Rica, Villa Rica City; West Point, Valley; Warm Springs, Meriwhether Memorial; Waycross, Memorial.

Negroes Here Pressing Hospital Compliance

HOSPITALS

AC 6/19/66

Spokesmen for two predominately Negro organizations in Atlanta said Saturday they want "definite evidence" of desegregation before 18 Atlanta hospitals receive Medicare.

"We plan to protest before these hospitals are held in compliance with federal desegregation guidelines," Dr. J. T. Blasingame Jr. said at a press conference.

Dr. Blasingame is president of the Atlanta Medical Association which has charged that 12 Atlanta hospitals which have agreed to comply have not proposed any changes in discriminatory practices.

Six hospitals have not started compliance, he said.

"Evidence shows that local hospitals are not sincere," Dr. Blasingame added, referring to the recent announcement of compliance of the 12 hospitals.

Another group, the Committee on Implementation of the Civil Rights Act, 1694, announced "proof which it will present to the President of the United States and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of non-compliance of hospitals in this area."

Dr. A. M. Davis, a member of the committee, said telegrams have been sent to President Johnson and other officials and representatives requesting a meeting.

"We are asking for an audience," Dr. Davis said. The committee will send representatives to Washington, D.C., if the request is granted.

"We expect the President to direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare of our concern and in turn he (Secretary John Gardner) will enforce the guidelines."

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Early Okay Brews For More Hospitals

Several Here Could Get Medicare Clearance Today

HOSPITALS

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

"Several Atlanta hospitals" are expected to receive Medicare clearance "very soon—possibly tomorrow," a spokesman for the Georgia Hospital Association said Monday.

Glenn M. Hogan, association executive secretary, expressed a new optimism and predicted that "two-thirds of all Georgia hospital beds—not hospitals, but beds"—should receive the necessary certification by the July 1 beginning of the Medicare program.

Local Health, Education and Welfare officials, who depend on a Washington, D.C.,-okayed "list" to update their announcements from the Atlanta headquarters, had no new announcements Monday. But Hogan said a new way of notifying Title VI (civil rights)-cleared hospitals by individual letters had been instituted and such letters were due in Atlanta this week.

END CONFUSION

The official clearance presumably would end weeks of confusion and counter-charges in which HEW, hospital and civil rights spokesmen alternately have wrangled over alleged Title VI violations in metropolitan area hospitals.

On the record so far, only Marietta's Kennestone Hospital and Atlanta's Ponce de Leon Infirmary have clearance.

Charles Sanders, Kennestone administrator, was called to Washington Monday night by HEW officials, who asked him to present a paper, "The Role of the Hospital Administrator in Medicare" before HEW workers and public health personnel there.

ONE IN REGION

The Marietta official was reported to be the only one in this region asked to attend the called meeting, another in a Washington series designed to speed clearance of hospitals and prepare for an expected influx of Medicare patients in early July.

Douglass Richard of the Social Security's Bureau of Health Insurance here said 48 Georgia hospitals now have both Title VI clearance and approval as to operating standards, the no-further-questions-asked official certification for Medicare participation.

76 AT LAST COUNT

HEW's last count on Title VI-only hospitals was 76, and clearance for civil rights almost automatically means the other approval will be forthcoming. Both agencies are behind in their paper work, but federal officials say they are aware that delays and mistakes will be made as the mammoth task is rushed to completion. An example: Marietta's Kennestone Hospital, administrator Sanders said, was cleared more than a week before the formal announcement. He finally called Washington and was told that "a computer knocked your name off the list by mistake, but we're getting it back on."

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2 in Prison Suing for $635,000

Two federal prisoners have filed separate suits against the government for injuries they contend involved negligence by officials of the U.S. Penitentiary here.

Miles Malpass is seeking $610,000 as a result of being hit on the head with a heavy wooden object by a cellmate. He contends prison officials did not protect him adequately, and seeks a half-million dollars for being placed in jeopardy of life and limb and $110,000 for injuries.

Malpass in a suit in U.S. District Court here sets forth that he was attacked a second time May 2 by inmate W. W. Wood, and that fellow cellmates dragged Wood off him when he was "at the point of death" with Wood strangling him. He says he received no X rays although the top of his head has been without feeling and he has suffered severe headaches and nausea since the attack. The gash left a two-inch scar on his forehead.

IN SECOND SUIT

In another suit, inmate Eddie Padgett charges that when he was first taken into federal custody in Mobile, Ala., a cell door in the Mobile County Jail closed on his hand. He contends he was denied medical attention there and later in the Fulton County Jail, and that when he finally received it in a federal prison in North Carolina, the fractured hand had begun to heal in a deformed way.

The prison physician in North Carolina told him surgery would be necessary to correct the damage, Padgett contends, but after a year he still is awaiting surgery.

OTHER INJURIES

During his stay in Atlanta he suffered several additional injuries to his injured hand and was denied medical attention or X rays, he contends. He charges that his hand has been broken [illegible] additional places as

HOSPITALS

U.S. Okay Given To 7 Hospitals

AC 6/25/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Seven more Atlanta hospitals have been cleared for civil rights compliance under the Medicare Program, leaving 10 of the metropolitan area's 20 medical institutions still disqualified.

The latest figures on hispital compliance were released Friday afternoon in Atlanta by William J. Page Jr., regional director of the Department of Health, Education and Walfare.

In Washington, the department reported that 72.2 per cent of the hospital beds in Georgia have complied with Title VI of the 1964 civil rights act.

ONLY 81 CLEARED

However, only 81 of 176 Georgia hospitals — 46 per cent — have been approved for compliance.

Federal funds will be withheld after July 1, when Medicare begins, for hospitals not in compliance.

Regional Director Page said his staff is working around the clock to negotiate hospitals into compliance.

He predicted nearly all the Atlanta hospitals will have complied by July 1, a week away.

Among the 10 hospitals not yet in compliance are the Atlanta area's larger institutions.

Page said the hospitals know what must be done to bring them into compliance, and he anticipates they will make the changes.

"It has been narrowed to a point or a few points in each (Atlanta) hospital," he said. "It was brought to the attention of some of them as early as last fall. They still haven't done them."

All of the hospitals have shown a willingness to negotiate compliance, he said.

ADDED TO LIST

The seven hospitals added to the compliance list are:

Northside Manor, Peachtree-Parkwood, South Fulton, Georgian Clinic, DeKalb General, Georgia Mental Health Institution and Henrietta Eggleston.

Compliance was previously announced for Ponce de Leon Infirmary, Marietta's Kennestone Hospital, and Doctor's Hospital at Tucker.

The 10 on the noncompliance list are:

McLendon Hospital, Inc., Emory University Hospital, Crawford W. Long, Holy Family, Saint Joseph's, Georgia Baptist, Piedmont, Jesse Parker Williams, Hugh Spalding and Grady Memorial.

HE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JUNE 26, 196

Civil Rights in Medicine

HOSPITALS

Evolution in Hospital Integration Being Turned Into a Revolution by Medicare

By HOWARD A. RUSK, M.D.

One of the greatest problems in the current evolution of the changing patterns of medical services resulting from Medicare and Title 19 of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 is that of racial discrimination. Implementation of Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in these new programs is turning this evolution into a revolution in many Southern hospitals.

A high-ranking Washington official concedes this is the most critical problem being faced in the new medical care programs.

To be eligible to admit patients under these programs, hospitals must sign statements that they are complying with the Civil Rights Act.

To their great credit, most Southern hospitals have been working quietly and effectively to change policies and procedures in order to comply. This has not been easy, for these policies have existed for many generations. Even when policies are changed by directive, changes in attitudes by both staff and patients come much more slowly.

Most Are Approved

Late figures indicate that most of the nation's nearly 7,500 eligible hospitals have been approved to take part in the Medicare program.

Last Tuesday the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People protested that, to gain approval, a Georgia hospital had placed Negro employes in beds in white wards at the time of inspection. The office of the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service acknowledged receipt of the protest and reported that it was investigating.

The Public Health Service has temporarily assigned more than 400 persons to administer the compliance program and to inspect applicant hospitals. The Administration has been conducting a last-minute, all-out effort to increase approvals by the deadline, next Friday. In a conference on Medicare in Washington last week, President Johnson made a new appeal for hospitals to comply.

Health has traditionally been a great leveler as far as tolerance and understanding are concerned. Critical illness or severe disability creates a bond of fellowship and understanding that transcends religious dogma, race and politics, whether local, national or international.

Two Contrasting Scenes

Some years ago this writer was speaking at the dedication of a new rehabilitation center in a large Southern city. It was at the time when troops had been called into Little Rock, Ark., and the entire South was a tinderbox.

There had been demonstrations in the city where the center was on the previous day. But in the center the writer was amazed to find white and Negro children together in the same wards. Negro nurses were serving side by side with white nurses. They ate in a common dining room, shared common restrooms, and worked together in complete harmony.

When the question was asked, "How long has this been going on?" the answer came in a low voice:

"Why, this has been going on for several years and we have no trouble at all."

When the white nurses were approached about the plan, the typical reply was:

"We would welcome the help of our Negro colleagues. We are short of nurses and we need them—and that is all there is to it."

'We May Get Into Trouble'

Further quiet checking disclosed that many Southern rehabilitation centers and children's clinics were operating on a fully integrated basis. The questioner, however, was always admonished along these lines:

"Don't write or say anything about this or we may get into trouble. Just let us go on as we are. We are doing all right and making progress."

In another large urban rehabilitation center in the North all patients are treated the same, whether rich or poor, black or white, Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Hindu, Moslem or atheist, whether illiterate or the holder of a doctorate of philosophy. They are housed in four-bed units and participate in a teaching and training program five to six hours a day.

In this totally integrated program involving 50,000 patients over the last 20 years there has never been a single reported instance of discrimination.

Because of the universality of medicine, it is possible that the greatest single contribution that has been made to integration is the ending of the traditional "separate but equal" policies in medical care. Severe illness and disability are a hard way to learn tolerance.

Last week the racial disturbances continued in Mississippi but not in the North Mississippi Community Hospital in Tupelo. There the traditional "Colored" and "White" signs have been voluntarily removed and the Negro entrance has been permanently sealed.

We have a long way to go. But we have gone a long way.

All Hospitals Here Expect Approval

HOSPITALS

AC 6/29/66

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

All Atlanta hospitals apparently will be declared officially in compliance with Title VI (civil rights) requirements for Medicare participation before Friday.

Roman Catholic Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of the Diocese of Atlanta ascertained through personal telephone calls to Washington Tuesday that St. Joseph's Infirmary and the Holy Family Hospital were cleared four days ago, although Health, Education and Welfare officials here had not been able to supply that information.

Later in the day, Glenn M. Hogan, executive secretary of the Georgia Hospital Association, added to the "cleared" list Emory, Grady, Hughes Spalding, Crawford W. Long, Jesse Parker Williams and McLendon hospitals. Hulett Sumlin, administrator of Piedmont Hospital, said he had been assured "orally" that Piedmont would be cleared "although I want to emphasize that I have nothing in writing," and Georgia Baptist Hospital administrator Edwin Peel said he "had reason to believe" that action of a Tuesday board meeting would result in certification.

NEGROES PROTEST

Meanwhile, Atlanta Negro civil rights spokesmen charged here that "political pressure" had brought about certification of Atlanta hospitals. They said their own surveys showed "no visible evidence" of civil rights compliance here except in the case of a single hospital—Holy Family.

Charges came from Jesse Hill, chairman of the Summit Leadership Conference; Dr. J. T. Blasingame Jr., president of the Atlanta Medical Association; Dr. O. W. Smith, chairman of a Title VI implementation committee of Negro physicians, and State Rep. Ben Brown, director of community services for the Atlanta Urban League.

A "protest rally" was staged at Mount Moriah Baptist Church by Negro groups Tuesday night.

OWN INSPECTION

At the sparsely attended rally, Hill suggested that Negro doctors and community leaders stage their own inspections of hospitals. Hill said the Negro inspectors could determine for themselves if any certified hospitals were actually not in compliance.

Rally leaders read a telegram from the Rev. Martin Luther King that called hospital segregation "racism in its most damnable form." They also read a letter from Whitney Young Jr., executive director of the Urban League, declaring that "it will be disastrous if the federal government accepts this meager program of compliance."

Earlier, spokesmen for a Negro unit, the Atlanta Committee on Operation Health Improvement Plan, stated they were "disturbed over recent developments concerning the certification of local hospitals."

Dr. Smith said HIP sent telegrams to President Lyndon B. Johnson, HEW Secretary John W. Gardner, Georgia Reps. Charles Weltner and James Mackay and New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell "expressing our findings that there have been no significant changes made at any of the local hospitals that have already been certified for Medicare."

At a press conference here Tuesday, Dr. Smith stated specifically that DeKalb General Hospital, one of the earliest metropolitan Atlanta area hospitals announced by HEW as in compliance, was "not in compliance." Other Negro spokesmen assailed Emory University Hospital as a non-compliant and as "controlling some other hospitals and about 2,000 beds in the Atlanta area."

They said federal funds should not go to non-compliant hospitals. Hill said the group "does not intend to accept deals and circumvention of guidelines," adding: "We want some action."

HEW's slowness in notifying hospitals of clearance obviously irked some concerned officials here.

Hogan, reporting early Tuesday afternoon that he was "still in the dark" as to the status of Atlanta hospitals, said that "it seems ridiculous that we still don't know." Later in the day he obtained the desired information. Archbishop Hallinan said that "last Saturday, although I find our Catholic hospitals had been cleared the day before, St. Joseph's and Holy Family were still on the non-compliance lists."

HOSPITALS

Sanders Predicts Wider Compliance

Special to The Constitution

LOS ANGELES—Gov. Carl Sanders of Georgia, attending the National Governors' Conference here, said Wednesday he is hopeful that there will be a more "reasonable and realistic" approach to the new federal school guidelines.

Sanders expressed this optimism after talks here with John Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Gov. Sanders

The governor said Gardner is a man of "tremendous competence." Sanders said he feels the HEW chief is more interested in quality education than in rigid compliance with the guidelines.

He does not believe Gardner will be "actively campaigning" for such things as busing students or that he will be emphasizing percentages of white and Negro students in schools, Sanders said.

Sanders also said he was a member of a committee headed by Gov. George Romney of Michigan that recommended a rebate of federal income taxes to states with no string attached.

The conference Wednesday adopted the committee report, Sanders said.

The governor said he will drive to San Francisco for a few days after the conference before returning to Georgia next week.

$92,220 Granted To Grady

Grady Memorial Hospital has received a $92,220 grant from the Hill-Burton Hospital Assistance Program of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to aid in construction of a $153,700 physical rehabilitation area.

J. W. Pinkston Jr., Grady administrator, said the funds, to be matched by the hospital, will make possible completion of a ground floor section, 6,225 square feet in size, left unfinished when Grady was built in 1958.

Grady's new Department of Physical Medicine will equip the rehabilitation unit with exercise, swimming and physical therapy aids designed to treat patients with multiple sclerosis, loss of limbs or limb functions, arthritis and other conditions indicating such rehabilitative efforts.

Pinkston said the unfinished area had been earmarked for such use when Grady was built but deliberately left at the time because the hospital had no Department of Physical Medicine.

Under an Emory University School of Medicine program, a department, headed by Dr. Mieczyslaw Peszczynski, was set up and is now being expanded. Exercise rooms and outpatient facilities are planned.

U.S. Asked To Prod Hospitals

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A group of Negro physicians Wednesday threatened "dramatic action" unless the federal government forced hospitals in the Atlanta, Ga. area to desegregate.

The group, representing the Committee on Implementation of the Civil Rights Act, told a news conference only one of the 18 hospitals in the Atlanta area was in fact desegregated, although most had been ruled in compliance with federal guidelines for Medicare.

The doctors called the news conference after a two - hour meeting with Wilbur Cohen, undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Dr. Roy Bell, chief spokesman for the group, said all they received from Cohen was "promises, promises."

Dr. Otis W. Smith said unless something was done soon to correct the situation there would be demonstrations and sit-ins throughout Atlanta in protest.

Bell said the group would report to the "summit of the Negro leadership" in Atlanta when he returned. He said it would be up to the leadership to take the next action and that it would be "dramatic."

Bell said Negroes comprise 40 per cent of the city's population and yet only one hospital, Holy Family was in actual compliance with the law. He said the remainder of the hospitals only had token integration.

Bell said one of the major problems was getting Negro doctors on the hospital staffs. He said doctors were accepted on the staffs of the hospitals only if they lived within a certain distance of the facility, and "a Negro physician is not allowed the privilege of office space in certain sections of town."

NEGROES CRITICIZE U.S. HOSPITAL AID

HOSPITALS

Medicare Helps Segregated Facilities, Doctors Assert

NYT 7/29/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, July 27—The Federal Government was accused by a new Negro medical and dental organization Wednesday of channeling Medicare payments to "many" hospitals that still discriminate against Negroes.

Spokesmen for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare countered that progress was being made by the nation's hospitals. But they conceded that "many problems" still remained in erasing discrimination.

Thirty-five Negro dentists and physicians aired their grievances at the Cabana Motor Inn here, in a meeting in which they formed a Southwide organization—the Hospital Improvement Association—to pressure the Government into rigid enforcement of the hospital provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Doctors and Dentists

Dr. Leonidas H. Berry, president of the predominantly Negro National Medical Association, and representatives of Negro medical and dental societies in Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi got the new organization under way.

They said they want the Government to make more frequent use of a provision in the Civil Rights Act that gives it authority to cut off funds to any hospitals found to be discriminating against Negroes.

The new association con- probably a majority of those in the South — had made only token steps toward integration of their wards and staffs. Nevertheless, the association said, they have been certified as being in compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

The organization said that in Atlanta, for example, 17 out of 18 hospitals had been certified for Federal funds "despite the fact that only one of them has really integrated its facilities."

Dr. Leo J. Gehrig, deputy surgeon general of the United States, appeared at the meeting with a prepared speech that declared that "substantial progress" has been made in eliminating racial discrimination from hospitals.

After hearing the Negro grievances, however, he struck the word "substantial" when he delivered the speech.

Dr. Gherig said that, as of July 19, the Government was not sending Medicare funds to 219 of the 6,681 hospitals that had applied for them. More than 95 per cent of the 219 are in the South, he said.

The largest number of hospitals found ineligible for Medicare payments are in Mississippi, where only 46 out of 133 hospitals had been approved by the Government for Federal funds.

Negroes told Dr. Gherig he ought to cut off payments for many more hospitals. But they tended that many hospitals — saved their sharpest criticism for Robert Nash, the chief compliance officer in the Surgeon General's office.

Dr. Roy Bell of Atlanta shouted:

"I wish I could turn you black and your children black and send you down to Georgia. Personally, you ought to resign.

"You have shown no fortitude. I have no faith in you. You talk about 'black power' . . . you give us hogwash. What do you want us to do?"

Mr. Nash accused Dr. Bell of "emotionalism" and said some Atlanta hospitals had given Negro physicians staff privileges in recent weeks, despite long waiting lists of white doctors.

Australian Zoo's Head Retires

SYDNEY, Australia — Sir Edward Hallstrom, who will be 80 in September, has announced his retirement from the Taronga Park Zoo Trust, the Australian News and Information Bureau reports. "I'm feeling my age," he said.

Sir Edward has had a lifetime interest in zoos and is largely responsible for the improvements at Taronga Park. He was chairman of the trust from 1948 to 1959 and has since been its honorary life director.

HOSPITALS 8/4/66

ctors Called On to Prove Selves in Medicare

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION,

cies which gave required preference of one physician over another."

The latter statement apparently referred to HEW guidelines calling for integration in hospitals staffs. At a recent meeting of Negro physicians here with HEW officials it was pointed out that staff appointment procedures vary from one hospital to another, but that in at least one Atlanta hospital with a long waiting list for white physicians, new Negro applicants had "gone to the head of the line."

Dr. Godwin scored "time-consuming and costly" requirements for Medicare compliance. He noted that in a recent wire service interview Robert M. Nash, director of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity, "believes that any sizable hospital in the nation cannot survive without his approval."

Dr. Godwin said statements of some civil rights groups here insisting that Atlanta Medicare-certified hospitals are "non-compliant" are "highly disturbing."

"I have been informed," he added, "that this reaction does not represent the feeling of the major number of the members of the Atlanta Medical Association."

The association is an organization of Negro physicians here. Dr. Godwin said 19 of its 53 members also are members of the now integrated Fulton County Medical Soceity.

Negro Do

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

Dr. John T. Godwin, president of the Fulton County Medical Society, has called on Negro physicians protesting certification of Atlanta hospitals for Medicare to give "a demonstration of accepted responsiility and participation."

Dr. John Godwin

"Continued unrest, harassment and antagonism will only lead to destruction of the best system of medical care yet devised," he said.

Dr. Godwin told a meeting of his society that 50 Negro physicians have been appointed to previously all-white hospital staffs in the Atlanta area and 40 additional applications are pending.

ADMISSIONS CITED

"Negro patients are being admitted to every formerly white general hospital in Atlanta and to bi-racially occupied rooms," he said. "The average daily census was 106 Negro patients between July 7 and July 20 in those hospitals being checked by weekly reports to Health, Education and Welfare.

"Students for various paramedical schools are being recruited, accepted and are presently enrolled in various hospital schools throughout the color or creed.

"Some physicians are informing their white patients that they may be admitted to Hughes Spalding Pavillion. White patients have been admitted to this formerly all-Negro facility. White staff personnel are being actively recruited. More rigid physician regulations are being instituted. In the face of these demonstrated actions, it is evident there are still those in the Atlanta community who maintain a negative attitude toward the medical community — and they should be recognized as such."

'PAST TIME'

The society president declared that it "is past time" for Negro community leaders to "make the facts known and to accept their share of the responsibility to assist the community in providing the 1,000 hospital beds now needed."

Negroes also could aid, Dr. Godwin said, in "the necessary financial assistance for construction," in recruitment of paramedical students, teaching, assistance in free clinics, postgraduate education, volunteer hospital work and "the delivery of good medical care to all people."

"There does not appear to be a barrier for any qualified physician to begin to accept and meet this responsibilities," he declared. "It follows that if one receives, one should also give."

Dr. Godwon noted that Medicare already has "initiated changes in long-standing patterns for providing health care" and "instituted changes in hospital staff admission poli-

HOSPITALS

Negro Doctors Deny Hospitals Comply

AC 8/6/66

Group Charges HEW Failed To Get Institutions in Line

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

Spokesmen for the Atlanta Medical Association, an organization of Negro physicians, Friday took issue with Dr. John T. Godwin, president of the Fulton County Medical Society, over the much-debated issue of whether Medicare-certified Atlanta hospitals are really complying with civil rights provisions.

Asking to be admitted "to the mainstream of medical opportunity," they reiterated a charge that "HEW has thus far failed to enforce compliance by hospitals" here.

In a "rebuttal" press conference Dr. J. T. Blassingame Jr., chairman of the association's Title VI (civil rights) Implementation Committee, challenged remarks made by Dr. Godwin at a society meeting earlier this week.

WARNS NEGROES

Dr. Godwin had cited figures on admission of Negro physicians to Atlanta hospital staffs and on bi-racial occupancy. He had called on Negro protesters to give "a demonstration of accepted responsibility and participation," warning that "continued unrest, harassment and antagonism" would "lead to destruction of the best system of medical care yet devised."

Dr. Blassingame declared Friday, "Dr. Godwin failed to point out that the gains, which he pointed to with pride, were not accomplished until the 'unrest, harassment and antagonism' were begun, and that hospitals found on June 6 to be not in compliance were shortly afterward called in compliance without any of these gains."

He and other association members appearing at the press conference said admission of Negro physicians to four hospital staffs in recent weeks "actually involves only eight physicians, or 15 per cent of our membership, while 48 unacted-on applications (by Negro doctors seeking hospital staff privileges) involve over 50 per cent of our membership."

NEGROES ADDED

Dr. Godwin had stated that 50 Negro physicians had been added to previously all-white hospital staffs. Dr. Blassingame commented:

"The remaining staff positions which make the total of 50, we presume, are in the hospital which we have from the beginning called 'mostly nearly in compliance.' (Holy Family Hospital). Assuming that these gains are the reasons that all the hospitals except one are presently held to be in compliance by HEW, there is less latitude for praise when it is considered that seven of the 15 appointments were made by a hospital yet held to be not in compliance (Georgia Baptist Hospital)."

The Negro physician said his association "has never advovated anything that would lead to the destruction of the system of medical care, but, with its national group, has supported the government's effort to improve the system and the specific groups of patients covered by Medicare, who have previously been inadequately cared for by the system."

MADE VIEWS KNOWN

Dr. Blassingame said Dr. Godwin's remarks "were not expected" by Negro physicians who recently met with the society and made "all our view and motives . . . openly and candidly known." He added:

"We expected at least a statement of compassion from organized local medicine when our association sought admission of Negro doctors to local hospitals, in keeping with the law."

Remove All Bias by Sept. 15, U.S. Warns 8 Hospitals Here

HOSPITALS

AC 8/12/66

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

The off-again-on-again Medicare certification status of Atlanta hospitals appeared in question again Thursday as the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare served notice on eight hospitals that they must "take effective corrective action by Sept. 15 to eliminate remaining discrimination."

Crawford W. Long, Piedmont, Jesse Parker Williams, Hughes Spalding, Emory University, McLendon, St. Joseph's Infirmary and Georgia Baptist hospitals received warnings in letters from Surgeon General William H. Stewart.

Notices said action must be taken in "the granting of staff privileges to Negroes and in the referral of patients by some members of their staffs."

At the same time HEW announced that Georgia Baptist Hospital — previously denied clearance on civil rights counts, the only Atlanta hospital not certified for Medicare — now has been declared eligible "on the basis of substantial changes in their practices during the past month."

Although Georgia Baptist administrator Edwin Peel did not receive this word until Thursday afternoon, the certification was "granted retroactively to June 12," the HEW announcement stated.

The call for elimination of "remaining discrimination" was based, HEW spokesmen reported, "on an intensive survillance of civil rights practices in nine Atlanta hospitals during the month of July conducted by the Office of Equal Health Opportunity."

"As a result of the surveillance," they added, "one hospital, Holy Family, was informed that its compliance status has been fully substantiated."

Holy Family, alone of the nine hospitals, will no longer have to report its daily patient census by race with the name of the referring physician for each patient.

All eight hospitals cited must make the daily report—a practice some Atlanta physicians have threatened to test through legal action—plus reporting on "actions taken to eliminate discriminatory practices in the granting of staff privileges and

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

Comply by Sept. 15, 8 Hospitals Warned

Continued from Page 1

the practice by some physicians . . . of referring Negro patients to predominantly Negro hospitals and white patients to white hospitals."

Hospitals were directed to submit the required data to HEW for the Aug. 15-Sept. 15 period. If reports are not received and corrective action is not deemed adequate by HEW, "We will have no alternative except to conclude that your assurance of compliance is not being fulfilled," letters to hospital administrators stated.

Georgia Hospital Association executive secretary Glenn Hogan commented that it was "regretable that HEW continues to threaten to deprive the aged people of Atlanta their Medicare benefits."

He insisted that all Atlanta hospitals were complying in "policy and practice" and said it would take time for "substantial dispersal of Negro physicians and patients."

The surgeon general's letters offered help from the Atlanta regional office or a personal meeting "to consider any questions that remain."

Simultanously HEW, which had hitherto withheld information regarding checks on Atlanta hospitals, released a report stating that "while there seems to be no evidence of discrimination in physical facilities once a Negro is admitted, discriminatory referral of patients by physicians in Atlanta still exists."

REFERRALS CHARTED

HEW cited a three-week period in which "referral of patients of 850 white physicians were charted." It noted that 135 referred Negroes, with 78 referring all Negro patients to formerly white hospitals, while 12 admitted each "a single Negro patient to a formerly white hospital" and "one admitted a white patient to a basically Negro hospital along with all of his Negro patients."

"Except for such actions," the report declared, "these 13 physicians had discriminatory patient referral practices." It charged that 44 Atlanta physicians showed "wholly discriminatory referral practices, with their white patients going to predominantly white hospitals and their Negro patients to predominantly Negro hospitals."

The report said granting of staff privileges at other than traditionally Negro hospitals is "proceeding slowly."

It said Negro physicians here have had privileges available to them at Hughes Spalding, McLendon and Holy Family hospitals since the hospitals opened. It said the other six hospitals "were known to be substantially staffed by white physicians until recently."

FILE APPLICATIONS

Twenty-eight of Atlanta's 52 Negro physicians have filed applications to these hospitals since June 15, the report stated and "most have not been completed and cannot be acted upon at this time." Crawford Long has accepted three; Georgia Baptist, seven; Piedmont, two, and St. Joseph, one Negro physician recently, it noted.

The report said that "need for qualified hospital workers and the force of the Civil Rights Act have removed discriminatory barriers to training programs in Atlanta hospitals."

The retroactive clause in Medicare certification of Georgia Baptist apparently means that patients 65 and over admitted on July 12 and subsequently will be able to get refunds on hospital bills paid by themselves. However, hospital officials said this would be a "laborious and time-consuming process."

Tanzania to Try Peace Corpsmen In Wife's Death

NEW HAVEN, Conn. (AP) — A New Haven lawyer reported Thursday that a 24-year-old Peace Corps worker will be tried in Tanzania on Aug. 26 on charges of murdering his wife.

Carroll Brewster said he will leave for Tanzania Friday to prepare the case for Bill Haywood Kinsey Jr., 24, of Washington, N.C. Kinsey is accused of pushing his wife off a high rock near Maswa on March 27.

His wife, Peverley, 22, also a Peace Corps volunteer, was from Greenwich, Conn.

HOSPITALS

Negroes Blast Hospital Okays

AC 8/20/66

By MARJORY RUTHERFORD

Representatives of three Negro groups lashed out here Friday at the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and accused an unnamed state official and Georgia congressional representatives of "pressuring" HEW to obtain Medicare clearance for Atlanta hospitals.

The Rev. Samuel W. Williams, president of the Atlanta NAACP chapter; the Rev. Joseph E. Boone of "Operation Breadbasket," and two Negro physicians on a local Negro medical society "implementation committee" shared a platform to make the charges.

Dr. Otis W. Smith, implementation committee chairman, repeated earlier charges that Atlanta hospitals still practice racial discrimination.

All four attacked a recent HEW survey reporting on integration in Atlanta hospitals since beginning of the Medicare program. Dr. Smith termed it "the latest action by HEW to further affront the Negro populace of Atlanta," and the Rev. Mr. Williams said HEW's certification of hospitals here is "immoral." Their statement said HEW was "the enemy" and "guilty of the double-cross."

A recent announcement by HEW that Atlanta hospitals would be given a deadline of Sept. 15 to complete compliance is, the Negroes' formal statement declared, "a prelude to disaster unless HEW faces up to its responsibility."

The Rev. Mr. Boone said that HEW action amounted to "putting vaseline on a cancer—the cancer of segregation—instead of cutting it out."

The Negro group declined to name officials they said "pressured" HEW but their statement said it was "repulsive" that "the fifth Congressional representative who met with our delegation in July and indicated he would assure compliance . . . has been unusually silent during this period."

"None of our civic officials have expressed themselves on this urgent and serious issue," it added. ". . . This kind of silence invites irresponsible elements in this community to fill the vacuum."

Dr. Albert M. Davis, implemention committee secretary, said Negroes here were "exploring" legal methods of testing certification of Atlanta hospitals. He expressed the opinion that continued function of Medicare in hospitals that practice racial discrimination may be "a violation of the Sherman and Clayton acts."

HEW 'Back Off' Charged at Emory

HOSPITALS

9/1/66 AC

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Spokesmen for a committee of Atlanta Negro doctors accused the federal government Wednesday of "backing off" from enforcing desegregation guidelines against Emory University Hospital.

They protested to the White House and to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare because several Atlanta hospitals received a deadline extension from July 1 to Sept. 15 to avoid losing federal funds.

They said only one of 18 hospitals is in real compliance. They said others have desegregated "on paper" only.

EMORY CALLED KEY

Dr. O. W. Smith, committee chairman, and Mrs. Xernona Clayton, representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said there can be no progress "until HEW grapples with Emory University."

"Emory is the key to the whole problem," Mrs. Clayton said. "It controls five hospitals. It seems the federal government is fearful of Emory. HEW has repeatedly backed off from Emory University."

Mrs. Clayton said the university's power appeared to be reflected in the fact that it recently received more than $5 million in federal research grants.

HITS WELTNER

Mrs. Clayton repeated previous charges that Rep. Charles Weltner, D-Ga., has used "pressure . . . political influence" to gain leniency for the hospitals. Weltner has publicly denied this.

Mrs. Clayton also said Rep. James A. Mackay is "with the opposition" because he is an Emory trustee.

Smith and Mrs. Clayton said they protested to Douglas Cater, a special assistant to President Johnson, and to several officials of the U.S. Public Health Service. They also visited several congressmen, including Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

MAY BAR COMPLIANCE

HOSPITALS

AC 9/27/66

Senators Fight Hospital Rule

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Senate will consider legislation Tuesday that would prohibit civil rights compliance officers from requiring hospitals to assign Negro and white patients to the same room if the attending physician thinks it would be harmful to either.

The provision is part of this year's $10.5 billion appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which administers the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

It was added to the House-passed version of the bill by a group of Southern senators. The spokesman for the Senate Appropriations Committee, however, said he could not reveal their names.

In a report accompanying the Senate version of the measure, the committee said it inserted the provision because "responsible medical authorities" had objected to the assignment of patients to hospital rooms to enforce the civil rights act.

The committee said the physicians had protested that racial integration sometimes results in "situations prejudicial to the mental and physical well-being of the patient."

The purpose of the Senate addition, the committee said, was "to protect the patient, and in the interest of proper medical care procedures."

The one-paragraph section specifically prohibits HEW from using the money appropriated for any programs which requires the hospital to impose on a patient a room assignment which is contrary to his physical or mental well-being.

The appropriations bill, which included funds for the Department of Labor, is about $100 million less than the amount specified by the House.

It included $390.1 million more than was requested by the Johnson administration.

Cut from the administration proposal was $47.8 million for administration of welfare — virtually all state grants for this purpose.

HOSPITALS

Hospital Rule Eased In Senate

9/28/66 AC

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Senate Tuesday approved legislation that would allow hospitals to segregate Negro and white patients — and not risk being judged out of compliance for it — where physicians believe it is necessary for the patients' well-being.

In order for the provision to apply, the attending physician and the chief medical officer of the hospital would both have to certify that the patient would be affected adversely if assigned to an integrated ward.

The clause, added to the House-passed version, of this year's $10.5 billion appropriations bill for the Department of Health Education and Welfare, was authored by Sen. John Stennis, D-Miss.

VOTE IS 55 TO 11

It was passed in its final form 55 to 11, late Tuesday after having undergone five attempts to amend it, two of them by Stennis himself.

The Senate will vote Wednesday on a motion by Minority Leader Everett Dirksen to recommit the entire bill to committee with instructions to stand by the Johnson Administration's budget.

The Senate version of the appropriations bill was some $390.1 million more than was requested by the administration.

DEBATE IS LONG

The debate over whether the provision would, in effect, make ineffective the government's hospital compliance guidelines tied up the Senate for the entire afternoon.

Sen. Jacob Javits, D-N.Y., who led the opposition to the Stennis provision, said he thought it would "invite hospitals to avoid the civil rights guidelines."

The New Yorker envisioned physicians throughout the South

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Hospital Rule Eased In Senate

Continued from Page

certifying thousands of patien for segregated wards, "leadin to the elimination of the whole program."

SENATOR EXPLAINS

The provision, Javits said, "would just negate Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as far as hospitals are concerned."

Stennis, however, said he had intended the provision "only as a humane measure."

He assured Sen. Ted Kennedy, D-Mass., that the government would "not have to change its guidelines one bit" if the provision were allowed to remain in the Senate version of the appropriations bill.

"It's tied to the appropriations bill," Stennis said of his provision. "That means it will only be in force for this fiscal year. After that, if you don't like it, you can leave it out of the next bill."

WHAT IT DOES

As approved, the one - paragraph section specifically prohibits compliance officers from using the 1967 appropriation money "to impose or enforce any requirements" on hospitals which is contrary to a patients' well-being.

In effect, the amended version relieves the hospital from responsibility for insuring desegregation for those patients whose physicians who prescribe segregated wards for health reasons.

A hospital judged out of compliance is in danger of losing federal aid, including authorization for Medicare.

WORDING QUESTIONED

Sen. Joseph Clark, D-Pa., and Sen. John O. Pastore, D-R.I., exchanged barbs over wording the amendment to prevent mass certification that Javits envisioned.

Pastore, who defended the Stennis provision, said it was not intended to apply to a patient who merely stubbed his toe, but only to one whose nervous condition would be worsened if he were placed in an integrated ward.

Clark promptly introduced an amendment to alter the provision to apply only to those patients who have nervous conditions.

CLARK DROPS IT

After Pastore objected, Clark cracked: "Give me another two

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CLARK DROPS IT

After Pastore objected, Clark cracked: "Give me another two minutes and I'll include heart conditions in the amendment."

Then he dropped the entire matter.

The Senate also defeated an earlier amendment by Javits and Ohio Sen. Frank Lausche which would have respectively added and decreased the total appropriation money.

Meanwhile, Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell emerged as a guiding hand behind the report accompanying the appropriation bill which seriously questions the legality of the new federal school desegregation guidelines.

REPORT IS ISSUED

The report, issued by the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, said the revised guidelines "contravene and violate" the legislative intent Congress had when it passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Russell admitted Tuesday he had "gone over and made some changes" in the sharp language of the report.

Asked how the highly critical report was slipped by the 19 Northern and Midwestern senators on the 27-member Appropriations Committee, Russell replied:

"Of course, I can't be responsible for people who don't show up when a meeting is called."

LANGUAGE APPROVED

It was understood the language of the report was approved sometime Thursday when the committee held a quickly called session.

At that time, several liberal senators were absent, and eight Southerners and an undisclosed number of middle-of-the-roaders okayed the report.

"I recall there was a quorum, though," Russell said.

Monday's report was the first time a standing committee of Congress had criticized the new guidelines.

Ralph McGill

New Holiday In Tokyo

Continued from Page 1

tor would have been grateful for a quiet day of serene, dignified celebration for the aged, but Tokyo was jumping, and also, there was a luncheon and a dinner ahead. A haircut eliminated most of the gray about the temples, and the day and the evening went very well. There was never a thought of hanging one's self.

HOSPITALS

Hospital Clause Holds Up HEW Funds

AC 10/13/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Indecision on an amendment to allow hospitals to segregate patients for "medical reasons" is all that is holding up a $10.5 billion money bill for the Labor department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

A conference committee has resolved all other differences between the Senate- and House-passed versions of the appropriations measure, a Capitol source said Wednesday.

The conferees recessed late Tuesday to wait for a letter they asked HEW Secretary John W. Gardner to write commenting on the amendment.

DOCTORS DECIDE

The measure would prohibit HEW from requiring integration of Negro and white patients where physicians certify it would be "contrary to the patient's physical or mental well-being."

It would relieve hospitals from responsibility for compliance so far as those patients are concerned.

The amendment, added to the Senate version Sept. 28 by Sen. John Stennis, D-Miss., was passed by the upper house, 55 to 11.

AS A GIMMICK

Since then, it has had the strong support of Southerners and Republicans, especially those in the Senate.

A Midwest senator said Wednesday, however, he thought Gardner's letter would be used as a "gimmick" on which middle-of-the-road conferees could blame their votes.

If Gardner's letter is strongly worded, the senator said, the conferees might go either way. If it indicates that the amendment would have little effect, he continued, the committee might simply go along with Stennis.

AGAINST PROPOSAL

Another source said Wednesday that senators were being told the House members of the conference committee were "adamantly against the measure."

Gardner's letter, mailed early this week to Rep. John E. Fogarty, D-R.I., head of the House conferees, is expected to be strong.

HIS COMMENT AWAITED
Secretary Gardner

An HEW spokesman, Peter F. Libassi, said the department thought the Stennis amendment was "unnecessary and cumbersome," and should be taken out of the final bill.

NOT AS TOUGH

Libassi said present HEW regulations are less stringent than the Stennis amendment, allowing segregation both for medical reasons and for "compelling circumstances."

The last, he said, included "situations where the family would raise a fuss if a patient were placed in an integrated ward."

The spokesman also pointed out that existing regulations allow the hospital administrator to make room assignments without certification by the attending physician and chief medical officer, as the Stennis amendment would have it.

MORE RED TAPE

"This amendment makes more red tape than we ever thought of," Libassi said. "We don't feel the physicians should be burdened with the job of assigning rooms."

Gardner's main fear, Libassi said, is that the Stennis measure might confuse those hospital administrators who are already complying with the civil rights guidelines, by making them think they must obtain certification to segregate patients.

"We don't require that now, if the reasons are valid," he said, na"d we wouldn't even if the amendment were approved."

FLIMSY REASONS

In the letter, Gardner apparently also asks about the possibility of physicians certifying dozens of patients on flimsy or fraudulent grounds — a fear opponents of the measure expressed on the Senate floor.

"If there is a fraudulent certificate issued," Libassi asked, "does this mean we must declare the hospital in compliance?"

Southerners on the conference committee, especially Stennis, are expected to fight to the last to retain the amendment.

But moderates and liberals have already begun spreading the words that they think the amendment is more significant for its psychological impact than for its actual content.

BIG VICTORY

Stennis, who refused to see reporters about the measure Wednesday, had said earlier if HEW compliance officers were given the same instructions contained in his amendment, they weren't using them in the South.

Sen. Joseph Clark, D-Pa., who led the opposition to the amendment, said he thought it would "put in a loophole in the guidelines big enough to drive a Mack truck through."

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HOSPITALS

HEW Accepts Medical Segregation

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

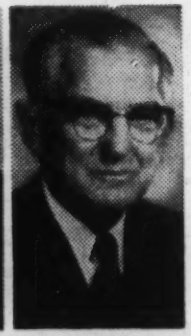
WASHINGTON—Senate-House conferees Thursday scrapped a proposal that would have allowed hospitals to assign Negro and white patients to separate rooms for medical reasons without violating federal desegregation guidelines.

Instead, the conferees accepted a written promise from John W. Gardner, Health, Education and Welfare secretary, to permit segregation if medically necessary except when such cases amount to "a pattern" in any hospital.

The compromise was reached after a series of meetings between Gardner and Sen. John Stennis, D.-Miss., author of the proposal.

The Stennis amendment, tacked on to the HEW-Labor appropriations bill Sept. 28, had kept the $10.5 billion money bill in limbo more than three weeks.

Secretary Gardner



Sen. Stennis

All other differences between the Senate and House version had been resolved a few days after the measures passed both houses.

Gardner's promise, contained in a series of five letters, will be included in the printed conference report to be considered by both houses Friday. The Stennis amendment reportedly has been deleted.

As such, the Gardner letters will have no legal force, but will be part of the legislative history which courts can use later to interpret what the Senate meant.

It was apparently satisfactory to Stennis, who said he introduced his original amendment as "a humanitarian measure" to prevent compliance officers from taking action against hospitals which assign Negroes and whites to different rooms when integration would affect neither's health.

An HEW spokesman last week said compliance officers already had permitted segregation for medical reasons, but objected when the number of cases reached doubtful proportions.

The Stennis provision would have prohibited compliance officers from requiring integration where physicians and hospital medical officers certified it would be "contrary to the patient's physical or mental well-being."

It also would have relieved hospitals from responsibility for compliance so far as "certified" patients were concerned.

Opponents of the measure had feared Southern physicians would abuse the provisions by authorizing the segregation of hundreds of patients in each hospital.

The conferees, led by Rep. John E. Fogarty, D-R.I., had recessed for almost a week to wait for explanatory letters they had requested from Gardner.

The decision Thursday was considered a moral victory anyway for Stennis and other Southerners, including Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell, who supported him.

"Even if the language was not included directly in the report," said one Southerner, "we got the written promise from HEW."

HEW officials would not comment on the conferees' decision, which ostensibly is confidential until Friday morning.

HOSPITALS

Hospital Clause On Segregation

AC 10/22/66

HEW Pledge to Congress Suits Russell, Stennis

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A written promise that hospitals will be able to segregate Negro and white patients for medical reasons was routinely accepted by the House and Senate Friday as a substitute for a controversial amendment introduced by Sen. John Stennis, D.-Miss.

The promise, contained in a series of letters from Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner, was included in a conference report on the $10.5 billion HEW-Labor appropriations bill approved by voice vote in both houses.

The report, signed by Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell and other conferees, said Senate managers had only receded on the Stennis amendment after Gardner agreed to publish the letters.

Gardner's letters, each repeating substantially the same promises, said it was HEW policy to permit hospital officials to make segregated room assignments wherever there are "valid medical reasons or special compelling circumstances."

Gardner said compliance officers will definitely "honor determinations made by physicians that are based on a valid medical reason for making room assignments in a hospital on a segregated basis."

The secretary said that in deciding whether a hospital is complying with desegregation guidelines, officials will "disregard patient assignments made in accordance with a medical determination."

But, Gardner said, compliance officers will penalize any hospital in which segregation "is being practiced as a matter of policy by the flagrant misuse of medical determinations."

The understanding between Stennis and Gardner broke a deadlock over the Mississippian's amendment which had held up final action on the appropriations bill for more than three weeks.

In explaining the proposal on the floor Friday Stenn is said he thought the agreement generally follows the provisions of his amendment and "in some respects goes further."

The letters, although they don't have the legal force of an amendment, will be in effect a lot longer, Stennis said.

The amendment would have lasted only for the life of the appropriations bill, less than a year.

"In any case," Stennis said, "it will be but a few months before the entire matter will be before the Senate again, at which time we will have the opportunity to review and evaluate the situation."

Stennis said he was glad that Russell and Alabama Sen. Lester Hill, both conferees, were in the room when Gardner agreed to the compromise.

HEW officials also appeared to be satisfied with the agreement. Peter Libassi, Gardner's special assistant for civil rights, said the secretary took "great pleasure and satisfaction that the amendment had been eliminated.

"It would have opened the door to a serious disruption of enforcement of the guidelines," Libassi said, "and would have led hospital administrators to have false hope and encouragement that they could flout the guidelines."

Libassi was quick to say, however, that HEW did not consider the agreement a setback for Stennis.

He termed the exchange of letters between Stennis and Gardner "a full exploration of the problems involved."

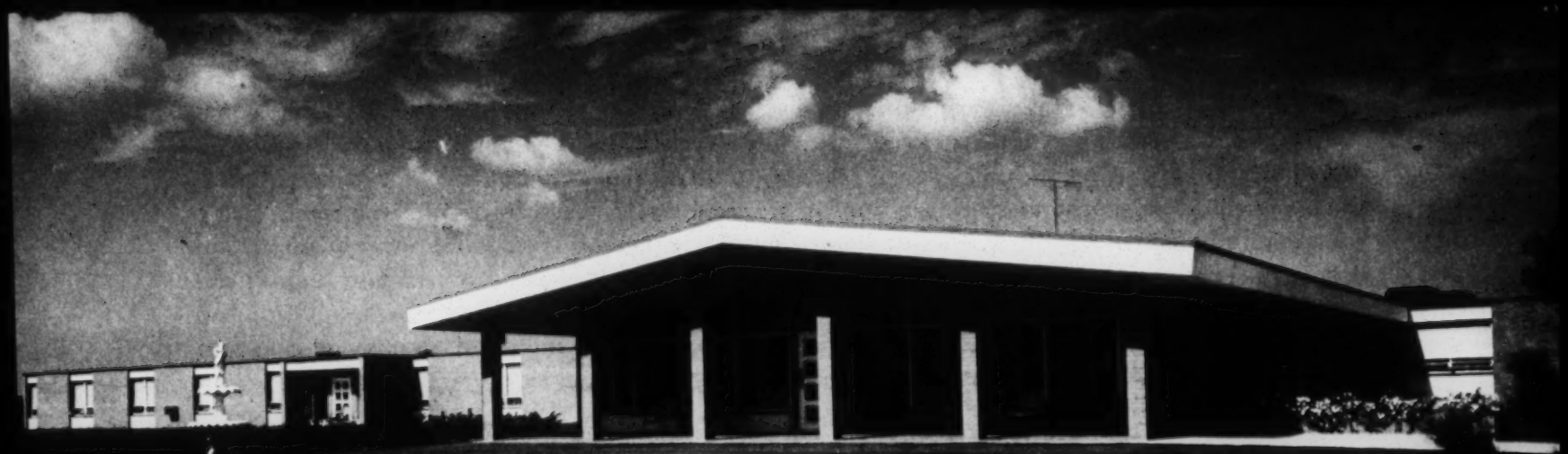
"We shared the senator's concern," Libassi said. "We just don't think it was necessary to put the idea into legislation."

The Stennis provision would have prohibited compliance officers from requiring integration where physicians and hospital medical officers certified it would be contrary to the patient's physical or mental well-being.

It would also have relieved hospitals from responsibility for compliance so far as those certified patients were concerned.

Gardner's policy does not require certification, but allows the attending physicians, the medical staff or the hospital administrator's designee to make room assignments.

The secretary also said HEW has "no plans for modifying the guidelines," but "we do not contemplate any other change in regulations or guidelines affecting hospitals for the remainder of this fiscal year."



NURSING HOMES AND TITLE VI

Questions and Answers

Nursing Homes and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

NURSING HOMES that receive funds through federally aided programs such as Medicare or State welfare programs are covered by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program receiving Federal financial assistance. To help nursing homes understand the requirements of the law, the Public Health Service has answered questions posed by many nursing home administrators. These questions and answers are given here. If anyone has other questions or problems about Title VI, he can call on the Regional Program Director of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity in the nearest regional office of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These offices are located in Boston, New York, Charlottesville, Virginia, Atlanta, Chicago, Kansas City, Dallas, Denver and San Francisco.

1. How can a nursing home qualify for participation in Medicare under Title VI?

ANSWER: Each nursing home must provide an Assurance of Compliance (Form 441) and an Extended Care Facility Compliance Report (Form PHS–4888) concerning the policies and operation of the nursing home. These documents, which are part of the application for participation in Medicare (Title XVIII), will be forwarded to the Public Health Service. If the Assurance is acceptable, the Social Security Administration will be notified. If the forms raise any questions about discrimination or the home must take positive action before it is accepted, the Office of Equal Health Opportunity will notify the home promptly.

2. Will a nursing home that does not participate in Medicare but does receive vendor payments through public welfare have to meet the same standards of non-discrimination?

ANSWER: Yes, the same guides for non-discrimination apply to this home that apply to homes receiving Federal funds directly. The Public Health Service will be working with nursing homes that apply for participation in Medicare. The State welfare departments will be working with nursing homes that are receiving vendor payments for the care of welfare patients and will conduct routine on-site compliance reviews on a regular basis.

3. If a nursing home has never, or not recently, had a Negro patient but has signed the assurance form for participation, can it be cleared for compliance with Title VI?

ANSWER: The assurance of compliance could be accepted if the home adopts a non-discriminatory policy and has notified the public, its patients and its sources of referral that its services are available to all persons without regard to race, color, or national origin.

If the home does not publicize its policy, its assurance would not be accepted. There is a strong possibility that such a home would be identified for a follow-up visit to evaluate the results of its open policy. If, after a reasonable time has elapsed, the home still had no Negro patients, an on-site review would be made to find out whether minority groups are not cared for because of discriminatory practices by the home or its sources of referral.

4. How does a nursing home publicize its policy of non-discrimination?

ANSWER: This policy must be made known clearly to any prospective patients or sources of referral—especially those who may not have used the home in the past because of restrictive policies. The welfare department, hospitals, physicians, other social agencies and ministers, to name a few, are among those who usually refer patients. The minority groups who may not have used the home in the past should be notified. The home may do this through letters to civic and private organizations which have an active interest in equal opportunity and by a news release in the local newspaper. A copy of the written policy should be conspicuously displayed in the home so that patients and their visitors are aware of it. The Public Health Service has developed a model policy statement for the guidance of the nursing home administrator. Fundamentally, it is necessary that a clearly enunciated policy of non-discrimination in all aspects of nursing home activity is communicated to the community as a whole, individuals interested in treatment at the home, professional groups, and sources of patient referral.

5. If a nursing home does not plan to take part in Medicare or any federally financed program at the present time, can it qualify under Title VI at some later date?

ANSWER: Yes, if the nursing home receives no Federal funds directly or through State operated programs, it can qualify under Title VI and apply for participation in such programs at any time in the future. Qualification under Title VI will require the same policies and actions in the future as is required now.

6. If a third of the population in an area is Spanish-American or Negro, must a

nursing home have the same proportion of patients?

ANSWER: No. Title VI is not being administered as a numbers game. The number of patients of any minority group that should be receiving services in the home is that number which would actually be there if there were no barriers to the admission on the basis of race, color, or national origin. If there is a great discrepancy between the make-up of the population in the service area and the proportion in the nursing home, it is necessary to determine if this is due to discriminatory practices.

7. If the sources of referral do not refer patients who are members of minority groups, what can the nursing home administrator do about it?

ANSWER: First, the administrator should make his open policy known to all his sources of referral. Secondly, he should seek out sources of referral which, in fact, are providing or referring patients without regard to race, color, or national origin. Although the administrator cannot force any source to refer patients to him on a nondiscriminatory basis, he can refuse or limit patients referred by such a discriminatory source and actively solicit the use of his home by sources that will refer without discrimination. Practically all hospitals and welfare departments are subject to Title VI because they already receive Federal payments.

8. If a nursing home has a long waiting list and has no applications from members of a minority group, how can it show that it is not in violation of the law?

ANSWER: Nursing homes can begin to solicit referrals from agencies or sources that will refer Negroes or other minority groups. When these patients are referred, they should be admitted to the home if there are beds available. If there are no beds available, these patients should be placed on the waiting lists and, once on, should not be passed over because of their race, color, or national origin. Whatever is good medical practice, of course, should still be followed, but a waiting list should not be used as a device to deny service to a person simply because of his race, color, or national origin. If the nursing home begins to take action now which will lead to full use of the home by all groups in the community, it will be cleared now.

9. Does Title VI require that every Negro in a nursing home be placed in a room with a white patient?

ANSWER: It is not necessary that each Negro patient be placed in a room with a white patient. It is important, in room assignment, just as in the delivery of services throughout the nursing home, that these services be provided without regard to the race, color, or national origin of the patient.

Nursing homes routinely take into consideration such factors as medical condition,

room rates, age and sex in the assignment of rooms. These normal procedures which do not involve racial questions are permissible as long as the rules apply to both white and Negro patients alike and do not result in a pattern of segregated rooms, wings or floors.

10. If a physician believes that his patient should not be assigned to a room with someone of another race, can this be done?

ANSWER: Yes, in some cases there may be a valid medical reason or special compelling circumstances which would govern the assignment of a patient. But the assignment of patients may not be used as a device to evade compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

11. What is an administrator supposed to do if a patient refuses to share a room with a patient of another race?

ANSWER: In long term facilities, the problem of incompatibility is one with which nursing home administrators have been struggling for many years. Nursing home administrators have provided harmonious solutions for the health care problems of patients despite problems of incompatibility. In most of the circumstances arising in the area of Title VI compliance, they will be able to obtain patient cooperation so that the institution can be used freely by all.

We recognize that there will be instances where the prejudice of a particular patient will be so deep that it would be impossible from a practical or medical point of view to get him to accept a person of a different race, color, or national origin. In exceptional cases such as this, the occasional assignment or reassignment of a patient because of race will not be an act of noncompliance with Title VI; however, problems incident to room assignment may not be used to develop or maintain a pattern of segregation within the home or for the continued exclusion of persons based on their race, color, or national origin.

12. What if the nursing home serves only members of one religion or organization?

ANSWER: That nursing home would be treated like any other. If it provides services to all members of the religion or organization and the organization does not restrict its membership on the basis of race, color, or national origin, that nursing home would be in compliance. If the religion or organization does restrict its membership on the basis of race, color, or national origin, the nursing home could still comply with Title VI by making its services available to the community without discrimination.

13. Will the field staff of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity actually visit nursing homes?

ANSWER: Yes, members of the field staff will visit nursing homes throughout the

country. Some of these visits will be made because of questions that arise from an evaluation of the compliance report submitted by the nursing homes. Others will come about because of complaints from minority groups. Others will be made as part of the agency's routine compliance activities to evaluate the total compliance in a given locality.

14. What kind of inspection does the Federal Government carry on in connection with Title VI?

ANSWER: Representatives of the Federal Government will notify the nursing home administrator in advance of the field visit unless there is considerable evidence that the nursing home deliberately concealed discrimination during a previous visit. With the administrator and his staff, the representatives will tour the facility to observe admission policies in practice, room assignments, use of service areas such as dining and recreation rooms, training programs and staff privilege practices. The survey teams will also visit sources of referral and minority group representatives in the community. The nursing home administrator will receive a notice of the findings of the visit.

15. What happens if a nursing home does not comply with Title VI?

ANSWER: It now appears as if many nursing homes have already taken some action to make sure that their services are available to all. For this, the entire community can be grateful. In the time left, the Public Health Service will do everything it can to help nursing homes come into compliance. If a nursing home does not comply with Title VI, it will not receive funds under the Medicare program and will not be able to receive funds under any other Federal Government program. State agencies like Welfare or Vocational Rehabilitation will discontinue using that nursing home.

If the nursing home participates in federally aided programs it must be willing to serve all patients in the community without regard to race, color, or national origin.

★ GPO: 1966 O—235-443

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Public Health Service
Office of Equal Health Opportunity

October 1966

NEGROES TO QUIT A WHITE SUBURB

HOUSING

Bakers Decide to Sell Their Home Near Philadelphia

Special to The New York Times

FOLCROFT, Pa., April 1 — Mr. and Mrs. Horace Baker, the Negro couple who became embroiled in violent racial demonstrations when they moved into the previously all-white Delmar village section of this borough in August, 1963, have decided to sell their house.

They say that "constant harassment" has made it impossible for them to remain in the Delaware County community of 1,500 two-story, row houses about five miles southwest of Philadelphia.

In announcing that the house at 2002 Heather Road had been put up for sale for $11,950, Mr. Baker said that he and wife, Sara, want to "get out as soon as possible" because their hope of being accepted by their neighbors had not been realized.

In recent weeks, Mr. Baker charged, neighborhood children have been greeting him with "Hey, Horace, when you moving" and "the native are getting restless again."

Mrs. Baker, a registered nurse at Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, said that "after a while you take stock of yourself and what you really want for the children."

"We have noticed a change in our daughter Terri Lynn, 5 years old]. I think our continued emotional strain is affecting her."

The Bakers, who are 29 years old, also have a 17-month-old son, Horace Alexander.

Their neighbors denied the harassment charge today, but admitted that they would be "glad to see them go" because "it will be good for everybody's sake."

Mrs. D. Clark said she was "glad they are going for my kids' sake. They never bothered us, but I was raised with white children and I guess I'd just rather have my children grow up with white children."

A mother of four, who refused to give her name, said that she thought it was "the best thing that ever happened."

"If he needs help," she said, "I'm sure there'll be a lot of volunteers. They claim they're being harassed — by whom? Their children are out playing every day in good weather and nobody bothers them."

When the Bakers moved into Delmar Village crowds gathered outside, shouting insults and hurling rocks. The demonstrations continued for three days.

Police Restored Order

Before 150 state policemen restored order, vandals ripped out plumbing, destroyed the water heater and damaged the furnace. Other demonstrators, including many teen - agers, smashed windows with rocks, started a fire in a bedroom with garbage into the house.

The damage to the dwelling, which the Bakers purchased for $11,200 through the Veterans Administration, was placed at more than $2,000.

At the time Mr. Baker, a laboratory technician, was working for a Camden, N.J., condenser company. He refused to say where he is employed now and he also declined to disclose where he intended to move.

In November, 1963, Mr. Baker had a nervous breakdown and spent several days in Haverford State Hospital, a mental institution.

Two months ago he was charged with assault and battery on a Philadelphia policeman who arrested him on a charge of passing a stop light. He was indicted last Monday and is now awaiting trial.

Gay Street in St. Louis Isn't

ST. LOUIS (UPI) — Gay Street in downtown St. Louis is anything but gay. It's a 350-yard side street, with dilapidated buildings and automobile parking lots.

HOUSING

Creative Venture in Housing

In the nation's capital churches and other groups have joined forces to help people leave slum living behind.

A. DUDLEY WARD

✦ IN AN EFFORT to make decent living conditions available to the economically, educationally and socially deprived among residents of the nation's capital, a new venture in housing has been launched by an interdenominational, interagency group representing a broad cross section of Washington's religious and civic life. The council of churches of Greater Washington, the archdiocesan council of Catholic men, the District of Columbia chapter of the American Jewish Committee, the local Episcopal diocese and All Souls Unitarian Church have joined forces with such organizations as the University Neighborhood's Council, the United Planning Organization, the Washington Urban League, the Brooke Society (a group of Catholic professional men) and Barney Neighborhood House. The over-all organization is known as COIN — Community Organizations for the Improvement of Neighborhoods, Inc.

The presence of the University Neighborhood's Council ensures that neighborhood people and volunteers will play an important role in the entire program. Begun in 1961 by a group of clergymen, it represents a unique grass-roots community voice. Its first president was the young Unitarian minister James Reeb, who was later slain while engaging in civil rights work in the south. Its energetic members are people who live and work in the area, developing meaningful personal relationships among neighbors, encouraging community awareness and involvement in mutual help. It establishes neighborhood clubs, nurtures grass-roots leadership, organizes volunteers and church support, and holds town hall meetings. It has been recognized nationally for its rare ability to involve the poor in the solution of their own problems. The United Planning Organization, funded by the Ford Foundation and federal antipoverty money, has committed itself to develop creative possibilities for social rehabilitation through such means as day care for children, adult education, family and job counseling and legal aid.

Squeezed Out by the Affluent

At the outset the sponsors of COIN faced certain acknowledged realities. Land values are so high in Washington that there is no possibility of building new, privately financed low or medium cost housing in the center of the city, where high-rise, expensive apartments are pushing out existing housing. Already such neighborhoods as Georgetown, Foggy Bottom, Capitol Hill and even Cardoza (where COIN will do its first work) are being pressured by the rapid growth of an affluent middle and upper class population. This pressure is squeezing the poor out of the central city into ever poorer and smaller areas where some kind of housing is still available to them. Public housing applications on file total about 6,000, and no real solution is in sight in that direction. Since there is no place for the poor to move, horrible overcrowding occurs. Another reality that must be faced is the fact that the poor do not want to move. All kinds of persons classed as poor or low income just don't want to move to the suburbs or other sections of the city. They want to live where they have been living, but they want to live decently.

Many of these people are not destitute or without guidance. For a typical example, consider the Con-

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Mr. Ward, general secretary of the Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., is president of COIN, the organization of which he writes.

ways, who pay $70 monthly for a kitchen and bedroom in a three-story building. With other residents — 18 in all — they share a bathroom located next door to their windowless bedroom. The Conways are not on relief; both husband and wife are employed, he as a construction worker, she as an elevator operator. They have not been poorly advised; their accommodations were obtained for them and their child by the alert staff of a well run housing center. The Conways are fortunate, for the center is able to place only 20 per cent of the people who apply to it. The Conways even had a choice between this and a similar apartment on another slum block — for $102.50, plus utilities. Meanwhile, they are only one of many such able families who are being forced to live in undesirable, dilapidated housing.

COIN's plan is to purchase for cash a number of large, rundown apartment buildings, completely rehabilitate them, then rent them to residents of the area on a nonprofit basis. With the necessary funds already provided through a combination of private and federal housing aid, COIN is already in business, actively negotiating to acquire its first properties. During rehabilitation it aims to keep dislocation at a minimum by utilizing several properties concurrently.

The purpose is to provide dramatic examples of how abject slum properties presently rented at rates beyond the reach of low income families can be transformed into model accommodations in the central city neighborhoods. Recent studies by the sponsors indicate that housing for families of this economic level, headed by workers both unskilled and semiskilled and hopefully by those on the way up as part of the great mobility of American life, is perhaps the most critical sociological need of the entire Washington metropolitan area.

Hopefully, Imitation Will Follow

The rehabilitation projects are intended also to serve as pilot models to inspire similar nonprofit and limited profit slum rehabilitation efforts by others, both locally and in other urban areas throughout the nation. The principle has been successfully tested in New York and Chicago, though not under such community sponsorship as has been mobilized in Washington. Long-term financing for such projects is available under the National Housing act through the Federal Housing Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association at the below-market interest rate of 3 per cent. "Front money" to purchase the properties and process applications has been made available by local residents and church organizations.

COIN will try to induce private capital to become deeply involved. Surprisingly, of the first 12 persons approached to become guarantors of the initial front money, none refused. With this kind of involvement a new technique has been found whereby persons can put their credit at the disposal of such an organization with guaranteed reimbursement and without sacrificing any of the income they normally get from their securities and savings. This means that endowment or reserve funds of local churches or ecclesiastical bodies, or individual savings, can remain intact and simply be pledged as principal for the use of the housing corporation. It means that a revolving fund of credit can be created which will expand financial power beyond anything that is possible by means of any one source of funds.

It is evident that the need for housing is so great, the complexities in providing it so mammoth, that it is impossible for a small group such as a local church to handle it adequately. Certainly to make available the necessary amenities and services to encourage participatory growth by the people in need requires larger resources than small groups can muster. However, the tremendous resources available in money-lending institutions and real estate firms and in the services of contractors, architects and engineers can provide through nonprofit organizations like COIN the possibility for a major advance in securing housing through a constructive combination of private and public support.

COIN has determined to concentrate in one area initially, Cardoza, which is pivotal to the entire Washington metropolitan complex. Basically it will handle only properties of 100 or more apartments. This should make it possible to build a diverse, well balanced community with ranges of income, race, religion and culture.

The COIN idea gets around a real problem in regard to public housing. The nation has not yet arrived at the point where public housing is generally acceptable as a permanent way for people to live — this is attested by the tenants themselves. Nor have techniques been found whereby the pride of ownership most Americans have can be satisfied by public means. And there is still some stigma attached to dwelling in public housing. This unfortunate attitude must be overcome as public housing expands, hopefully becomes more desirable and offers more in the way of services.

More Than Bricks and Mortar

Housing is not simply a matter of bricks and mortar. Important human ingredients must be added such as good will and the hard work of many people representing a wide racial, social and economic spectrum. The opportunity for disadvantaged people to participate in a tenant council has been demonstrated as one of the most important early factors in the assumption of social and community responsibility. In addition, the possibility of ownership must be real, so that people who are now renting and who engage actively in the development of their projects can move from tenancy to ownership over a period of time. This incentive has been

clearly indicated as a real factor in attaining economic mobility and social advance — even for the people most economically deprived.

COIN is not interested in cheap rehabilitation resulting in housing that barely conforms to code requirements. People must have housing of which they are proud, with recreational and other facilities and services and at rents less than they must now pay for deteriorated, substandard apartments. This becomes possible because of the nonprofit character of the enterprise, the saving realized when large restorations are forwarded, the financing now available at 3 per cent interest under Section 221D3 of the Housing act and the use of rent subsidies as they become operative through law.

The sponsors of COIN know that their own involvement in operation of the project may in the long run turn out to be even more important than the physical transformation and the financing economies that will be possible. For the more fortunate — the people in the churches and other organizations involved — will have a direct involvement with the poor at points that are really significant — economic aid and personal service provided under professionally trained people who are available through such groups as the United Planning Organization.

Benefits Beyond the Immediate

While operating its own properties COIN will make every effort to encourage the business community to interest itself constructively in the unprecedented demand for low income housing. The same 3 per cent federally subsidized financing used by COIN is available for such purposes to limited dividend profit-making enterprises. When funded by Congress the new federal rent subsidy program may afford still another avenue by which COIN can offer greater benefits and can seek to interest landlords who operate deteriorated properties, harassed by tenant problems and violations, in finding a way out of their dilemma.

The road to better housing is not an easy one. All who have been involved with COIN have found in the stark realities of the housing jungle difficulties almost beyond comprehension. They are shocked at the prevalence of incredible greed, inhumanity and crooked dealings. They discover that owners, real estate operators and money lenders have exploited the housing market for capital gains and operating profits while mining the physical facilities. They are distressed by the unconscionable extraction of fees, commissions and rents from properties and people they come across as they attempt to negotiate and implement plans. Almost prohibitive except for people of tough fiber is the intolerable amount of red tape involved in the process of obtaining federal funds.

But it is only as the private sector, combining efforts with the public sector, begins to put the brakes on some of the things that have been happening and sets out to change the direction which has prevailed in urban housing that long-range achievement will be possible. Hopefully the entire undertaking will mean for the churches the difference between submitting to factors which are debilitating for all concerned, especially for the people in need of housing, and becoming so deeply involved that they will never again be able to move from the place where real action is.

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May 1966

Realty Board Is Leading Drive Against U.S. Housing Bias Ban

HOUSING 5/24/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23 — "Don't you agree," asked the letter from Ottumwa, Iowa, "it is about time that the civil rights hysteria be brought under control and we return to constitutional government?"

The letter, written by J. L. Harness, president of the Ottumwa Board of Realtors, was one of several hundred received by members of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees in opposition to the open housing section of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill.

James A. Lynch, a real estate agent in Conshohocken, Pa., wrote:

"If this act is passed, we may as well repeal the Bill of Rights."

An anonymous card from California said:

"I have my life savings in an apartment house and will go broke if I can't choose who I rent to."

A large segment of the real estate industry seems to be aroused by the legislation, which is intended to ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

Much of the opposition was generated by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, which has called on its 83,000 members to convince Congress that the proposal is "inherently evil and would sound the death knell of the right of private property ownership."

Allen L. Emlen of Philadelphia, chairman of the association's Washington Committee, will be the first opposition witness to the bill tomorrow before a House Judiciary subcommittee.

For the last three weeks the subcommittee has heard from proponents of the legislation.

The association called for a nationwide lobbying and letter-writing campaign in a May 4 bulletin sent to 1,500 real estate boards. "This forced housing law," the association said, "should be rejected so decisively as to end for all time any attempt to accomplish this objective through Federal law."

According to the association, the legislation is the first civil rights measure "which purports to grant one group an alleged 'right' by trampling on the rights of others."

Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Bill, an aggrieved party could sue in state or Federal court for a restraining order against an owner, broker or lending institution accused of discriminating on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin. The court would have authority to award the plaintiff punitive damages up to $500.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has testified that the does not anticipate a rash of lawsuits if the bill passes. He said he expects widespread, voluntary compliance as was achieved under the public accomodations sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A number of states have open housing laws with enforcement provisions much stronger than those in the proposed Federal law. However, most state laws exempt one or two-dwelling units.

For this reason, the association said, the Federal bill "is more drastic than any of the existing state-enacted forced housing laws."

A spokesman for the House Judiciary Committee, headed by Representative Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, said most of the opposition had come from real estate interests but that there had been some mail from home owners. The spokesman added, however, that a number of home builders had informed the committee that the bill should be passed to eliminate race as a competitive factor in sales.

A large segment of the interests who would come under provisions of the legislation have taken no stand on the legislation. This includes the American Association of Home Builders, bankers and other lending interests.

One committee member said the silence of many interests added to the uncertainty over the fate of the bill. Members say there is much opposition to the housing section and that many membebrs who would feel obligated to vote for it are hoping that in an election year it will not be brought to a vote.

Representative Robert W. Katsenmeier, Democrat of Wisconsin said there had been generally less interest in the bill among the people than in civil rights bills of past years. In addition to affecting housing, the bill contains provisions for ending racial discrimination on juries and for strengthening Federal laws against harming Negroes and civil rights workers.

HOUSING

NCDH

TRENDS IN HOUSING

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
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VOLUME X, NUMBER 5 • JULY 1966 • 50¢ A YEAR

White House Meeting Asks Vast Reforms

Realtors' Anti-FH Drive

Scare Propaganda Claims Rights Act Hits 'Basic' Freedom

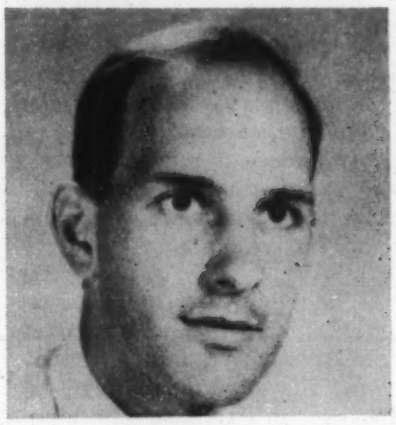
LATE BULLETIN. *Washington, June 29—The House Committee on the Judiciary today approved an amended 1966 Civil Rights Bill. Title* IV *(fair housing section) was amended to provide an enforcement agency, but would exempt most sales of existing housing.*

Under the pretext of preserving "basic freedoms," an all-out campaign is being waged by the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) to defeat pending Federal legislation aimed at protecting the freedom of Negroes and other minorities to compete for housing under the same conditions as other Americans.

Seeking to rally its 1,500 local real estate boards and their 83,000 realtor-members, NAREB has launched a national drive to get property owners to flood Congress with letters protesting enact-

Continued on page 4

Brazil Search Finds Stephen M. Rutledge



Stephen Rutledge, son of the NCDH Executive Director, ill and missing in northern Brazil where he was on a Peace Corps assignment, was found in a rural area of Brazil on June 17 after an intensive search by Peace Corpsmen, Brazilian authorities and his father. He is recovering in a Washington hospital.

Continued on page 7

Sets 4 Major Program Goals To Erase Ghetto Way of Life

The most sweeping recommendations for action to wipe out the ghetto way of life ever developed by any Government-related body came out of the recent White House Conference on Civil Rights, which brought together 2,600 people representing all segments of American society.

Titled "To Fulfill These Rights," the purpose of the meeting had been stated by President Johnson in his historic Howard University address on June 4, 1965, when he announced plans for calling the conference. The objective, the President said, would be to chart a course of action to make it possible for Negro Americans "to move beyond opportunity to achievement."

Major Housing Goals

These are the major housing goals set forth by the Conference:

¶ *Freedom of choice*—an absolutely open, racially unrestricted market in which housing is affirmatively merchandised to families and persons of all racial groups.

¶ *An adequate and expanding supply of new housing units for low and moderate income families*—widely dispersed throughout each metropolitan area.

¶ *Racially inclusive suburban communities and new towns.*

¶ *Revitalization and integration of the existing ghetto areas.*

In proposing specific action to achieve these goals, the Conference outlined a vast program of social and economic reform to be undertaken by the Federal Government, state and local governments, the housing industry, and private citizens. Highlights from these proposals appear later in this report.

A 30-member Council, chaired by Ben W. Heineman, head of the Chicago & North Western Railway Company, and A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, prepared and submitted to the delegates a report and recommendations for action in four major program areas: housing, education, economic security and welfare, and administration of justice.

In each of these subject areas,

Continued on page 7

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY *addresses the 2,600 leaders who attended the White House Civil Rights Conference. Participants were broadly representative of all segments of the American community from captains of industry to resident-leadership from the nation's poverty areas.*

Wilkins Appeals to Fair Housing Forces

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of NAACP and Chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an affiliation of 100 organizations spearheading the campaign for enactment of the 1966 Civil Rights Act, is calling on citizens across the country to send letters and telegrams immediately to their Senators and Congressmen urging passage of the entire bill, including Title IV, the housing section.

"Every individual member of every local fair housing group, of every civil rights organization, and of every religious institution; every enlightened educator, businessman, banker, real estate man, lawyer and worker—indeed, every American who honestly believes in a system of justice and genuine equality of opportunity should get in touch with his Senator and Congressman *today*, urging passage of comprehensive Federal fair housing legislation with effective machinery for enforcement," Mr. Wilkins declares. "It is imperative that the voices of millions of responsible and concerned citizens be heard in the Halls of Congress at once."

HOUSING PACT SET, DR. KING CALLS OFF CHICAGO MARCHES

He Hails 10-Point Program and 'Defers' Rights Rally by 3,000 in Cicero

REALTY MEN BACK PLAN

HOUSING

Civic and Religious Leaders Agree on Steps to End Residential Prejudice

NYT 8/27/66

By JACQUES NEVARD

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 26 — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced today a halt in street demonstrations against housing bias in the Chicago area.

Dr. King made the announcement after his team of civil rights workers had reached a unanimous agreement with civic officials and real estate interests on a 10-point program designed to end discrimination in residential renting and sales.

The rights leader hailed the accord as "the most significant program ever conceived to make open housing a reality in the metropolitan area."

He said that as a sign of the Chicago Freedom Movement's good faith that the agreement would be carried out, it would "defer" its plans to send 3,000 marchers into the all-white suburb of Cicero Sunday.

Marches Could Resume

Gov. Otto Kerner later called off plans to send National Guard troops into Cicero to prevent violence.

Dr. King, whose Southern Christian Leadership Conference chose Chicago as its test case in a campaign against anti-Negro bias in the North, said the open housing marches would be halted only "so long as the program is being carried out."

Meanwhile, he said, he will remain in Chicago and work toward ending discrimination against Negroes in employment and education.

"We are still a long way from our goal," he said.

He declined to rule out demonstrations and marches to back up Negro demands for greater economic opportunity and better schooling.

The 10-point agreement to end housing bias was reached this morning by Dr. King, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Ross Beatty, head of the Chicago Real Estate Board. The meeting was sponsored by

Continued on Page 17, Column 7

Dr. King Halts Chicago Protests As Housing Accord Is Reached

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion.

Essentially the 10 points provide for better implementation and enforcement of fair housing laws, along with increased educational and moral pressure by religious, civic and union leaders.

79 Attend Meeting

Seventy-nine persons were present at the two and a half hour meeting in the Palmer House, and none voted against the proposed accord, which was worked out yesterday by a 20-member subcommittee.

A key point in the settlement was the announcement by the Real Estate Board that "in a significant departure from its traditional position" it would "withdraw all opposition to the philosophy of open occupancy legislation at the state level provided it is applicable to owners as well as brokers."

That language satisfied the civil rights team despite the reservation by the board of "the right to criticize detail as distinguished from philosophy" and its unwillingness to drop its appeal of a circuit court decision upholding the validity of Chicago's three-year-old fair housing ordinance.

Another point in the 11-page agreement provided that the Chicago Commission on Human Relations open proceedings on its own against brokers who failed to comply with the city's fair housing laws and that brokers found guilty of violations would have their licenses suspended or revoked.

Other points were as follows:

¶A pledge by the Chicago Housing Authority to begin "a leasing program which places families in their best available housing without regard to the racial character of the neighborhood."

¶A statement by the Cook County Board of Commissioners that the County Department of Public Aid would seek the best housing for aid recipients regardless of location and that "the department will not be satisfied if recipients live in less satisfactory accommodations than would be available to them if they were of a different race, color or national origin."

¶A promise that in relocating families the Department of Urban Renewal would place each family, regardless of color, in the best available housing, irrespective of its location.

¶An affirmation by the Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations and the Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association that their policy was "to lend mortgage money to all qualified families, without regard to race, for the purchase of housing anywhere in the metropolitan area."

¶A statement from the Department of Justice that Assistant Attorney General Roger Wilkins of the Community Relations Service would look into the question of continued service by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to financial institutions found guilty of racial discrimination in providing public financial services.

¶Pledges from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Board of Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which co-sponsor the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, to use their full strength "in effecting equal access to housing in the metropolitan area for all people." The organizations said they would establish within 30 days one or more housing centers to provide information and help to minority families.

¶Pledges from participating secular groups, including representatives of commerce, industry, banking and labor, to secure the support of their organizations for the fair housing program.

¶The formation by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race of a continuing body of representatives of religious and secular groups to "accept responsibility for the education and action programs necessary to achieve fair housing."

The accord was announced by Ben W. Heineman, chairman and chief executive officer of the Chicago and North Western Railway, who was chairman of the meeting.

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John Boston Esq.
Dept. T138A, Wellesley, Mass. 02181

(Cliff's draft) HOUSING Sept. 26, 1966

MEMO TO Bob Anderson
Paul Anthony
Glenda Bartley
John Boone
Vernon Jordan
Ed Stanfield
Al Ulmer
Emory Via

I must have your answer by Thursday morning.

H E L P.

solve problems of equal opportunity in housing and urban facilities

please comment and return to me

FROM: ~~SRB~~
Susan Bresler

How to get equal opportunity in housing and urban facilities

W H O

Federal government:	Congress, HUD, OEO, HEW, BPR, BOR, et al*
State government:	legislature, colleges & universities, trade schools & junior colleges
Local government:	City Council, citizen advisory committee, urban renewal staff; school board
civil rights groups:	SRC, human relations councils, Voters League, Urban League, NAACP, SCLC, CORE, SNCC; neighborhood organization in urban renewal area
community groups:	churches; labor unions; civic clubs; business & industry

W H A T

1. National fair housing law	Congress
2. Federal-program-information agency with free telephone	Congress
3. Workable program requirement for neighborhood organization and self-survey in urban renewal area	HUD
4. Amendment to Housing Act directing CAP housing education component in urban renewal area	Congress-HUD
5. Fund Community Service Programs (Higher Education Act of 1965) and Training and Fellowship Programs (Housing Act of 1964): professional planning education training for planning, renewal,	Congress-HUD codes staff
6. Grants and technical assistance to local school boards for citizen education, from the first grade through adult education	Congress-HUD-HEW-local school board
7. Grants to states to revise local property tax systems	Congress-HUD
8. Grants to states for revolving funds and technical assistance to go to communities to coordinate Federal programs	Congress-HUD-OEO-HEW-BPR-BOR et al-state government
9. Funds for local public information program under Urban Planning Program Guide	HUD

* Abbreviations are listed in the back.

10. Use of students in housing information program — citizen advisory committee-urban renewal staff

11. Coordination between HUD and SRC on urban renewal areas, including intern exchange — HUD-SRC

12. Housing resources service and field programs: explanation of programs, constant vigil — SRC-civil rights groups

13. State fair housing law and enabling legislation for local governments — State legislature

14. Local fair housing law — City Council

15. Community workshops in housing-intergroup relations: — Community groups
    - communication between white and Negro leaders
    - endorse open housing policies
    - forum for problems of realtors, builders, developers, and lending institutions
    - low-cost housing programs

W H Y

1. National fair housing law
   a. Open housing laws aren't being initiated by state and local governments in the South. So, the initiative reverts to the Federal government.
   b. Negroes don't have equal access to rentals, to owner homes, to property, or to urban facilities. By urban facilities I mean streets, utilities, police and fire protection, garbage pickup, parks, playgrounds, code enforcement.
   c. The goals of equal opprotunity already established in employment and education aren't possible without, at at the same time, equal housing opportunity.
   d. The incentive for people to improve their own homes and neighborhoods is stifled when these people don't have access to the resources for self-improvement and neighborhood improvement.

2. Federal-program-information agency with free telephone
   One of the key problems with housing, planning, and renewal programs is that people don't understand what these programs are all about, including the City employees. This agency would make it possible for anyone with a question to get a quick answer at no cost.

3. Workable program requirement for neighborhood organization and self-survey in urban renewal area
   a. Planning experts like James Cunningham recommend

neighborhood organization for better planning and for involving the people in renewal areas in programs to improve their neighborhoods.

b. The self-survey makes it possible for residents to determine their own needs, rather than waiting until the relocation phase of urban renewal to reveal their problems of inadequate employment and education.

4. Amendment to Housing Act directing CAP housing education component in urban renewal area

a. This type of amendment was used to get the Small Business Administration to make their services available to businesses in urban renewal areas. The same thing could be done to make OEO programs available to urban renewal area residents.

b. One of the key problems with housing and urban renewal programs is that the residents of renewal areas don't understand the programs. This makes relocation difficult. A housing education program could teach residents how to get good relocation housing.

5. Fund Community Service Programs (Higher Education Act of 1965) and Training and Fellowship Programs (Housing Act of 1964)

professionsl planning education:

Planners are in short supply.

training for planning, renewal, codes staff:

It is already possible to give City employees a small amount of training under the Urban Planning Assistance Program. But this is not nearly enough training to equip City employees to do the job adequately.

6. Grants and technical assistance to local school boards for citizen education, from the first grade through adult education

For an example of this kind of program, see Corinth, Mississippi's proposal in their Community Renewal Program.

9. Funds for local public information program under Urban Planning Program Guide.

This Guide lists projects that are eligible for Federal funds under the Urban Planning Assistance Program, administered by URA. Local information programs are generally haphazard and inadequate. These funds would make it possible for communities to get professional help in explaining housing, planning, and renewal programs to the people in the community.

10. Use of students in housing information program.

For example, student teachers could get college credit for conducting classes and workshops explaining housing programs.

11. Coordination between HUD and SRC on urban renewal areas, including intern exchange

a. For example, where there is a Federal program in a community and the residents of a project don't understand

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7. Grants to states to revise local property tax systems

The Training and Fellowship programs already make it possible for states to study tax systems. But 1) this program hasn't been funded; and 2) this program requires equal matching funds from the states. a 90% to 100% Federal grant to revise property tax systems is likely to be more effective than 50-50 matching funds.

8. Grants to states for revolving funds and technical assistance to communities to coordinate Federal programs.

a Federal agency may run out of funds before its next appropriation from Congress. Applications from cities pile up in the interim. State revolving funds could fill the gap between appropriations.

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(8 cont)

also, different Federal agencies are funded at different times of the year. So, State revolving funds could help communities coordinate urban renewal (URA) and anti-poverty (OEO) programs for example. At the same time, states could help communities develop and plan programs that ~~require~~ use funds from different Federal agencies.

the program, SRC, through the local human relations council, could explain the program and urge residents to seek better housing.

b. Interns from HUD can become more familiar with the problems of minority groups by working with SRC for part of their training period.

12. Housing resourees service and field programs

explanation of programs:

Literature and workshops can explain housing, planning, and renewal programs to civil rights groups.

constant vigil:

SRC can also explain the rights of citizens under these programs.

13. State fair housing law and enabling legislation for local governments:

a. Even if a national law exists, states can experiment in ways to implement equal housing opportunity.

b. States may have special problems, say in employment or education, that they can handle best at the state level, in solving housing problems.

c. States can handle certain housing problems that neither the Federal government nor the cities can handle. For example, uniform building codes.

d. There are certain problems communities can handle themselves, except where urban development goes beyond the city limits. States can help out across jurisdictional lines.

14. Local fair housing law

Equal opportunity in housing and urban facilities depends, in the final analysis, on communtiies. It is the cities that plan the streets and the schools, attract the industry, and set the goals for urban living.

15. Community workshops in housing-intergroup relations:

communication between white and Negro leaders:

Although the Workable Program provides for a subcommittee on minority group housing, the subcommittee rarely meets with the larger citizens advisory committee. So, the need for white and Negro leaders to communicate remains.

endorse open housing policies:

Equal housing opportunity depends on strong citizen support and broad community understanding. Community groups can make open housing an ~~acti~~ issue.

forum for problems of realtors, builders, developers, and lending institutions:

Community groups can pressure these ~~groups~~ people to attempt to provide open housing.

low-cost housing programs:

Community groups can take more initiative in developing low-cost housing programs.

Abbreviations

CAP - Community Action Program (war on poverty)
HUD - Department of Housing and Urban Development
URA - Urban Renewal Administration of HUD
OEO - Office of Economic Opportunity
HEW - Department of Heath, Education, and Welfare
BPR - Bureau of Public Roads
BOR - Bureau of Outdoor Recreation

SRC - Southern Regional Council
NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
SCLC - Southern Christian Leadership Conference
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
SNCC - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

JUSTICE

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Los Angeles Times ★

2 Part I—SUN., JUNE 13, 1965

Jim Crow Justice

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—For five days now a dozen Negroes had come to the Madison County Courthouse in Danielsville, Ga. (population 360). They climbed an outsi stairway to the courtroom, stooped to avoid a low cei ing and stepped into a darkened balcony to watch th the Ku
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them

A series of articles reprinted from the Los Angeles Times

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, Sunday, June 13, 1965

JIM CROW JUSTICE

LAST STRONGHOLD OF SEGREGATION

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—For five days now a dozen Negroes had come to the Madison County Courthouse in Danielsville, Ga. (population 360). They climbed an outside stairway to the courtroom, stooped to avoid a low ceiling and stepped into a darkened balcony to watch the murder trial of two members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Below them the Negroes could see the defendants, Joseph Sims and Cecil Myers, smiling and waving at fellow klansmen in the crowded, all-white room.

Outside, darkness began to fall and the Negroes showed signs of apprehension. Once in a while white faces turned upward to peer at the balcony. The black faces, leaning over the rail, withdrew quickly.

All-White Jury

It was Sept. 4, 1964. The trial for the murder of Lemuel A. Penn, a Washington, D.C., public school official, was about to go to an all-white jury.

The state had built a case that the defendants, as part of a conspiracy to intimidate and kill Negroes, had ambushed Penn on the night of July 11, as he drove through northeast Georgia en route to Washington after reserve officers' training at Ft. Benning, Ga.

In less than two hours the defense had presented its evidence. Sims and Myers spent less than 30 seconds each making unsworn statements (allowed under Georgia law) denying the murder.

Conviction Unlikely

Regardless of the evidence, nobody—least of all the Negroes in the balcony—thought seriously that white men could be convicted of murdering a Negro in Madison County—not even if the victim happened to be a distinguished educator, a decorated combat veteran of World War II, a lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserve, and just passing through.

In an hour-long racist argument, a defense attorney five times emphasized the Anglo-Saxon blood of the jurors and shouted that FBI agents, on orders of President Johnson to "bring us white meat," had "infiltrated" Madison County.

The prosecutor had argued for a verdict "that will not be the ridicule of this country."

Negroes Slip Away

When the case went to the jury fewer than 12 Negroes remained in the balcony. In groups of two and three they began to slip down the stairway.

When the jury returned and acquitted the two white men, the courtroom was packed — but the balcony was empty. This was no time for a Negro to be in the courthouse—not even in the Jim Crow balcony.

What happened in the Madison County courthouse nine months ago is not unusual—or extreme. The fact is that in Madison County and in many other southern counties there is no time for a Negro to be at the courthouse except as a defendant, witness—or taxpayer.

Excluded From Juries

Both by conscious efforts of segregationist officials and by the use of systems hatched in a Jim Crow society, Negroes are excluded from juries in many areas of the South—even from some federal juries.

Although court decisions and laws have assured Negroes equal seating on buses and even in pri-

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The origin of the term "Jim Crow" as applied to segregation practices is lost in obscurity, according to C. Vann Woodward, a leading historian of the South.

In "The Strange Career of Jim Crow," Woodward noted that Thomas D. Rice wrote a song and dance called "Jim Crow" in 1832, and the term had become an adjective by 1838.

Writers later applied the term to newly enacted segregation laws and ever since it has been used to identify such statutes and practices.

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vately owned restaurants, they still must sit in segregated sections in many county courtrooms in the South.

A survey in Alabama, for example, indicated that almost 90% of the state's judges enforced segregation in their courtrooms.

The processes of justice, so often perverted to

"protect the southern way of life" remain the South's last stronghold of segregation and discrimination by government.

U.S. Does Little

The federal government has done little to lift this yoke from the Negro's neck.

Congress has paid the problem scant attention. The Justice Department has been heavily involved with other civil rights problems. The federal judiciary has some housecleaning of its own to do.

Criminal and civil remedies on the lawbooks have not been used.

The Justice Department has intervened in individual cases but has never studied the problem in detail and neither has Congress. For that matter, civil rights organizations have done little beyond appealing injustices in individual cases.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission has developed more information about Jim Crow justice—and documented more cases of its injustices than any other agency. But the commission's pleas for Congress and the Justice Department to take steps to change this system have gone largely unanswered.

As a result, a double standard of justice exists—one for whites and one for Negroes.

The frustrations of the system are reflected in the growth of the Deacons, a secret order of armed Negroes, and in the rising militancy of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNICK) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Needs Urgent

The need for reform is urgent, for without an impartial system of justice, the Negro's right to protest discrimination and his right to enjoy his newly won freedoms are hampered severely.

Awareness of the need is growing even in the South. Here, some political leaders, uncomfortable over the spotlight that Ku Klux Klan killings have put on the system of justice, acknowledge that the time for reform is at hand.

An appellate court judge in a southern state, appalled by the system's injuries, said in an interview:

"I'm surprised the Negroes have not done more in this field. Lunch counter sit-ins may be important, but what's more important than justice?

'Matter of Freedom'

"This is a matter of freedom or imprisonment and life or death."

The judge asked not to be identified or even have his state identified.

"It would be political suicide if I openly spoke that way," he said.

In 1963, Charles Morgan Jr., a white attorney representing Boaz Sanders, a Negro accused of murdering a white man in Birmingham, filed a motion to quash the indictment.

Complete Segregation

Morgan's motion carried Sanders from arrest by white officers and transportation in a segregated paddy wagon, driven by a white man, to a segregated jail staffed solely by whites, to a courthouse of all-white officials and all-white jurors where Negro spectators are segregated.

The motion noted that if sentenced to prison Sanders would be segregated with other Negroes in an institution staffed entirely by whites.

"If he receives the death penalty," the motion continued, "he will then be given a last meal by his white guards, visited by a white chaplain, shaved by a white barber, and taken by white guards to a yellow electric chair in Kilby Prison . . . the chair being the only facility in Alabama justice which is and has always been desegregated . . .

"A button or switch will be pressed or pulled by a white man, before white witnesses, and the condemned will die. Being in indigent circumstances, he will thereafter be buried in a potter's grave in a racially segregated cemetery, provided by the State of Alabama."

Conditions have changed but little in Alabama since that state's advisory committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported in 1961 "frequent and flagrant miscarriages of justice and maladministration of the courts in the state."

Issues Raised

At the same time the Mississippi Advisory Committee reported receiving "many and at times unbelievable reports of atrocities and brutalities perpetrated by elected and appointed public officials in the capacity of law enforcement officers and under color of law."

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission has said that segregation of Negroes in justice facilities, such as police stations, courthouses and prisons—as well as exclusion of Negroes from service as police officers, prosecutors, judges and jurors—raises "equal protection" issues.

The commission reported that 87% of county jail facilities and 93% of state penal institutions in southern and border states were segregated.

The survey showed 63% of the courthouses had segregated rest rooms and 17% had segregated courtrooms.

In some areas of the South the system is so loaded against the Negro that his only choice may be to throw himself on the mercy of the courts.

A parole official for a southern state says: "Ignorant Negroes often waive their rights to a grand jury hearing, plead guilty to an accusation drawn by a county prosecutor, and hope for the best.

"This doesn't necessarily mean the Negro is guilty. It might mean he prefers to seek leniency instead of fighting the charge in a white man's court."

A Negro who understands his rights and insists on a grand jury indictment before trial may be dissuaded from this course in some rural counties by a prosecutor's emphasis on the fact that he would have to remain in jail several months awaiting the next session of the grand jury.

Railroading Noted

That innocent Negroes sometimes are railroaded to prisons and convict work camps is a fact obvious to anyone who has studied Jim Crow justice or even compared a cross-section of cases involving Negro defendants with a cross-section of similar cases involving white defendants.

Negroes frequently are convicted of manslaughter —and sometimes murder—for traffic accidents fatal to white persons. Reverse the races and there are no charges, much less trials and convictions.

The fact is that despite no reference to race in state murder laws, a white man just isn't convicted of murder, no matter how heinous the crime, when the victim is a Negro.

On the other hand, when both victim and offender are Negroes, the outcome depends not so much on the evidence as on other considerations: Was the victim a "good" Negro who gave nobody any "trouble" while the offender was not well liked by whites?

In that case the punishment could be severe. Especially if the victim worked for one of the community's leading white citizens.

Or was the victim a "no-count" Negro and the offender well liked by the white community? In that case it obviously was justifiable homicide.

Charles Morgan Jr., the attorney who represented Boaz Sanders and who now is southern director for the American Civil Liberties Union, says:

"The best defense in a southern court when you have a Negro client charged with murdering another Negro, is to bring in the client's white employer and have him testify 'he's a good nigger, honest and does his job.' "

Morgan, who represented many Negroes while practicing law in Birmingham, said:

"There are certain crimes involving Negroes that white juries just won't punish. Sometimes arrests are not even made.

"In practice there is no such thing as raping a Negro in some communities; it simply is not recognized as a crime. In many cases of murder and assault, the jury decides it's 'just another nigger stabbing.' "

As the South's most impregnable bastions of official segregation, courthouses and law enforcement agencies are deeply rooted in the region's attachment to racial values and its tendency to justify injustices in the name of those values.

W. J. Cash in his classic study, "Mind of the South," wrote of injustices to southern whites in Reconstruction era courts:

"For 10 years the courts of the South were in such hands that no loyal white man could hope to find justice in them as against any Negro or white-creature of Yankee policy; for 20 years and longer they continued, in many courts, to be in such hands that such justice was at least doubtful."

As southern whites gradually regained control of the courts, the Negro became "almost open game. For, from being places where no loyal white man could find justice, they turned now, and naturally into being places where no black man would find it."

Cash wrote that because of Reconstruction and the economic purposes of the South, southern courts "had become and largely remain to this day places in which the Negro could count on little consideration."

Some changes have taken place since Cash's book was published a quarter of a century ago. Negroes serve on juries in some places, especially in urban areas. A few Negroes serve as law enforcement officers, although in some places they lack authority to arrest whites.

The changes are relatively minor, however. Jim Crow still clings to the courthouse as to no other area of government.

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, Monday, June 14, 1965

JIM CROW JUSTICE

COURTS CALLOUS, OFFICIAL ASSERTS

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA — You might say it was a case of conscience.

In a state capitol building in the South, a state official and a reporter were poring over records of criminal cases. They had waited until it was dark outside because the official had wanted it that way.

"When it comes to the Negro, the callousness of some courts is unbelievable," he had said. "Certainly I'll help you all I can. I can show you plenty of cases. But come at night."

Politically he could not afford to be identified with an attempt to pinpoint the evils of Jim Crow justice which pervades southern courthouses, enforcing segregation with a cruel double standard of crime and punishment.

But he wanted to help because the injustices of the system sickened him.

'Don't Identify State'

"Don't even identify the state," the official said as he handed the reporter a stack of records. "It's immaterial anyway. The same things happen in other states."

The records covered more than 50 recent cases either from the standpoint of trial and sentencing or parole action.

A teen-age Negro boy, who had never been in trouble, was hunting when a gang of white boys on a drinking binge happened by and decided to "devil" him. One of them grabbed his gun and it accidentally fired, killing the son of a leading citizen.

An all-white jury convicted the Negro of murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment.

"If the boy had been white," a witness said, "he never would have been tried."

An elderly white woman, jaywalking despite being warned repeatedly by police, was killed when she walked into the side of a car driven by a Negro. No case was made immediately, but several days later, after pressure by the woman's relatives, the Negro was charged with manslaughter.

Rather than face an all-white jury, the defendant pleaded guilty and received a five-year sentence. A local police official called it a "raw deal" and said the woman's death was "strictly accidental," but the Negro went to prison.

Hope for Mercy

The state official declared that because Negroes fear the courts, even when innocent, they often gamble with a guilty plea in hopes the white judge will show more mercy than a white jury. This is a long shot at best.

In one case, a Negro pleaded guilty to charges involving two minor burglaries and received two 15-year sentences to run concurrently. Leaving the courtroom the defendant muttered that the judge "really stuck it to me."

The judge overheard the remark and ordered the sentences to run consecutively—doubling the prison time to 30 years.

A young Negro man who had not been in trouble previously was standing in his yard when his white employer came with a gun and started pistol whipping him because of an alleged debt. For slashing his assailant to death with a knife, the Negro got 20 years for manslaughter.

A white neighbor, who witnessed the incident, said he was "not a nigger lover," but the Negro was railroaded.

"If it had been two white men," he said, "nobody would have pulled time." The witness said the victim "had a habit of pulling his gun" and threatening Negroes who worked for him.

The state official, handing the reporter records of cases in which Negroes had drawn prison terms in connection with white traffic fatalities, declared:

"You get a Negro drinking and driving and there's a white fatality, he's in real trouble—murder or manslaughter. If it's a white driver, nothing's done in most cases. It's sort of like the electric chair, an honor reserved for a favored few — Negroes and maybe poor whites."

Harsh Punishment

A white man does not have to die for a Negro to be prosecuted for a major crime as a result of an auto accident. In one case where a white man suffered a broken leg in a two-car collision, an elderly Negro was sentenced to eight years for assault with intent to murder.

Negro teen-agers often suffer harsh punishment for first offenses.

One youth without an arrest record had left his state looking for a job. Hungry and penniless, he broke into a small grocery and was eating Vienna sausage from a can when local police collared him. He got five years for burglary.

Another teen-ager with no previous record was sentenced to seven years for stealing 14 tires. Another got seven years for a $10 check forgery and another 10 years for forging checks totaling $39.

A Negro youth, whose family had worked for his white employer for more than 40 years, began taking chewing gum, candy and ice cream from the white man's grocery. He received a six-year sentence for burglary because the court thought he was "getting out of hand."

Eying the stack of records and declaring they comprised a "small sample" of the injustices he has seen, the state official declared:

"Certainly a man should not be sentenced just to satiate some prejudice in the courtroom or the community. But that's what often happens. Something must be done to guard the rights of people unable to take care of themselves."

More than half of the cases shown the reporter involved defendants who were tried or pleaded guilty —without benefit of counsel—on accusations drawn by prosecutors.

"The most glaring abuses are in that area," the official said.

None of those cases in any way concerned civil rights demonstrations.

But reports by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission document hundreds of instances in which Negroes in desegregation cases and Negroes and whites in civil rights demonstrations have been treated unjustly by courts and law enforcement officers in the South.

Daniel H. Pollitt, professor of law at the University of North Carolina, has pointed out that even attorneys seeking to defend civil rights workers often run into trouble in Jim Crow courtrooms. Writing in the December, 1964, North Carolina Law Review, Pollitt declared:

"The small band of southern attorneys who undertake 'racial' litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them."

Of the arrest of Clyde Kennard, the first Negro applicant to all-white Mississippi Southern University, Pollitt wrote:

"He was convicted of stealing five sacks of chicken feed on the basis of rather tenuous evidence. His lawyer was charged with contempt of court for explaining to the press that the sentence of seven years labor was a 'mockery of justice.' "

Warren Fortson, a young white attorney in Americus, Ga., recently charged that officials used morals charges against two teen-agers, the daughter and son of two prominent Negro families, to prevent them from taking part in civil rights demonstrations.

"We have made great progress in desegregation and race relations," Fortson said, "but the courthouse crowd has done everything they could to harass. The oppression of the courts and law enforcement are Negroes' major grievances now."

Sometimes just the suspicion that a person is on a civil rights mission is enough to provoke violence.

Two white Presbyterian ministers from Tennessee, the Rev. Geddes Orman and the Rev. Alexander Stuart, were beaten severely last year in Wilcox County (Camden), Ala., by a white man armed with a shotgun.

The ministers were checking on four Presbyterian schools for Negroes in the county, but were mistaken for civil rights workers. They recognized their assailant, but an all-white jury failed to indict. Wilcox County is 80% Negro.

In Selma recently, a Negro minister, the Rev. James Bevel, a member of Dr. Martin Luther King's staff, was arrested on a charge of contempt of court for disobeying a judge's order to sit in the Jim Crow section of the courtroom.

State-compelled courtroom segregation, as well as exclusion of Negroes from juries, has been declared a violation of the "equal protection" provisions of the 14th Amendment.

Discrimination in jury selection also is prohibited by federal statute, but the law has not been enforced.

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, Tuesday, June 15, 1965

JIM CROW JUSTICE

NEGROES IGNORED ON JURY RIGHTS

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—Although the systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries in many southern communities is common knowledge, the Department of Justice has yet to prosecute in this century any official under an 1875 federal law prohibiting such discrimination.

On at least three occasions since 1950, the Justice Department, embarrassed at not learning of specific cases until they reached the Supreme Court, called on the U.S. attorneys to report such matters to the department.

Despite the department's appeals and its suggestions that a federal law was being violated, when the last appeal was made in 1956 the department still had not received any reports from the U.S. attorneys.

A Justice Department source told the Los Angeles Times he does not know whether any such reports ever have been received, despite additional Supreme Court decisions reversing convictions of Negroes because of jury discrimination.

Legal Provisions

The federal law provides:

"No citizen possessing all other qualifications . . . prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit jurors in any court of the United States, or of any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

It states further that "whoever, being an officer or other person charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors, excludes or fails to summon any citizen for such cause, shall be fined not more than $5,000."

Several reasons are given for failure to enforce the law:

Lack of specific complaints from Negroes that they have been excluded; difficulty in proving systematic exclusion, and the feeling that federal juries in the South (not many Negroes serve on federal juries either) would not convict state jury officials regardless of the evidence.

Higher Priority

More recently, concentration of Justice Department personnel on racial violence and other civil rights matters which have had a higher priority has been a factor.

"We could have done more with the law," said Burke Marshall, who served as assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights from February, 1961, to January, 1965.

"We investigated several cases and concluded that Negroes were being excluded. But we never secured indictments and never made a major drive."

Marshall, now IBM general counsel in New York, said, "We might well have been requested by the administration to initiate a drive on jury exclusion, except we had a limited number of lawyers and they were on school desegregation and voting discrimination cases."

Bill Suggested

The Justice Department has not been "reluctant" to enforce the statute, Marshall said, but criminal proceedings may not be the most effective means of giving Negroes equal access to the jury box.

Marshall suggested that a bill empowering the Justice Department to initiate civil suits to prevent jury discrimination "might have some effect if the department had enough manpower for a major drive."

In 1961 the U.S. Civil Rights Commission recommended that Congress consider such a bill.

The 1965 voting rights bill gives the department that power in voting discrimination cases.

Federal Court Order

A civil law provides that excluded minorities can seek a federal court order enjoining officials from discrimination under pain of contempt of court. The 1964 Civil Rights Act empowers the Justice Department to join such class action, but does not authorize the department to originate the suit.

The Civil Rights Commission has declared that "a distinct disadvantage" in the injunctive suits under the present law is that they burden private citizens with the expense of correcting racial discrimination.

The only other civil remedy applies to individual criminal cases and has a rather minor and remote effect upon the over-all problem. A Negro may raise the issue before his trial, thus laying the groundwork for an appeal if he is indicted or convicted by an illegally-drawn jury.

Attorneys often are reluctant to even raise the issue before trial. Usually they don't dare challenge the local system or often they are a willing part of it. In some cases, attorneys fail to raise the question for fear it would prejudice the juries against their clients.

That the case-by-case appeals have no over-all effect is shown forcefully by the experience in Carroll County, Miss., where Negroes comprise more than half of the population.

Conviction Reversed

In 1959 the murder conviction of Robert Lee Goldsby, a Negro, was reversed on grounds of jury discrimination. Yet the Civil Rights Commission heard testimony only three months ago that Negroes still don't serve on juries in Carroll County.

The Justice Department, with guarded optimism that the need for voting investigations will diminish with passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, is considering a major drive on jury discrimination.

Some cases already have been investigated in Mississippi, Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee. But there have been no indictments and justice officials decline to discuss the cases.

In addition to possibly invoking the criminal statute for the first time since a Virginia judge was sentenced to prison for a violation in the 1870s, the department plans to join in civil suits it believes have merit. A drawback, however, is that civil rights organizations have not been filing jury exclusion suits.

Justice also reportedly stands ready to proceed under Title III—Desegregation of Public Facilities—of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prevent segregated practices in courthouses. Again, a written complaint first must be filed, in this case with the Justice Department, before action can be taken.

In 1950, 1953 and 1956 the Justice Department, on the front pages of bulletins sent periodically to U.S. attorneys, urged reporting of all jury exclusion cases for possible enforcement of the criminal statute.

The first notice declared it was "quite clear" that the federal law applied. The second reported that despite the earlier appeal and "the apparent continuing practice of racial discrimination" no cases had been reported.

The third notice cited the first two, the Department's "embarrassment" of having to first learn of such practices when cases reached the Supreme Court, and added:

"Nevertheless, the Criminal Division has not received a single report or reference concerning a possible violation."

The Civil Rights Commission, acknowledging it might be "very hard to persuade a jury to convict a white official," has suggested that the Justice Department enforce the federal law—Title 18, Sec. 243.

"Presumably the requirements that criminal cases be proved beyond a reasonable doubt would increase the difficulty of establishing jury exclusion," said the commission.

"On the other hand, this remedy would to some extent relieve private citizens of the time and expense of vindicating their federal right.

"The resources and experience of the FBI would be particularly valuable in gathering the necessary evidence. Finally, Sec. 243 actions, like injunctive suits, would directly protect the rights of all members of the racial group within the community."

Since the offense is a misdemeanor, the commission pointed out, prosecution could be brought directly to trial on an information by a U.S. attorney instead of having to proceed through a grand jury.

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, Wednesday, June 16, 1965

JIM CROW JUSTICE

U.S. COURTS BARRED TO NEGROES IN SOUTH

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—A federal judge in Mississippi has charged that a civil suit accusing his court of systematically excluding Negroes from juries is "unwarranted meddling by outsiders."

Regardless of the merits of the Mississippi case, the fact is that various systems of selecting jurors in federal courts in the South have largely excluded Negroes.

Jim Crow perches just as surely, although perhaps not as securely, in some of the South's federal courthouses as in some of its state courthouses.

The exclusion of Negroes from the federal processes of justice goes beyond juries.

Charges Voiced

In a recent report, the Southern Regional Council, a highly respected private agency seeking to foster racial equality, accused federal courts in the South of discriminating against Negroes and declared:

"A Negro involved in federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor."

The Mississippi suit was filed last January by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of six Negroes. They claim that they are qualified for jury service, but have not been selected because of their race.

Judge Responds

It is a class action which, if successful, would bar the federal courts from following a system which largely excludes Negroes from jury service.

U.S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox, against whose court the action was filed, wrote a letter on Feb. 1, 1965, asking his former law partner, Charles Clark of Jackson, to aid the U.S. attorney in defense of the suit.

What the judge didn't know was that the U.S. attorney may not defend the suit. In Washington, the Justice Department told the district attorney to remain aloof from the action while it weighs the merits of the case.

Judge Cox has riled civil rights leaders with his rulings in segregation cases and has referred to Negroes as "niggers" and "chimpanzees." He reacted heatedly to the ACLU suit.

In his letter to Clark, the judge said that jurors in his court were "a fair cross section of our citizens completely without regard to race."

Cox called the suit "another piece of unwarranted meddling by outsiders who are apparently ignorant of the facts" and said he does "not intend to let this infamous attack go unanswered . . ."

The judge took the unusual action of asking a private attorney, Clark, to "assist the United States attorney in his defense of this suit as a personal favor and courtesy to me." He said he wanted the record "to show my intense interest in the question presented . . ."

JUDGE CHARGED—U.S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox of Mississippi who has been charged in a civil suit of excluding Negroes from federal court juries.

The suit asserts that Judge Cox's clerk and the jury commissioner deny Negroes their rights either by excluding them from the list of names drawn and summoned for jury duty or by keeping the list so small that only a token number of Negroes may serve on grand and petit juries.

In the case of petit juries, Negroes can be systematically and uniformly challenged and prevented from serving in the trial of any cases, the suit charged.

Mississippi Negroes "presently are being injured, oppressed, threatened and intimidated" while pursuing their constitutional rights, but are unable to secure protection afforded by the enforcement of federal criminal statutes because they are excluded from federal juries, the suit said.

Federal crimes against Negroes go unpunished because white juries will not convict white defendants even though proof of guilt is presented in court, the Negroes asserted.

The suit seeks an injunction against existing jury selection methods, asks dismissal of all present and prospective jurors and requests the court to enforce a new selection system. The complaint also asked $15,000 in damages for each plaintiff.

Case Transferred

Judge Cox assigned the case to Judge Sidney C. Mize, also of the Southern District of Mississippi, who died before a hearing could be held. The case has been transferred to Judge Claude J. Clayton of the Northern District of Mississippi.

Filing of the jury suit prompted Warren Olney III, director of the administrative office of the U.S. courts, to warn all district courts in writing that:

"With the sensitivity about racial discrimination increasing over the years, it was inevitable that the procedures used in the selection of jurors in the United States should come under increasingly close scrutiny."

'Avoid . . . Taint'

Regardless of the merit of the suit, Olney continued, it should emphasize to court clerks and jury commissioners the importance of "avoiding every taint of racial discrimination in qualifying and selecting persons for jury service in the United States courts . . ."

Clerks and jury commissioners are appointed by federal judges. All 65 district federal judges in the 11 states of the old Confederacy are white. So are all 28 district clerks and all 109 jury commissioners.

The Southern Regional Council noted that of 1,124 officials of the federal courts in the 11 states, less than 25 are Negro and they are lower echelon officials.

Of 196 assistant U.S. attorneys in southern states, 10 are Negroes and all were hired after Robert F. Kennedy became attorney general in 1961.

The council declared the courts "seem out of line with fair employment practices of federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute."

It accused "many" of the courts of having been "highly protective of segregation."

Until passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, federal jury commissioners were required to use state jury lists—from which, of course, Negroes already had been largely excluded.

Voter Lists Used

However, repeal of the requirement has not kept some courts from continuing to use the lists.

Some commissioners also use state voters registration lists, which in some areas include very few Negroes. For example, the lists have been used in Mississippi where the number of Negro voters is notoriously low.

The "key man system" is used by most federal jury commissioners.

"Key men" are substantial citizens, almost invariably white, selected by the clerks and commissioners to recommend jurors. They recommend people they know—usually white.

Negroes do serve on federal juries in the South, of course, but usually in token numbers. The system also tends to exclude whites in low-income and low-education categories.

The Southern Regional Council said the exclusion of low income and hourly income workers from jury service raises questions beyond racial considerations.

'Jury of Peers?'

"One may not only ask if it is possible under present circumstances to get a federal jury of peers for people who are not white, but also for persons who, regardless of race, are not middle-class," the council said.

But the Jim Crow element of federal justice is of more pressing concern.

After its study, the Southern Regional Council declared there is an "urgent" need for reform because "new federal legislation to protect citizens against the klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will . . . almost certainly increase reliance on the district courts for the protection of individual life and liberty."

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, Thursday, June 17, 1965

JIM CROW JUSTICE

REFORM LONG NEEDED IN U.S. COURT SYSTEM

BY JACK NELSON
Times Staff Writer

ATLANTA—After an all-white Georgia jury acquitted two Ku Klux Klan members of murdering Lemuel A. Penn last year, a Klan official told a cross-burning rally:

"It just shows that you won't never convict a white man for killing a Negro who is encroaching on the white people of the South!"

The truth in the klansman's statement (although Penn was just passing through Georgia en route to Washington, D.C., when he was ambushed) causes Negroes to grin wryly when they hear the frequent argument that they should take their cause out of the streets and into the courts.

Nowhere is the degradation and oppression of the Negro more abject than in some Jim Crow courthouses.

Arrests Rare

No matter how brutal the killing, the chance of convicting a segregationist of killing a Negro or a white integrationist is practically nil in many parts of the South.

In many cases there are no arrests. When there have been arrests, acquittals or mistrials have resulted.

Byron de la Beckwith, a Greenville fertilizer salesman, was tried twice for the 1963 ambush slaying of Mississippi NAACP official Medgar Evers. Both all-white juries failed to agree on whether it was Beckwith who shot Evers in the back.

Beckwith remains free.

Three Slain

Three civil rights workers—one Negro and two whites—were tortured and slain in Mississippi last summer. A state grand jury investigated, but failed to indict.

The Justice Department charged a sheriff, a deputy sheriff and 17 others, including several klansmen, with civil rights violations. A federal judge threw out the cases on grounds no federal crime was committed.

The brutal crime remains unpunished.

In the trial last month of klansman Collie Leroy Wilkins for the ambush slaying of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, Klan attorney Matt H. Murphy Jr. talked to the all-white Lowndes County (Ala.) jury as "one white man to another white man."

'Victory for State'

After a deadlock caused a mistrial, some observers interpreted the 10-2 vote for conviction as a "moral victory for the state."

But the vote in this night-rider slaying, in which a defenseless woman was stalked for more than 20 miles before being wantonly shot, was not for murder. It was for manslaughter.

In scores of other cases, documented by the Justice Department and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, anti-Negro, anti-civil rights violence in the South has gone unpunished. In many cases, such as the bombing deaths of four Negro children in a Birmingham church in 1963, there have been no arrests.

Protection Asked

The killings last March of Mrs. Liuzzo and the Rev. James J. Reeb, a Unitarian minister who was clubbed to death in Selma, Ala., prompted a demand for new federal laws to protect civil rights demonstrators.

Dr. Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders called for a broad federal statute protecting persons slain in the pursuit of their constitutional rights.

The Justice Department reportedly has been busy researching the subject, trying to come up with a proposal for such a law.

The probability that all-white juries would pass judgment on whether such a law had been violated raises the question of whether any new law would be effective without changes in the systems of selecting federal juries.

New York attorney Burke Marshall, who headed the Justice Department's civil rights division from 1961 to 1965, says the need for reforming the federal systems is "very important." But he says the issue is much like reapportionment:

"Not very sexy and hard to get people interested."

Selection Varies

A Justice Department survey in 1961 showed that the 92 federal district courts had "92 different

systems of selecting juries," he said.

Most of the courts use the "key man" system, he said, discriminating not only against Negroes, but against poor whites.

"Sometimes it is against farmers, as opposed to city people," he said.

Marshall says federal judges should not be free to adopt whatever jury selection methods they desire.

After the 1961 survey, a bill backed by the department was introduced to set up uniform standards in the selection of jurors.

It died for lack of support.

Needs Key People

"Key people are important on something like this," Marshall said. "People like Emanuel Celler (the New York Democrat who heads the House Judiciary Committee). People in Brooklyn care about the voting bill, but they don't think much about the courts."

Since it is the federal courts to whom Negroes must look when they have been denied equal protection in state courts, reform in the federal judiciary seems long overdue.

Atlanta attorney Ellis Arnall, who was governor of Georgia from 1943 to 1946, sees a pressing need for intensive investigation and sweeping reforms of the overall structure of segregated justice.

"The urgency about the need is caused by the Negroes' increasing demands for equality," he said. "White justice takes it out on the Negroes even when they are not part of the civil rights movement because they are categorized as part of it.

Tells of Injustices

"Both as attorney general of Georgia and as a practicing attorney I have seen the widespread injustices of the dual system. Anyone with any intelligence knows the system discriminates against the Negro.

"The white man has tried to keep the Negro down in the ditch. In order to do this he has had to stay down in the ditch with him. The segregated system of justice is a perfect example of this."

Demands for equality in courts will increase in ratio to the number of civil rights demonstrators who run afoul of Jim Crow justice, Arnall said.

"There hasn't been much agitation before," he said, "because the average citizen dodges court like the devil dodges holy water. Therefore, attacks on the system usually have come only from those already in trouble with the courts."

Ballot a Factor

Equal access to the ballot will tend to chase Jim Crow from some of the courthouses, of course, because Negroes will become a factor in electing court officials and sheriffs.

But discrimination in the administration of justice is much more widespread than discriminatory voting practices. Nor is it confined entirely to the South.

Exclusion of the Negro from the ballot box is a serious problem only in Mississippi and parts of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia.

Exclusion of Negroes from the agencies of justice —from law enforcement to judicial and penal institutions—is widespread throughout the 11 ex-Confederate states.

Action Risky

Direct action against the courts—any courts—is risky business. It entails contempt charges and possible charges of obstruction of justice.

But some civil rights groups have seriously discussed taking the risk to dramatize their plight in the Jim Crow courts. Sit-ins in jury boxes are among the tactics that have been discussed.

Burke Marshall
UPI photo

Lemuel A. Penn
UPI photo

How far the courts would tolerate such civil rights protests remain to be seen. But both federal court judges and some state appellate court judges have only to read their own decisions to see repeated warnings that Jim Crow justice breeds disrespect for the law and corrupts the democratic processes far beyond the courthouses.

Quotes Ruling

Judge Robert H. Hall of the Georgia Court of Appeals, in a decision last year, quoted a federal ruling:

"For racial discrimination to result in the exclusion from jury service of otherwise qualified groups not only violates our Constitution and the laws enacted under it, but is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government."

In his decision, granting a new trial to a Negro civil rights demonstrator convicted by an all-white jury, Judge Hall declared:

"The injury is not limited to the defendant—there is injury to the jury system, to the law as an institution, to the community at large, and to the democratic ideal reflected in the processes of our courts."

AN EDITORIAL

Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times

SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 1965

Where Due Process Is Denied

". . . Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

So says the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. Yet, in tragic fact, "the equal protection of the laws" is largely a myth for Negroes in most of the courts, state and federal, of the South.

The equitable and impartial administration of justice, a right guaranteed beyond argument to all Americans by the Constitution, has been willfully and consistently ignored in favor of a double standard of justice which in practice is an outrage against our laws and our national sense of decency.

The systematic exclusion of Negroes from law enforcement agencies and juries; the continued segregation of hearing rooms; the frequent intimidation of Negro witnesses and defendants—all point up the hypocrisy of the "justice" dealt out in many southern courts.

As Times Reporter Jack Nelson noted in his recent series on Jim Crow justice, in many counties of the former Confederacy "there is no time for a Negro to be at the courthouse except as a defendant, witness — or taxpayer." Even attendance in a court of law as a spectator can, in some cases, lead to personal harm.

The solution to this appalling situation does not rest in new laws. There are already statutes—some going back to 1875—which implement the Constitution by prohibiting discrimination in jury selection, the key pillar of Jim Crow justice. The trouble is that existing laws aren't being enforced.

The lack of federal enforcement in cases where abuses are readily apparent stems from a number of causes, among them the fact that the Justice Department — until recently, at any rate—has simply been too busy dealing with voter registration, school desegregation and other enforcement cases.

At the same time there has been little apparent pressure from outside the government. Civil rights groups have up to now concentrated their energies in other areas of discrimination. But, in the face of flagrant abuses of legal standards, what explains the silence and inactivity of the American Bar Assn.?

Some cases which saw discrimination in jury selection have been appealed to the Supreme Court, and reversals of convictions have been obtained. In these cases the law was clearly on the appellant's side. But the high court acted on this one point of law alone. It is possible that in so doing persons who were demonstrably guilty of crimes were permitted to go free. This remains a danger so long as lower courts do nothing about present discriminatory courtroom practices.

Unequal justice inevitably breeds disrespect and even contempt for the law on the part, not only of the victims of this inequality, but of those who practice and uphold it as well. Defense arguments in recent murder cases in the South show clearly enough that no punishment is anticipated in crimes against Negroes or against whites who support Negro causes. In such cases the very concept of law and order becomes a victim of violence.

This is not simply a regional problem. As long as the purposeful exclusion of southern Negroes from the agencies of justice continues, the most basic rights and values of this nation will be mocked. As long as Jim Crow justice remains, the corruption it represents will infect us all.

66

RAPE PENALTIES IN SOUTH STUDIED

JUSTICE

N.A.A.C.P. Fund Is Seeking Capital-Punishment Data

NYT 4/29/66

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., announced yesterday that it was conducting "the only comprehensive survey ever undertaken" on capital punishment for persons convicted of rape.

The ground work of the survey, started last summer, was done by 28 law students who gathered data on 2,600 rape cases in 225 counties of 11 Southern states. The counties studied contain 56 per cent of the total population of these states.

The students worked under the supervision of Prof. Marvin Wolfgang and Prof. Anthony Amsterday of the University of Pennsylvania. The professors are now evaluating 28-page capital - punishment - survey booklets prepared for each case investigated and they expect to complete their studies in two years.

Although no preliminary information coming out of the survey was announced, Professor Wolfgang, a criminologist, said the facts sought "are those most likely to affect the discretion of jurors and judicial officials in sentencing or modifying a sentence imposed upon a person convicted of rape."

Negro Chief Sufferers

The fund's director-counsel, Jack Greenberg, said that it was "long-felt and with some justification" that the death penalty for rape was applied more often to Negro defendants than to white. Many officials, including judges, penologists and criminologists have agreed. Mr. Greenberg said he was certain the survey would prove this.

Fund lawyers are now defending 26 Negroes facing capital punishment in 18 Southern rape cases.

The data was gathered by the students over a 10-week period and it includes detailed information on the defendants, the victims, the circumstances of the offense and legal proceedings in each case.

Fund officials said the students searched trial dockets and appellate transcripts, interviewed lawyers, "both hostile and friendly," and at times were able to review prison and parole records. Newspaper files were examined to complete the documentation.

Citizens Not Hostile

The students met no hostility on the part of local citizens, Professor Wolfgang explained. "I suppose that was because they did not know what we were doing," suggested Michael Henry, a graduate of Harvard Law School, who helped with the survey in Arkansas and North Carolina. Mr. Henry has since joined the fund's legal staff.

Fund officials said that the United States was one of five nations that still permitted the death penalty for rape in which there was no fatality and that laws in the deep South made death mandatory in rape cases unless the jury, by majority vote, recommended mercy.

RIGHTERS AIM AT RAPE IN DIXIE

JUSTICE

Battle on Death Penalty Slated

AC 4/24/66

By AUSTIN SCOTT

NEW YORK (AP) — The main legal arm of the civil rights movement has disclosed it is preparing an all-out assault on the death penalty for rape, particularly in the South.

Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP legal defense fund, attributed last year's sharp decline in executions to a previously undisclosed s' 'dy made for the campaign.

The Justice Department said in February that only seven Americans, an all-time low, were executed in 1965, none for rape.

That compared with 15 executed in 1964, 6 for rape; 21 in 1963, and 47 in 1962.

Greenberg said stays of execution obtained in many of the 18 capital cases his organization is handling accounted for the decline.

"The drop is due to this very project," he said.

In a statement, the fund said it intends to argue generally that capital punishment for rape has been applied unfairly against Negroes, and is systematically used as an instrument of repression.

This, the fund says, violates due process and equal protection, and prevents the equal application of the law guaranteed under the federal Constitution.

In addition, it said, the taking of a life "when the defendant has not killed or seriously threatened the victim constitutes cruel and unusual punishment."

The fund is in the middle of a study which Greenberg termed the only comprehensive survey on this subject ever undertaken.

"We decided we would investigate precisely what the facts were in a precise, scholarly study," Greenberg said. "The entire history of capital punishment is one which hits with unusual severity at Negroes."

Two University of Pennsylvania professors — Dr. Marvin Wolfgang and Dr. Anthony Amsterdam —supervised the study and hired 28 law students at about $30 a week last summer to spend 10 weeks in 225 counties of 11 Southern states.

They checked court records, attorneys, and even prison and parole officials in order to fill out a detailed, 28-page fact sheet on every rape conviciton in their areas since 1945.

The students turned up varying amounts of data on about 2,600 cases, Amsterdam said. He and Wolfgang estimated it would take another two years to process all the information, including a state-by-state analysis.

But they said information for some of the pending cases would be ready "very soon."

"It was necessary to go back in time far enough to see if a pattern exists," Wolfgang said. "We used standard sampling techniques to get a representative sample from each state. In no county were less than 50 per cent of the cases included."

Amsterdam termed the study "a stepping stone into the broader aspects of criminal processes."

He said: "There is some evidence of more frequent arrests, more convictions, higher bail (against Negroes). We consider this a pilot study in the functioning of a judicial system."

Amsterdam noted that juries and judges are given wide discretion in the administration of criminal justice, and that in some states the jury has "unlimited power to choose life or death."

The fund said laws of most Deep South states make death mandatory in rape cases unless the jury recommends mercy.

"It is in any event apparent that Southern states have greatly reduced the risk of death for the white defendant whereas the Negro defendant still runs a high risk of hearing the death penalty pronounced," the fund said.

The questionnaire which the students filled out on each case includes such details as the defendant's previous criminal history, whether threats were made and if so what kind, the type of assault, including whether force was used and what kind, and any issues raised on appeal.

"The facts sought are those most likely to affect the discretion of jurors and judicial officials in sentencing," said Wolfgang in an accompanying affidavit.

Calling the death penalty an "anachronism," the fund said the United States is one of only five countries which inflict the death penalty for rape where death does not occur.

The others, it said, are South Africa, Zambia, Malawai and Taiwan.

In addition to 16 states and the District of Columbia, the fund said, the federal government permits the death penalty for rape at sea, in territories, in the military, and where an Indian rapes a non-Indian on a reservation.

The 16 states were listed by the fund as Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma and Missouri.

The law students investigated in all states except Missouri, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia.

UPI Telephoto

SURROUNDED

MEMPHIS, April 23—James F. Marquis Jr. (L) and L. H. Reynolds, both PTA presidents from Kingsport, Tenn., found themselves in a sea of women at a convention of the Tennessee PTA here. Needless to say, the men here were outvoted.

Klan Speakers Rap Reds, Politicians

KKK

AJ 6/5/66

SANDERSVILLE, Ga., June 4 — The Ku Klux Klan staged a mass meeting and cross-burning here Saturday night, and four speakers blasted everything from federal and state politicians to Communists.

Grand Dragon Calvin Craig said the meeting was the first of several to be staged in the southern sector of the state. The second in the series is to be Sunday at 3 p.m. at Crawfordville, scene of racial unrest during the last year.

Some 300 persons attended the rally in a field just outside the Sandersville city limits and heard Craig bitterly attack President Johnson, Gov. Sanders, gubernatorial candidate James Gray of Albany and 5th District U.S. Rep Charles Weltner, among others.

Other speakers were George Sligh of Jonesboro, R. L. Bing and A. B. Allison, who described himself as the chairman of his church board of deacons in Americus.

Although Craig emphasized in his appeal for members that the klan is "not an organization for anybody looking for violence," there were strong denunciations of the Negro.

SEGREGATIONIST gubernatorial candidate Lester Maddox was referred to only once, but his name drew strong applause from the shirtsleeved crowd, many of whom remained in their cars for the speeches, despite pleas from the platform to "come on up here and join with us."

Craig told the gathering that he and Sligh and other klan leaders had recently visited the Watts district of Los Angeles, where rioting had occurred. He said he could not understand the theory that poverty set off the outbreaks.

"I saw those so-called ghettos first hand and I'll tell you they are every bit as nice homes as you have right here in Sandersville, and you've got some beautiful homes here."

He then charged that the Watts strife was Communist-inspired.

Craig asked the audience for contributions and a dozen robed klansmen circulated through the gathering.

COURT AIDS NEGRO IN JURY SELECTION

NYT 7/22/66

Old System Upset by U.S. Appeals Bench in South

JUSTICE

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21—A long-established system that had the effect of keeping Negroes off Federal juries in the South has been struck down by a Federal appeal court.

Lawyers here said that Negroes would benefit in two chief ways from the unanimous decision handed down in New Orleans yesterday by eight of the nine judges of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

It will require that jury lists of a district court include persons "broadly representative of the community" in which the court is located. It threw out a system under which "key men" in the community nominated persons for jury lists.

The decision is binding only on Federal courts in the circuit, which consists of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and the Canal Zone. But it was expected to be persuasive in other Federal jurisdictions.

Could Help Rights Bill

Although the decision does not apply to state court juries, it indirectly raises a potentially helpful argument for passage of Title I of the Administration's pending civil rights bill. That section, one of the most controversial in the bill, would prohibit discrimination in juror selection by requiring the creation of a "master jury wheel" composed of the names of at least 1 per cent of all the registered voters in each Federal judicial district.

In the South, the opinion held, "the qualifications required and the methods of selecting prospective jurors have, over a large period of time—list after list—resulted in Negroes' being substantially underrepresented."

The opinion struck down the Federal perjury convictions of Miss Joni Rabinowitz of New Rochelle, N. Y., a white civil rights worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and five Negroes from Albany, Ga.—Elza L. Jackson, Robert Thomas, Samuel B. Wells, Slater H. King and Thomas C. Chatmon. It also dismissed the indictments against them.

U.S. Sought Reversal

The two cases were appealed from the Federal District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, where Miss Rabinowitz and the Negroes were convicted of falsely testifying before a Federal jury about a civil rights demonstration in Albany.

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U.S. Sought Reversal

The two cases were appealed from the Federal District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, where Miss Rabinowitz and the Negroes were convicted of falsely testifying before a Federal jury about a civil rights demonstration in Albany in 1962.

In a two-day hearing in New Orleans last December, Justice Department attorneys sought reversal of the convictions on the ground that in four years "only four new Negro names" had been added to the jury list of the district court, headquartered in Macon, Ga. But the department opposed dismissal of the indictments, arguing for new trials instead.

The appeals court was unanimous in reversing the convictions but split, 5 to 4, in dismissing the indictments. The decision, which avoided constitutional issues, was based on the jury section of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. That act declares:

"Any citizen of the United States who has attained the age of 21 years and who has resided for a period of one year within the judicial district, is competent to serve as a grand or petit juror unless: (1) he has been convicted (of a felony) (2) he is unable to read, write, speak and understand the English language, and (3) he is incapable, by reason of mental or physical infirmities, to render efficient jury service."

Excellence Not Required

The court's unanimous opinion held that to qualify as a district court juror "a person need only be able to read, write, speak and understand English—he need not enjoy that degree of excellence found only among the more fortunate classes of our society."

The opinion was written by Judge Richard T. Rives of Montgomery, Ala. Its language appeared to strike at the heart of the long-established system of using outstanding citizens to nominate persons to the lists from which juries are selected.

The "key man" system has been practiced by jury commissioners and court clerks in many Federal jurisdictions, not just in the South. In the South, the court held, the system has virtually excluded Negroes from juries.

"The fruits of the harvest were clear to anyone who cared to look," the court declared.

The court noted that it was not considering whether Negro defendants had a right to demand a specified, proportionate number of Negroes on their juries. It said only that the standards applied in selecting jurors had been "grossly inadequate."

It directed the clerks of court and jury commissioners of the district to develop a selection system that would yield a fair cross-section of their communities.

Warning to Hanoi Urged

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21—Two Republican Representatives, F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts and Ogden R. Reid of New York, called on Congress today to adopt a resolution warning North Vietnam that any trial or execution of captured American pilots would be regarded as "an inhumanitarian act" and would "seriously diminish" the chances for peace in Vietnam.

IT'S FIRST TIME IN STATE

Boy, 12, in Prison Is Getting Transfer to Training School

~~PRISONS~~ JUSTICE AC 8/23/66

A 12-year-old convict, who cries himself to sleep in his prison dormitory every night, is expected to be transferred to a State Training School for Boys within the next few days.

It will be the first time that a convict has been transferred from a prison to a juvenile facility, say Welfare and Correction department officials.

Even after the transfer, Kirby McCoy will have to serve out his five-year sentence for burglary in the training school, said R. H. Burson, corrections department director.

McCoy cannot be released or paroled unless he is transferred back to the corrections department, Burson said.

Burson said a 1956 law allows such a transfer. He said it would not be given final approval until the law department makes certain that law has not been amended. That approval should come this week.

The transfer from the Alto Industrial Institute to a training school was arranged Monday after the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia prepared to file a writ of habeas corpus on behalf of the boy.

McCoy first gained state-wide notice last May when a Constitution reporter found the Negro boy languishing in the Carroll County jail awaiting transfer to a prison facility. He had been in the county jail two months and five days at the time.

Superior Court Judge Lamar Knight chose to handle McCoy as an adult criminal because the youngster had been in trouble repeatedly since he was 6. He had twice been sent to training schools, only to return

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

IT'S FIRST TIME

Boy, 12, in Prison Getting Transfer

Continued From Page 1

shortly and get into trouble again.

Burson said Judge Knight has declined to change his original order sentencing McCoy but has said he will not interfere with an administrative transfer of the youth.

THERE ARE HUNDREDS

McCoy was quoted as saying he cried himself to sleep every night at Alto but hid his face in his pillow so his fellow prisoners would no tease him.

Hugh Gibert, president of the ACLU of Georgia, said, "There are hundreds of Kirby McCoys in jails all over Georgia, and every night they offer the same anguished prayer. The answer to their cries lies not in individual legal action, although the ACLU of Georgia serves notice it stands ready to test each and every one. The answer lies in an aroused citizenry which will demand that the General Assembly pass a law that no child under the age of 16 can be incarcerated in an adult prison."—BILL SHIPP.

KKK

Klan Leader Is Convicted Of Contempt of Congress

9/15/66

Shelton Faces Jail Term For Refusing to Yield Data to House Unit

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16—Robert M. Shelton Jr., imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, was found guilty today of contempt of Congress for refusing to produce records for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

A Federal District Court jury that included three Negroes announced the guilty verdict after deliberating for a little more than an hour.

Judge John J. Sirica said he would impose the sentence after a routine probation study was completed. These usually take about six weeks.

Shelton could receive as much as a year's imprisonment and a $1,000 fine. He was released on $500 bond pending the probation study.

Lester V. Chalmers Jr., Shelton's lawyer, told newsmen the verdict would be appealed to the Supreme Court if necessary.

Shelton, shedding his taciturn demeanor for the first time since the three-day trial began, denounced the trial as a "kangaroo court." He said it was

Continued on Page 28, Column 3

Associated Press Wirephoto

Robert M. Shelton Jr. before he was found guilty.

KLAN HEAD GUILTY IN CONTEMPT CASE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

dominated by the Government through the eight Federal employes on the jury.

Speaking to newsmen outside the courtroom," he accused the House committee of suffering insults from "beaniks, sex perverts and tennis shoe-wearing Communists" during hearings on Vietnam war critics. The committee chose to cite him for contempt, even though he behaved as "a Christian gentle-

The verdict "will help boost the Klan," he said. "Just as the declaration of war against the Klan by LBJ serves as a recruiter for the Klan."

Spectators in the half-filled courtroom showed no surprise at the guilty verdict, which came after the defense offered no evidence, and after Judge Sirica decided most of the case's issues against Shelton. There was little left for the jury to decide.

Judge Sirica ruled that Shelton did not cite legally acceptable reasons when he refused to produce Klan books, records and documents before a subcommittee hearing on Oct. 20, 1965.

Shelton had contended that the subpoenaed records would not help Congress in passing any valid anti-Klan law, and that they might tend to incriminate him.

Thus, the only important issue left for the jury's consideration was the defense contention that the subpoena was so loosely drawn that Shelton could not tell which records to produce.

In his statement after the verdict the 37-year-old resident of Tuscaloosa, Ala., said he "did not think the Negroes on the jury gave an unbiased verdict."

He predicted that his conviction would contribute to the "white backlash," which he said was apparent in this week's political elections.

Lawyers for both sides avoided emphasizing the case's racial implications during the trial. They concentrated instead on making legal points to be raised in future appellate court battles.

JUSTICE

12/25/66 THE NEW YORK TIMES, SU

POLICE IN ATLANTA GET RIGHTS BOOK

Told to Read Pamphlet on Advice for Citizens

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Dec. 24—A booklet on the rights of citizens involved with the police has been made required reading in the Atlanta Police Department.

The booklet, a simply worded tract called "Know Your Rights," published by the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations, was written primarily for slum residents who have trouble dealing with the police.

Mrs. Florence B. Robin, executive director of the Georgia chapter of the liberties union, sent a copy to Atlanta's police chief, Herbert T. Jenkins, and was astonished when he telephoned the next day and asked for 1,000 copies.

Shortly thereafter, a notice appeared on the police bulletin board instructing each officer to read it.

Sent to Other Towns

Civil liberties groups and poverty program workers in other states have since heard of the booklet and asked for copies. Mrs. Robin said today that she had mailed 23,000 copies to about 20 other states and was preparing 8,000 more to be sent. Some have gone to leading universities, she said.

Copies have also been sent, on request, to police departments in four other Georgia towns, Augusta, Gainesville, Tifton and Alma, and to the Sumter County, Ga., sheriff's office.

Mrs. Robin said the booklet's somewhat surprising popularity among policemen apparently resulted from its dual approach. While stressing the citizen's rights, the booklet makes it clear that the police also have a right to expect cooperation.

"Fighting with a policeman is a serious crime," it warns. "It will only make things worse. Go with him quietly."

'Your Home Is Your Castle'

The booklet advises cooperating with the police in investigations and warns against running away from policemen, "even if you feel you are being wrongly arrested."

It also tells people how far they should go in answering questions.

"If you are under arrest," it says, "you do not have to answer any more questions. A policeman does not have the right to search you unless you are being arrested or he has a search warrant.

"If a policeman asks to come into your home, you do not have to let him in. The law says: 'Your home is your castle.'"

The booklet assures the reader that he has a right to a lawyer, a free one if he has no money, any time he is arrested.

"If you are not treated right by a policeman—if he calls you 'nigger' or 'nigger-lover' or 'boy', or calls you by your first name instead of Mr. or Mrs., or curses you or abuses you, you should complain about him," the booklet advises.

Mrs. Robin said many receiving the booklets had complained not of physical brutality but of "humiliations" such as being called "nigger" and "boy" by the police.

The liberties union and the Council on Human Relations have begun holding clinics in slum communities around Georgia to explain citizens' rights, using the booklet and slides.

The booklet was written this summer by Mrs. Robin and a committee of Georgia lawyers.

Blind Newsman Will Get '66 Handicapped Award

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24—A blind radio-television newsman and jazz musician from Toledo, Ohio, who worked his way to earn three college degrees was named Handicapped American of the Year for 1966, it was announced today.

Art Edgerton, a 38-year-old news writer for WTOL radio and TV station in Toledo, was chosen by the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. He will receive the President's trophy on April 27 at ceremonies at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Mr. Edgerton earned a bachelor's degree in sociology from St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia in 1950, and went on to receive his master's degree from Fordham University in 1951. While working toward his second degree, he attended the Juilliard School of Music in New York where he earned a bachelor's degree in music.

In addition to his duties as a news writer, he is the station's music director.

Westerners in Moscow Hold Christmas Services

MOSCOW, Dec. 25 (UPI)—Russian Roman Catholics and Protestants and Moscow's foreign colony celebrated Christmas with midnight services, Christmas carols and public and private Christmas Eve parties.

Moscow was covered by heavy snow with a temperature of 14 degrees when the chimes of the Kremlin's Spassky Tower ushered in Dec. 25.

American and other Western Catholics attended midnight mass at Spaso House, the American Ambassador's residence, and Western Protestants attended midnight services at the British Embassy.

The official midwinter holiday in the Soviet Union is New Year's Day.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST! TODAY IS CHRISTMAS DAY!

(copy + info.)

KENTUCKY

EXPLANATION AND DIGEST
of the
1966 KENTUCKY CIVIL RIGHTS ACT
covering
EMPLOYMENT
and
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

ENACTED JANUARY 27, 1966

EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1966

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INTRODUCTION

Among the first considerations of the 1966 Kentucky General Assembly was a civil rights Act, with coverage in the areas of public accommodations and employment. This Act had the support of the Governor of Kentucky, the bi-partisan support of legislators around the State, the editorial support of leading Kentucky newspapers, and the support of individuals and groups recognizing the moral necessity for state civil rights legislation. This digest is written to help individual citizens become acquainted with the major facets of the civil rights Act.

The Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 emphasizes that its enforcement should be through state agencies which function under state laws compatible with the federal statute. When the state assumes its responsibility for the protection of the rights of its citizens, federal enforcement of the Civil Rights Act becomes unnecessary.

The Kentucky Civil Rights Act will meet the requirements of the Federal Law and will provide more sensitive, more efficient, and less remote enforcement procedures than the federal law. This act uses as a model the Uniform State Civil Rights Act which is being drafted by a special committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This group is composed of outstanding judges, lawyers, and law professors from all sections of the United States including the South.

While the heart of the bill is contained in the three articles covering public accommodations, fair employment practices, and enforcement; there are seven articles in the bill as follows:

1. Declaration of Purpose; Construction; Severability
2. General Definitions
3. Discrimination in Employment
4. Discrimination in Public Accommodations
5. Enforcement; Judicial Review
6. Miscellaneous
7. Local Human Rights Commissions

Purpose of the Act

The purpose of this Act is to safeguard all individuals within the state from discrimination because of race, color, religion, and national origin in connection with employment and public accommodations. Discrimination is a matter of state concern because it involves an individual's personal dignity and freedom from humiliation. Such discrimination deprives the state of the full productive capacities of individuals, foments strife and unrest, menaces the democratic institutions of the state, and damages the interests, rights, and privileges of all persons within the state.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Equal access to employment opportunities is the greatest need of minority persons today. Persons who are unemployed or under-utilized because of their race, color, religion, or national origin do not have the opportunity to contribute their full productive capacities toward a better life for themselves, their families, and for the whole society. Discrimination in employment practices is a continuing problem in Kentucky and is a problem which a Kentucky fair employment practices law can help remedy. Certainly, the continuation of Kentucky's business and industrial growth without racial friction is one reason for passage of the Act.

Coverage

Employment discrimination is covered by article three of the Act. Basically Sections 302 through 306 state that race, color, religion, and national origin are not lawful criteria for making employment decisions. Like the Federal Law, employers, employment agencies, and labor organizations will be covered by the Act. Employers hiring 8 or more employees within the State in each of twenty or more weeks in the calendar year will be covered. Thus, 80% of Kentucky's employees and 22% of employers will be covered.

The smaller employees of the state will not be covered by the Act. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will cover employers hiring 25 or more employees, to be fully effective in 1968. This would exclude most of Kentucky's employers (93%) and a very large percentage of Kentucky employees (40%). Kentucky should act to protect as many employees from discrimination as possible.

Equal Treatment Based on Individual Merit

It is made clear in the Act that an employer can use seniority and merit systems and can make employment decisions on the basis of professionally developed ability tests. One section makes its doubly clear that nothing in the Act requires preferential treatment for any person or group; all that is required is equality of treatment based on individual merit.

Reasonable Provisions for Exemptions

Religious institutions, including church related or supported educational institutions, will be able to exercise a religious preference in choosing their employees where religion is a reasonable occupational qualification. However, race, color, and national origin will not be considered valid qualifications in these cases.

Similar provisions allow the exercise of preferences based on religion or national origin for an employer, employment agency, or labor organization where such qualifications are reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the enterprise.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS PROVISIONS

The Kentucky Act will apply generally to places of public accommodation which serve the public. Its clear coverage will be fair to proprietors because it will apply equally to all businesses. This Uniform rule will help to eliminate anxiety and avoid incidents.

With certain exceptions it will cover places of public accommodation, including ". . . any place, store or other establishment, either licensed or unlicensed which supplies goods or services to the general public or which is supported directly or indirectly by government funds."

In Title II of the Federal Act of 1964, services, places of active amusement and recreational facilities such as bowling alleys, skating rinks, and driving ranges are not all covered. Under the state Act, these loopholes will be eliminated.

Experience with state public accommodations laws has shown that it is best to word coverage provisions in general terms. Earlier laws contained detailed lists of the kinds of covered establishments. No list can possibly name all of the changing forms of enterprise created by American business ingenuity. As a result, the detailed coverage sections have required frequent amendments.

Chapter Four of the Kentucky Act covers discrimination in places of public accommodation. The places which are required not to discriminate are defined in Section 402 (a). Exceptions are made in Section 402 (a) for barber shops, beauty shops, owner occupied tourist homes of 5 rooms or less, and bona fide private clubs (where policies are actually determined by members and admission is limited to members and their guests). These exemptions are provided in the light of practical, political conditions in Kentucky today and are similar to those in the Federal Act.

IMPLEMENTATION AND EMFORCEMENT

Persuasion the Key to Compliance

The legislation will emphasize efforts at persuasion and conciliation by the Commission on Human Rights. Only where these methods failed will the Commission be required to hold hearings. The whole enforcement procedure in Article 5 is based on the best available methods followed by

other state agencies. Many of the procedures are taken from the Model State Administrative Procedure Act.

The duties and obligations of the Commission are spelled out in detail in Section 502. The procedure for complaint, investigation, and conciliation is covered in Section 503. Section 502 (a) states who may file a complaint and sets a limit of six months within which a complaint must be filed. Employment complaints have an even shorter time limit of 90 days.

Upon receiving a complaint, the Commission will conduct a preliminary investigation to determine if there is probable cause to believe that an unlawful discrimination has occurred. If probable cause is found, the Commission must proceed to encourage complaince by conference, conciliation, and persuasion.

Experience has shown that conciliation activities effectively settle nearly all cases. If these efforts fail, the Commission would serve a complaint upon the respondent (Section 504), hold a hearing, and subpoena witnesses and documents. All hearings are to be conducted in accordance with strict procedures specified by the Act.

Advantages of Commission Procedures

Based on experience in other states most of the Commission's work will continue to be devoted to educational efforts to encourage voluntary compliance. The Commission would facilitate smooth change by sharing with employers and proprietors the wide-spread experience of other Kentucky businessmen who have successfully desegregated. When complaints are filed, the preliminary investigations under the Act can help screen out baseless charges and protect businessmen from harassment, and from unjustified legal defenses. When the complaint is justified, a mandatory conference, conciliation

and persuasion procedure must be followed. The conciliation efforts are strictly confidential, and the vast majority of complaints are settled at this stage without publicity.

Kentuckians who are familiar with problems throughout the State make up the Commission. They have been working for five years to encourage voluntary equal treatment and have built up a large body of experience in these matters. Four Commission members, including the Chairman, are to be appointed by the Governor in 1966, and the bill provides new language to insure bi-partisan representation of employers, proprietors, trade unions, religious groups, human rights groups, and the general public.

Protection of Employer's and Complainant's Rights

A member of the Commission who filed a complaint or who endeavored to eliminate the alleged discrimination will be barred from participating in a hearing or subsequent deliberation in that case (Section 504 b). This separation between the investigative and hearing functions of the Commission will assure the fairness of the procedure. After hearing, the Commission could issue a cease and desist order upon a finding that the law had been violated. The final orders of the Commission could be reviewed and enforced in the local circuit courts.

If, on the other hand, the Commission staff determines after investigation that there was no probable cause, then the complaint will be dismissed (Section 503 b and c). The complainant has a right to appeal this decision to the full Commission and to appeal a decision of the Commission to the courts. Safeguards to protect the rights of employers and complainants from arbitrary action by the Commission at any stage of the process are included in Section 507. The availability of judicial review is an integral part of the process and is available to any party who feels that he has been aggrieved by a decision of the Commission.

Avoidance of Record Keeping Burdens

To avoid undue burdens on persons subject to the Act, Section 508 (e) provides that necessary information keeping will conform to similar records and reports already required by federal law and government contract regulations. For the purpose of uniformity and in the interest of multi-state employers, the state could adopt the regulations of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on this matter. A public hearing must precede adoption of such regulations. Under Section 508 (d) an employer who believed the provisions would result in "undue hardship" could ask the Commission for relief or bring an action in circuit court.

Procedures for Subpoenas

The Act provides subpoena procedures for the Commission in Section 502 (i) and upon application to parties to a Commission hearing in Section 509. Subpoenas are necessary to enable all parties to present their evidence. All the normal judicial safeguards surround this process. Careful limits on relevancy are written into the Act. Before a court would enforce a subpoena the Commission would have to prove that the witnesses or documents sought pertain to possible unlawful discriminatory practices. Thus, general fishing expeditions can not be made. In Kentucky, other state commissions which exercise similar functions, (such as the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the Department of Health), can issue subpoenas and they have proven necessary.

Article 6 makes retaliation and conspiracy to retaliate against anyone exercising rights guaranteed by this Act an unlawful practice punishable by a fine and/or imprisonment. The Act as a whole provides for civil remedies and this sanction is only for situations where a person is not otherwise covered.

LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS

All levels of government have an obligation to protect their citizens from the evils of discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and this Act provide for local implementation of non-discrimination policies where local agencies have sufficient enforcement power and staff for good faith implementation.

Enabling legislation for the highly desirable local efforts to eliminate discrimination is provided in Article 7. It will supplement the Act passed by the General Assembly in 1962 to encourage establishment of local human rights commissions and permit local governing bodies to give them additional duties. Counties will be authorized to create commissions and cities and counties could then legally cooperate to eliminate discriminatory practices. Cities and counties could pass ordinances which will be enforceable in circuit courts of the state. Before the Act, a city could only use criminal sanctions in police courts.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Act contains several features which experience in other states has shown to be significant. The employment section applies to "the State, any of its political or civil subdivisions or agencies;" (Section 201). Discriminatory advertising is prohibited in employment, (Section 306) and in public accommodations (Section 403). Commission members can initiate complaints under the provisions of Section 502 (h) and 503 (a). The Commission can provide by regulation for the posting of notices regarding coverage of the Act, Section 502 (n). Efforts to weaken the Act by requiring a trial de novo, and a showing of "intentional" discrimination were not successful.

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

Edward T. Breathitt, Governor

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Chairman
The Very Reverend Robert W. Estill
Louisville

MEMBERS

William F. Billingsley,
South Fort Mitchell
Mrs. Dann C. Byck,
Louisville
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Pierre W. Jackson,
Assistant Director
Archie E. Allen,
Field Representative
Henry C. Tribble,
Field Representative

The 1960 General Assembly created the Commission and directed it, among its other powers and duties, to recommend ways of eliminating injustices occasioned by discrimination. On the basis of its five years of efforts to eliminate discrimination by voluntary methods, the Commission recommended the enactment of a public accommodations and employment law. This digest seeks to explain that law.

KKK

Klan's Craig and 6 Indicted in Capital

AC 3/4/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A federal grand jury here Thursday indicted Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin F. Craig and six other United Klan leaders on charges of contempt of Congress.

The indictments grew out of contempt citations voted by the House of Representatives because the Klan leaders refused to provide KKK documents subpoenaed by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee (HUAC).

HUAC completed last month an extensive investigation into Ku Klux Klan activities.

Others indicted are Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Grand Dragon James R. Jones of North Carolina; Grand Dragon Robert E. Scoggin of South Carolina; Grand Dragon Marshall R. Kornegay of Virginia; Imperial Kludd (chaplain) George F. Dorsett and Imperial Kladd (conductor of ceremonies) Robert Hudgins, both of North Carolina.

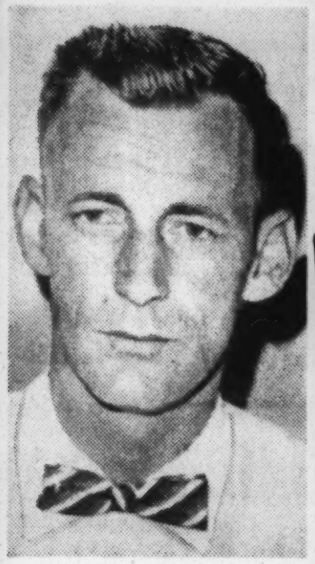
The seven Klansmen constitute the top leadership of the United Klan, the most powerful of the multiple -KKK organizations.

Arraignment of the seven klansmen has been set tentatively for March 11 in U.S. District Coourt in the District of Columbia.

The klansmen will be tried in district court here.

Informed in Atlanta of his indictment, Craig said, "The

Continued on Page 6, Column 3



Associated Press Wirephotos

INDICTED KLANSMEN
Calvin Craig, Top, and Robert Shelton

Craig and 6 Indicted in Klan Probe

Continued From Page 1

only thing we're guilty of is just being good Americans."

Craig added, "There have been some 130 cases where persons have been cited for contempt, but only eight have been found guilty in the courts."

"I think the whole thing was rigged from the beginning," said Craig. He added he thinks the investigation was brought about because the klan didn't endorse President Lyndon B. Johnson in the last election.

Craig was critical of Rep. Charles Weltner, D-Ga., who proposed the original investigation. He said the klan had opposed Weltner in the last election and would oppose him again.

He also challenged Weltner to a public debate on the issues.

In Tuscaloosa, Shelton said the indictment is "just further harassment of the federal bureaucracy" and came as no surprise. He added "when we get into court I'm sure the issues will be quite different."

KKK AS 3/16/66

Associated Press Wirephoto

SUSPENDED
By HERSHEY

New Orleans, March 16—Jack M. Helm, member of the New Orleans local draft board, has been suspended on the basis of newspaper reports that he had been active in the Ku Klux Klan, Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service director has announced. Helm, 55, appeared before the House Committee on un-American Activities in January and refused to answer questions as to whether he was head of a klan unit in New Orleans and a state vice president.

KKK

Alabama's Klan Kicks Leader Out

AS 6/23/66

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (UPI)—The Ku Klux Klan has ousted Alabama Grand Dragon William P. Brassell in the second major shakeup of the hooded order within a year, it was learned Sunday.

Brassell took over the Alabama klan when Robert Creel of Linden stepped down last November. Creel resigned after being arrested in Pascagoula, Miss., on charges of driving while intoxicated and carrying a concealed weapon.

Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of the klan, refused to comment on the latest shakeup in the robed hierarchy.

Brassell, who was ousted during a meeting May 13 in Linden, also refused comment. "Perhaps at a more appropriate time," he said.

A graduate of the University of Alabama and Birmingham Law School, Brassell is a salesman here. He has worked as a legal researcher and did legal work in the U.S. Air Force while in the service.

KKK AC 6/25/66

Fulton Bans Klan Vote Drive

The Ku Klux Klan and Fulton County clashed Tuesday over voter registration.

County Attorney Harold Sheats issued a statement denying that the Klan was authorized to conduct voter registration in the name of the Klan.

The question was raised after a Klan leader announced that the Klan was starting a voting registration drive this week.

Sheats conceded that some members of the Klan had been deputized as registrars, but that they were working under the supervision of the county and not a grand dragon.

"The registrar's office does not recognize the Klan or any other organization. We will suspend them as deputy registrars if they sign up voters in the name of the Klan," Sheats said.

Calvin Craig, grand dragon of the United Klans of America Inc., said Monday that 25 Klansmen are conducting the drive.

Craig's organization became interested in voting registration after the All Citizens Committee, a predominately Negro group, launched a voting drive last month.

Sheats said that no organization, including the Citizens Committee, is authorized to solicit voter registration under the guise of an organization other than the county.

United Press International

IN CONTEMPT: Robert M. Shelton Jr., Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, shown here at a Klan rally, was convicted of contempt of Congress last week for refusing to produce Klan records for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

9/18/66

The Law

KKK

The Contempt Issue Overtakes the Klan

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — "Beatniks! Sex perverts! Tennis-shoe-wearing Communists!" hissed the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America last Wednesday afternoon.

Robert M. Shelton Jr. was not referring to the jury that had just convicted him of contempt of Congress—even though the jury included three Negroes.

Nor did he mean the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which had initiated the charges against him for refusing to produce subpoenaed Klan records.

The Wizard's invective was directed instead against the young radicals who had "spit epithets in the face of Congress" during recent Un-American Activities Committee hearings into critics of the Vietnam war.

Christian Gentleman

None of them had been cited for contempt by the committee, he pointed out, while he had behaved as a "Christian gentleman" and now faces a possible one-year prison sentence and $1,000 fine for contempt.

The Wizard's explanation for this made little sense (he claimed the Federal Government coddles Nigras, and "pinks," but few observers would include the House Committee on Un-American Activities in such a charge), but his complaint did raise an intriguing point.

The committee had charged him and six lesser Klan figures with contempt (they will be tried here next month), while pointedly avoiding a legal confrontation with the left. Why?

It was not that the committee lacked adequate justification to move against the "Vietniks." Two war critics had simply ignored the committee's subpoenas, and two became so ill-mannered they were hauled bodily from the witness stand.

At one point, the committee members, momentarily losing their cool, did threaten to cite one witness for contempt. Delighted, he replied: "Do you wish to go for six on this?"

This was a backhanded reminder to the committee that it is in the throes of one of the most spectacular legal losing streaks in congressional history, and that a contempt citation might well become the committee's sixth consecutive Supreme Court defeat.

Actually, the committee's record in the past five years is even worse than that; 26 other contempt cases have failed in the lower courts, and no convictions have been upheld.

The battle began bravely for the committee in 1946, shortly after it was created. Seventeen officials of the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee and the entertainment industry's famous "Hollywood Ten" simply refused to answer the committee's questions about their alleged Communist connections.

They claimed that the House of Representatives' rule rule that authorized the committee to investigate "un-American propaganda" was so broad that its investigations threatened the freedom of speech and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

They lost in the lower courts, and the Supreme Court, not then ready to cross Congress over anti-subversive investigations, affirmed the convictions.

For the next few years most witnesses who refused to talk relied on the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination!

This saved the witnesses from jail (75 were prosecuted for contempt and none were convicted), but the stigma of "taking the Fifth" became so strong that they began again to plead their First Amendment rights.

This paid off in 1957, when the Supreme Court sharply criticized the committee in *Watkins v. United States* and seemed almost ready to declare that its freewheeling mandate to probe "un-American propaganda" violates witnesses' freedom of speech.

The high Court retreated in 1959 when it upheld a committee contempt action in *Barenblatt v. United States,* but four dissenters—Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo L. Black, William J. Brennan Jr. and William O. Douglas—served notice that they would be prepared to crack down on the committee as soon as a fifth justice swung over to their view.

They have been in the majority in all the committee's contempt cases since 1961, but the reversals have been on narrow (some critics say nit-picking) grounds.

Now many civil libertarians believe a majority of the Court is merely waiting for the right case in which severely to limit the committee's power to compel testimony, if not to declare the committee unconstitutional under the First Amendment. This explains the Vienam war critics' bullying of the committee, many observers believe, as well as the members' forebearance.

Thus the Klan contempt cases might have offered an ironic forum for a legal showdown. The question as to whether the Klan, an indigenous institution born of Reconstruction, could be termed "un-American," placed in issue the constitutionality of the committee's mandate, and attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union eagerly offered to assist in Mr. Shelton's defense.

As Mr. Shelton put it this week, he turned them down on principle, saying that he considered the A.C.L.U. a "pink" organization.

But while the American left has become wise in the ways of constitutional litigation against the Un-American Activities Committee, the Klan indicated that it still has much to learn.

Mr. Shelton's attorney did not challenge the constitutionality of the Committee's broad authority, or claim that it had a chilling effect on free speech.

Instead, he contended that the subpoenaed papers were not relevant to any legitimate legislative purpose anl that the language of the subpoena was overly broad.

The trial judge ruled against him on both points, and Mr. Shelton vowed to appeal, if necessary, to the Supreme Court, where the beatniks, if nothing else, know how to play the game.

LABOR 3/2/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, W

Wirtz Warns U.S. of a Serious Labor Shortage

Asks Coat and Suit Industry to Support Job Training

By HERBERT KOSHETZ
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, March 1—The nation is facing a serious manpower shortage, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz said here today. He said the impending shortage called for preparations to take care of the expanding needs in industry, and he asked for support of the on-the-job training program.

Mr. Wirtz said that the Department of Labor's figures on turnover, new hiring and length of the work week showed that the situation was notably tighter now than it was a year ago, although it was not as serious as during the Korean war. Reports from companies under survey reveal, he added, that there is a general shortage.

Mr. Wirtz spoke at a meeting of the national boar dof the Coat and Suit Industry an o rganization representing management and labor in the women's and children's coat industry in New York and other garment producing centers throughout the country.

The Secretary said that "industry reports showed that companies were having difficulty finding people with skills.

"In terms of fully prepared people," he said, "there is a shortage. In terms of potential workers the situation is not quite as serious."

'Emerging Shortages'

In January, when the nation's unemployment rate dropped to 4.1 per cent, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Arthur M. Ross said that a "general labor shortage" did not exist. Instead, he said, there was "a mixture of emerging shortages in a few areas, occupations and industries."

Labor is currently in shorter supply in the Great Lakes area, the Midwest and New England. The industries most affected are construction and the metal trades.

Mr. Wirtz said there were no plans in government to put controls on wages or prices as a result of the Vietnam war.

"The American public, labor and management do not want controls," he said, "and every impulse is to stay away. No ifs, ands or buts about it."

At a news conference following his address Mr. Wirtz said he was confident that peace would not u pset the economy.

"Sudden peace" he said "does not scare me one bit. There is enough to do in the way of school construction beautifying of cities getting rid of slums and even flying to the moon to keep the nation's work force busy."

The New York Times
Willard W. Wirtz

Mr. Wirtz was asked if he envisioned a head-on collision with organized labor on the question of guidelines for wages. He replied:

"I've had a week of it and I'm sick of it."

He was referring to the union meetings he had attended in Miami Beach last week at which George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said that labor would not adhere to guidelines limiting wages.

Mr. Wirtz said that recent surveys showed that turnover in employment was at a rate of 3.1 per cent as against 2.6 per cent a year ago.

He foresaw an increase in employment of about 2.1 million workers this year, to drop to the unemployment rate below 4 per cent. He said the available work force would increase about 1.3 million this year and that he expected that 300,000 workers not actively looking for jobs would return to the labor market. He said he also expected the unemployment total to decline about 500,000.

In his remarks at the meeting Mr. Wirtz said that if employers continued to bid for skilled workers who were fully trained rather than to undertake to train them it would push up wages and costs.

He asked for the support of the national board for the Government's on-the-job training program.

Mr. Wirtz said that the Fair Labor Standards Act had fallen short of achieving its goal. He said the present minimum wage applied to only two-thirds of the white population and one-half of the nonwhites and to only half of the women workers.

Asserts Government Has No Plans for Wage Controls

New minimum wage laws now before Congress, he said, should bring from five to seven million more workers under higher standards. He said he did not want to speculate on what the minimum wage would be but that the best estimates were from $1.40 to $1.60 an hour. The present rate is $1.25.

No Truce Meeting

MIAMI BEACH, March 1 (AP) — Mr. Meany and Mr. Wirtz went their separate ways back to Washington today without holding a truce meeting in organized labor's spat with the Johnson Administration.

"Of course I'll meet with him," Mr. Meany said, but Mr. Wirtz's reply before catching a plane back to the nation's capital was "I think not."

The labor leader had wanted Mr. Wirtz to come to him for a talk, but the Secretary of Labor went to Miami Beach today for his speech and did not go near Mr. Meany's headquarters at the Americana Hotel.

Neither was there any telephone conversation between the two, informed sources said.

Mr. Meany took a train back to Washington, where the dispute between the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the White House will be continued in Congress over minimum wage legislation.

Mr. Wirtz's refusal to accept Mr. Meany's unofficial peace offer, informed A.F.L.-C.I.O. sources said, would not improve the soured relationship between the nation's top labor leader and the Democratic Administration.

"Meany won't knock on the White House door," said a high labor source.

Mr. Meany said he had no plans to ask for a conference with President Johnson when he gets back to Washington.

But, officials of the 13-million-member labor federation said, even without a truce meeting the Johnson Administration could patch up some of its differences with the A.F.L.-C.I.O. by backing labor's minimum wage demands in Congress.

The labor federation wants the minimum wage increased to $1.40, $1.60 and $1.75 in three annual steps. The White House reportedly has been leaning toward $1.40 this year and $1.60 in 1968.

LABOR

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 6, 1966.

Texas Labor Council Breaks With the President

By MARTIN WALDRON
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, March 5 — The Texas American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organization Council, which has about 200,000 members has broken an 18-year political alliance with President Johnson, and promised a "political revolution" in Texas.

In a three-day convention that ended today at Houston's Sheraton Lincoln Hotel, the Committee on Political Education of the Texas Council of the A. F. L.-C. I. O. took these actions:

¶Repudiated two political allies of the President-Gov. John B. Connally Jr. and Attorney General Waggoner Car, both conservative Democrats.

¶Adopted a resolution expressing 'disappointment" in the President's handling of his Great Society.

¶Declared that it may start a third party in Texas to give liberal Texans a political base.

H. S. Brown, state president of A.F.L.-C.I.O., indicated that the break with the President was not irrevocable. The real dispute, he said, was with the state Democratic Party, which has been dominated by conservatives. Texas labor has supported Mr. Johnson since 1948.

One of the significant actions of the three-day labor convention was a private agreement that labor leaders in Texas would gather the 25,000 signatures needed to put Ronnie Dugger of Austin, an independent candidate, on the ballot for the United States Senate in November.

Most political observers in Texas have speculated that such a move would insure the reelection of Senator John G. Tower, the Republican who succeeded President Johnson in the Senate in 1961.

Defeat of Senator Tower has been viewed as the President's number one goal in Texas politics.

It became clear at the convention that labor would not support Mr. Carr, the leading Democratic candidate, despite what one top labor man called "pressure" from Washington.

Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, in a special appearance at the labor convention Friday, said the abolishing of the Texas poll tax by the Federal Courts last month had presented Texas with an unparalleled chance for a political revolution.

Mr. Yarborough, a liberal and an ardent foe of Governor Connally, urged Texas labor unions and liberal organizations to register at least 2 million additional voters during a current 15-day special registration.

Roy Evans, secretary treasurer of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Texas, had set a goal of 1 million additional liberals to be registered during the 15-day period, which was set by the state Legislature after the Federal courts threw out the Texas poll tax.

Unless the United States Supreme Court reinstates the poll tax, these newly registered voters will be able to vote in this year's elections along with the 2 million residents who registered by paying a poll tax before the January 31 deadline.

Senator Tower, Mr. Dugger and John R. Willoughby, a Houston advertising man who is running against Mr. Carr for the Democratic nomination as Senator, spoke to the convention this morning. Mr. Carr spoke Thursday. Governor Connally turned down an invitation to speak.

Senator Tower told the grim-faced labor audience today that he was opposed to most of the national labor goals — an increase in the coverage of the Minimum Wage Act, repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and an extension in Federal unemployment benefits.

The only promise he would make to labor, he said, was that his door will be open for labor lobbyists who come to present their views.

Mr. Willoughby said that he would do whatever was necessary to get labor's endorsement and "COPE" money on which to campaign." He said he might even make labor "a hero" in a book he is writing.

"I am labor's man in this race," Mr. Willoughby said.

Mr. Dugger got a standing ovation from the audience as he declared in a speech sprinklered with literary allusions that the President's antipoverty campaign must be expanded.

Mr. Dugger, editor of a liberal Texas newspaper, The Texas Observer, denied that he planned to seek a place on the ballot this November as an independent because he wanted to disrupt the State Democratic Party, as has been charged by Mr. Carr.

"I am not seeking to beat one man," he said. "I got into this race to beat both of them."

Labor's voter registration drive, which ends March 17—unless the Federal Bureau of Investigation finds evidence that people have been prevented from registering — is being concentrated in areas with heavy Negro and Mexican-American population.

The F.B.I.'s monitoring of the registration has drawn heavy fire from Governor Connally and Mr. Carr and from Senator Tower. Mr. Connally called it "an insult" to Texas.

LABOR NYT 3/11/66

UNION FILES A SUIT TO END COLOR LINE

Chemical Workers First to Act Against an Employer

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — The International Chemical Workers Union has become the first labor union to charge an employer with racial discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

William L. Mitchell, its president, said today that the 85,000-member union filed the suit yesterday against the Planters Manufacturing Company, a cottonseed and soybean oil producer in Clarksdale, Miss.

The suit charged the company with discriminating against Negro employes and refusing to agree to a nondiscrimination provision in a new labor agreement. A company official denied the charges.

Mr. Mitchell said that the union had filed the suit only after the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which enforces the Civil Rights Act, failed to rule on its complaint against the company.

Civil rights organizations and others have many times charged organized labor with racial discrimination under the Civil Rights Act. But never before has a union filed a complaint of its own against an employer.

Bids Unions 'Take Offensive'

"The American trade union movement has too often been in a defensive position with respect to enforcement of the equal employment opportunity provisions" of the act, Mr. Mitchell said at a news conference.

Unions can use the law's provisions to forward their goals and will "make a mistake if they fail to utilize this weapon," Mr. Mitchell went on.

I believe that unions should take the offensive" in using the act, he said.

The union was certified as bargaining agent at the Planters facility last May. The plant employs 20 white workers and 95 Negro workers, the union said, but there are no white workers in the union.

The union said it had filed discrimination charges against the company October 19, after failing to achieve a contract. But it said that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission had refused to process the charges on the ground that only aggrieved individuals could take such action.

Members File Charges

Five Negro union members at the plant filed charges with the commission on Dec. 2, the union said, and on Feb. 17 the commission informed them that the charges had been processed and that they had 30 days within which to sue.

Mr. Mitchell expressed his "strong dissent" from the commission's position that a union could not file a suit. He said he would bring a suit to alter that rule unless it were changed.

The union suit, filed in the Federal District Court in Clarksdale, charges that Planters discriminates against Negroes on wages, vacations and seniority.

NYT 4/17/66

ABEL ASKS UNIONS TO ELIMINATE BIAS

LABOR

Steelworkers Chief Asserts There Is Much to Be Done

By EMANUEL PERLMUTTER

The head of the United Steelworkers of America called yesterday for more intensive efforts by trade unions to eliminate discrimination in their membership policies.

"Not all unions have a clean, admirable record in the field of human relations," I. W. Abel, the steelworkers' president, said at a luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy at the Waldorf-Astoria.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, received an award from the league for his long involvement in civil rights, union and progressive political movements.

Cites 'Honest Efforts'

Discussing the trade union record in civil rights, Mr. Abel said: "Many of the barriers still stand, but honest efforts are being made to remove them by the responsible and elected leaders of the trade union movement.

"But let's not delude ourselves. There is much to be done. The road to social and economic justice is a long one. And although we live in a world of 15,000 mile-an-hour missiles and a world shrunken by the speed of jets, our progress on that road remains slower than it should be.

"There is a restlessness and impatience among some segments of our society. There is seething indignation among others. Time is becoming more and more of an element and the longer we postpone realistic solutions, the more we invite violence.

"I see the role of the labor movement as one of making sure that we have an ever-increasing social revolution that gives top priority to the needs of man, a revolution that erases the seething indignation among minority groups, assures security and dignity to workers, eliminates the fear of the aged and meets the expectations of the young."

Leaders of the labor movement, old-time Socialists and members of the academic world joined to pay tribute to Mr. Randolph, an elder statesman in the civil rights and union movements.

Randolph Gets Ovation

When the 77-year-old Negro arose to receive the league's award from Mr. Abel, he was greeted by a long ovation. A dignified-looking man, he was openly moved by the reception.

Mr. Randolph made a brief acceptance speech, saying that Negroes were "breaking out of a history of slavery and serfdom" and that riots like those in Los Angeles and New York were inevitable.

At another luncheon, Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council, said that the labor movement was remiss in not having more women among its leaders.

At a meeting in the Commodore Hotel, held by the Community Services and Rehabilitation Institute, he said his male colleagues were "victims of custom and habit" in not giving women fuller representation.

Balancing Artist Injured In Accident at the Circus

A 21-year-old circus balancing artist suffered head injuries yesterday morning at Madison Square Garden when she failed to catch a pole after turning a somersault 20 feet in the air.

The performer, Alcija Mecner, was working in the act with her husband, Marek, at a performance of the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus. He was holding the pole, and caught her by the elbows as she hit the ground and carried her out of the arena.

Many in the large audience were aoparently unaware of the accident as the spotlights shifted and the next act went on without a pause.

Mrs. Mecner was taken to St. Clare's Hospital, where her condition is listed as satisfactory.

Petrillo Quietly Battles Musicians' Segregation

By HOWARD TAUBMAN

James C. Petrillo, the warrior who led the nation's musicians as president of their union for 18 years, is back in the midst of the battle. But this time he is working quietly to compose old divisions in the union, the American Federation of Musicians, itself.

For almost two years Mr. Petrillo has been serving as head of the union's civil rights department. His duties are to bring about complete integration to a union that for many decades in all parts of the country had dual locals—chapters to which only white or Negro instrumentalists belonged.

Since Mr. Petrillo's return to action, the dual locals in more than a dozen cities have been merged, but there are still about 25 cities with segregated locals. In his home city of Chicago and in New York, where the 74-year-old Mr. Petrillo comes for occasional working sessions, the musicians' president emeritus is employing his practiced arts of argument and persuasion.

"I talk to each side, and then I bring them together," he said the other day at lunch at his favorite watering place, the Waldorf-Astoria, where he used to live while he conducted his stormy battles with record companies, radio, television and orchestras.

"It's not easy," said Mr. Petrillo, and there was a glint in his eye, as if he enjoyed again the savor of tough negotiations. "But I keep after them. They know they're going to have to merge. I don't want to push them, but we may have to."

Mr. Petrillo declined to name the locals and cities that were giving him the most trouble but indicated that they were in the North and Middle West as well as in the South. Resistance to integration, he added, comes from both sides.

The problem is not one of geography or even of ancient racial antagonisms. Small segregated locals, whether Negro or white, whether Northern or Southern, don't want to give up their prerogatives. These include autonomy, ownership of real estate, independent treasuries and the privilege of an annual paid trip for delegates to the national convention.

Mr. Petrillo does not complain about the difficulties of the assignment, but he is faced by constant complications. Lawyers, appraisers, actuaries and accountants have to be brought in to help heach agreement.

He does not expect miracles. He knows that his job will be slow and laborious. But he expects to wind it up after some months and resume the life of retirement that he sought when he voluntarily gave up the union presidency in 1958.

Mr. Petrillo's return to action came at the union convention in Portland, Ore., in June, 1964. Invited to attend a dinner honoring Herman Kenin, his successor as president, in Mr. Kenin's home town, Mr. Petrillo also was asked to address the convention.

He made a passionate, fighting speech. It has been preserved in a recording called "Jimmy Speaks!" In the words of the record sleeve, "one of organized labor's greats" returned "to thrill musicians with an eloquent plea for unity and confusion to all dissenters."

Mr. Petrillo so stirred the 1,200 delegates, that they unanimously voted to ask him to resume important duties.

The veteral of numerous labor wars clearly relishes the new activity, though he disclaims any desire to head the union again.

"The time had come for a change," he said. "There was a different atmosphere, and what was needed was a leader for a new era. Kenin is a lawyer, and I suggested him myself."

Mr. Petrillo's voice still rasps and his accents retain the clipped toughness of the Chicago in which he grew up and rose to union leadership. He speaks with pride of the victory he won in the long conflict in the nineteen-forties with the record companies for some sort of royalty payments and of the resulting Music Performance Trust Funds, which have provided so much employment to musicians and brought so much good music free to so many sections of the country.

He recalls without rancor the way he was attacked in his years of leadership. He conveys the impression of a man who regards it almost as a badge of honor to have been reviled like John L. Lewis of the miner's union. He shows you a booklet of cartoons poking fun at him and growls at the cartoonists who refused to give permission to have their drawings included in the collection, which the union printed as a tribute to him.

No labor leader relished a fight more than Mr. Petrillo. The zest for battle remains.

N.A.A.C.P. Aide Accuses Unions Of Stalling on Desegregation

LABOR

Hill Sees a Major Conflict If Bias Isn't Ended by Locals and on Seniority Lines

6/30/66

By DAVID R. JONES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 29 —A civil rights leader said today that the movement was facing a major conflict with organized labor because unions were not moving fast enough to eliminate segregated locals and seniority lines.

Herbert Hill, national labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made the assertion in an interview after filing additional charges of such discrimination by two unions with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Mr. Hill said the N.A.A.C.P. would ask its convention next week to pass a resolution asking the labor movement to "reverse itself" on these issues and telling labor that the test of its commitment to civil rights would be "what they do and how fast they do it" on these questions.

Wilkins Sees Passage

Roy Wilkins, executive Director of the N.A.A.C.P., said in a telephone interview from New York that he believed a resolution would be passed at the convention urging labor to do more in this area. Segregated locals and seniority lines are "a very hot issue," he said.

Mr. Hill said the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations recently resisted a suggestion from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to meet with civil rights leaders and commission officials to discuss these problems.

He said separate meetings were arranged, and that the labor group resisted the idea of interfering with international unions in their handling of these questions.

Spokesmen for the A.F.L.-C.IO and the commission hotly denied that they were dragging their feet on these questions, and said labor did not veto a joint meeting with the rights leaders A commission spokesman acknowledged, however, that the civil rights groups in their meeting generally wanted to move faster in eliminating seniority segregation than those at the union meeting.

Donald S. Slaiman, director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Civil Rights Department, said that the federation's President, George Meany, had urged unions to eliminate such discrimination, and that the federation was promoting compliance.

The New York Times

Herbert Hill

A commission spokesman said there was no question that such discrimination was illegal, and that the agency was making efforts to bring laggards into compliance. He and Mr. Slaiman pointed out that there were practical difficulties in working out changes in complex seniority provisions, however, and labor sources complained that Mr. Hill was only seeking publicity.

Mr. Hill has played a key role in the filing by the N.A.A.C.P. of more than 1,400 complaints of racial discrimination with the commission. Most of these were against employers and employment agencies, but he said a large percentage was against unions.

In complaints Mr. Hill filed today individuals accused the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad of permitting segregated locals in Georgia, and the United Papermakers Union of similar actions in Virginia.

He also filed discrimination complaints by individuals against the Charlotte Pipe and Foundry Company, Charlotte, N. C.; the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Charlotte, N. C.; the V. C. Chemical Company, Memphis; Aro, Inc., Tullahoma, Tenn.; the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, New York; and the Drake Memorial Hospital, Cincinnati.

LABOR

Eugene Patterson

AC 7/22/66

Needed: A Stake In This Society

A letter from Pennsylvania is signed "Fed Up." "I have been one who felt Negroes needed help and encouragement," the writer says. "Now I feel that they need to be controlled."

That is probably a standard reaction to the city riots. The revulsion will grow as they continue. Watts may yet make a reactionary movie actor governor of California. "Black power" is propelling the Negro race full speed astern with every window broken and bottle thrown.

The rioters must be controlled. But Negroes will still need help and encouragement. To take an either-or view is to miss the scene, and join the fringe of seg politicians who never lifted a hand to help the Negro but now howl for his control, or of black demagogues who'd rather run out of control than build a society.

* * *

To see the thing plain, look at riot-troubled Cleveland. Policemen and National Guardsmen have a clear duty to march into the grimy Hough district, pronounced Huff, and use whatever force is necessary to halt the animalistic looting and violence by Negroes there. A civilized society cannot put up with it. The rioters must be controlled, as "Fed Up" wrote.

That does not remove the obligation for Americans to look at the uncivilized conditions in which the uncivilized conduct arose.

The Negroes in Hough are dirt poor. Being poor, they can't shop for a house outside the slum and buy into fancy Shaker Heights where a few middle class Negroes have gone. Being poor, they can only pay through the nose for tiny subdivided warrens in rotted apartment buildings without bathrooms and raise their children in garbage-heaped alleys. The children go to largely segregated schools where standards stay low. To stop being poor and escape from Hough, the Negro must find work.

Yet Negro unemployment exceeds 8 per cent in a city where overall unemployment is less than 3 per cent. The Negro median family income is $2,500 a year below the Cleveland white. The employers say Negroes lack skills, which is true.

Can they turn for help to organized labor, and expect the building trades unions to help them gain skills?

As of last January, the pipefitters Cleveland local had 80 white apprentices, no Negroes (it had 1,519 white journeymen, no Negroes); the plumbers local had 162 white apprentices, one Negro (1,482 white journeymen, three Negroes); the electrical workers had 238 white apprentices, two Negroes (1,258 white journeymen, two Negroes); the ironworkers local had 61 white apprentices, one Negro (1,786 journeymen, no Negroes).

It is important to get that picture of a race being frozen out of U.S. society, as well as to "control" the rioters, or Americans will not even understand what's going on, much less know what's expected of society.

JULY 1966

The American Federationist

A Case History: Union Busting in the South

LABOR

King Pledges Help For Fire Strikers

By MARION GAINES

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. encouraged Atlanta's striking firemen Friday to "stand together that our city might be brought to realize the necessity of adequate wages for all public service employes."

Dr. King, in a telegram to Jack Martin, president of the Atlanta Firefighters Union Independent, expressed hope City of Atlanta officials will come to a "realization of your just grievances for higher pay and better working conditions."

"You may count on me for any help which my schedule permits," said the Negro civil rights leader.

INVITED TO SPEAK

Martin said he sent a return wire to King expressing a desire to "meet with him personally" and inviting him "to speak to our union."

"The mere fact that we dared negotiate seems to be the real issue that has placed so many innocent people in jeopardy," Martin told King.

Martin, a former Atlanta Fire Department captain, has been fired by the city along with most of his 500-man union which went on strike Sept. 3 for the second time in three months.

The constitutional right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," King said in his telegram to Martin, is rendered impossible "when a man makes barely enough to provide for his family and must work a 60-hour week for even the barest of subsistence."

FOR CITIZENS, TOO

"Atlanta must invest in the livelihood of its citizens with the same determination it has invested in the expressways, the stadium and other physical improvements," King said.

Martin said he was "quite pleased that someone with national status like Dr. King would take this interest in our cause."

Martin said his union is continuing its campaign to gather enough petition signatures to force the city to hold a public referendum to determine the fate of the striking firemen.

LABOR

Unions Look South for Growth

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15—Labor leaders are looking south for the next big growth of trade unionism.

The reason: Transplanted Northern industry and a just-sprouting middle-class economy make the Southland the nation's most fertile field for union seeding.

"There's more union organizing activity in Georgia now than ever before," says Alan Kistler, assistant director of organizing for the national office of AFL-CIO.

But Kistler is quick to point out that AFL-CIO isn't planning any all-out organizing campaign like the highly touted "Operation Dixie" which the CIO finally gave up in 1952.

Nor is it expecting overnight results.

"I don't know whether you'll encounter the kind of big sweeps anymore that we used to get in the North," Kistler says.

Since 1954, according to the National Labor Relations Board, the number of NLRB-supervised elections (to decide whether workers want a union) has more than doubled.

BUT AN NLRB spokesman credits much of the gain to the coming of northern industry, which already accepts the existence of unions as bargaining agents.

"Union expansion in the South still has not been very dramatic," the spokesman points out candidly.

Just the same, says Kistler, "I've noticed that we're getting a better response. The statistics don't verify this, but the gap is narrowing in the South."

To labor leaders, who set more realistic goals after the failure of "Operation Dixie," even gradual gains in the South are good news.

Only recently, they point out, has the southland begun to break down some of the barriers which have always been held up to unionists. "The turning-point just came about three years ago," Kistler says:

Before that, Kistler says, "Southerners saw little need for unions, and were even suspicious of them. There were hardly enough unions to serve as an example, and hardly enough industry in which they could function."

FURTHER, Kistler says, there was always the paternalistic relationship of employer to employe.

"The worker knew the boss would always take care of him in an emergency," Kistler says, "and he didn't want to seem ungrateful for past favors by supporting a union movement. There was a feeling of dependency rather than independency."

Perhaps most annoying to the unionists, southern workers always seemed to listen to the community leadership.

Recalls AFL-CIO spokesman Al Zack: "They used to say to themselves: 'If Mr. Stovall wants us to do it, it must be right.' And they did."

But Zack, Kistler and other labor spokesmen feel, that unionism is finally catching on in the South.

"Ten years ago," says Kistler, "anytime we made progress, it was mostly due to our own campaigning. Today, the initiative is coming from the workers."

Both men think the blossoming economy in the Southeast has made the big difference in the workers' response.

"Before this," says Zack, "it seemed as though the power structure had simply substituted renting for owning slaves. Now, there's a small middle class developing in the South, and that's what unions are made of."

Notes Kistler: "Collective bargaining isn't a very realistic thing to someone who isn't being paid a decent wage. A better-paid worker can see it as a goal worth the risk. He understands he needs it to raise his standard of living."

The two also point to greater social freedom of Southern Negroes as a significant factor in union hopes.

"It's a hometown example of what organized efforts can do," Kistler says. "Now we can say to the worker, 'Look at what the Negro accomplished by standing up. You can do it, too.'"

SAYS ZACK: "Negroes will also play an increasingly important part in the labor movement in the South."

Despite all their optimism, the two AFL-CIO spokesmen say union organizers still have a lot to overcome if unionism is to expand much in the Southeast.

Their biggest obstacle is the anti-closed shop laws which Southern states have adopted under Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

"It creates the impression among the workers that unions are something outside the law," says Kistler. "It also forces us to spend far too much on maintaining existing membership rolls. We don't have much left to go after new people."

Also a thorn to union development, says Zack, is "the bond issue gimmick," which he says was "devised in the South several years ago."

A local community promises to build a manufacturing plant and rent or lease it if local industry will move South, "When the question of unions comes up then," Zack says, "where do we stand? The management and community leadership are allied against us."

THE THIRD MAJOR factor to hurt union efforts in the South has been organized labor's outspoken support of the civil rights movement.

In one series of antilabor ads placed in hundreds of Southern newspapers, Zack remembers, there was a photograph of former AFL-CIO vice president James Carey dancing with a Negro woman.

"They naturally neglected to point out," Zack says acidly, "that the woman was the wife of an African labor minister and that the photo was taken at a Washington embassy reception."

Zack says labor won't change its position on civil rights, but he thinks many Southern workers are changing theirs about unions.

The biggest response, he reports, has been from food producers, textile workers and government employes.

"They're being convinced," Zack says, "Our box-score is rapidly rising in the South."

Then how soon will the South become unionized? "Anyone's guess is good," says Kistler. "As soon as we can."

LABOR 10/21/66 AC

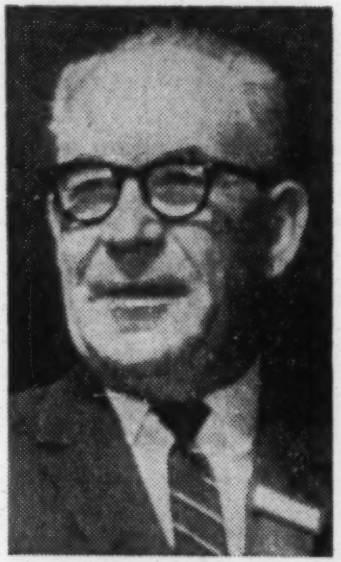
State AFL-CIO Won't Endorse a Candidate

SAVANNAH, Ga., (AP) — The head of organized labor in Georgia said Thursday the AFL-CIO will endorse no candidate in this year's general election for governor.

William H. Montague Sr., of Atlanta, president of the state AFL-CIO, said the convention here would end Friday without naming a preference.

Earlier, E. T. Kehrer, the Southeastern director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, said race is the main issue in the Georgia gubernatorial campaign.

"When a political campaign is run on the race issue, you hold on to your pants, your shirt and your undershorts, because a first - class fleecing is about to take place," he declared.



POLITICAL 'FLEECING'
William H. Montague

Kehrer, also of Atlanta, said the late Tom Watson, leader of the Populist movement in the 1890s, noted that merchants and politicians had only to yell "Negro rule" to thwart any attempt to educate and organize Southern white tenant farmers and workers.

"The issue today is the same as in Tom Watson's day," he said, asking, "Shall the race issue divide us?"

Kehrer said, "Today, whether the cry be nigger, nigger, or state's rights, the alternate objective is to keep working people in a condition of servitude, to prevent union organization or to badly divide, cripple and weaken this only weapon workers have to protect themselves."

Although he did not mention the Democratic candidate for governor, Lester Maddox, by name, he said a "furniture dealer" was capitalizing on the race issue to cover an attack on oragnized labor.

Maddox operates a furniture store in Atlanta.

After his speech, a newsmen asked Kehrer why he made no mention of Callaway.

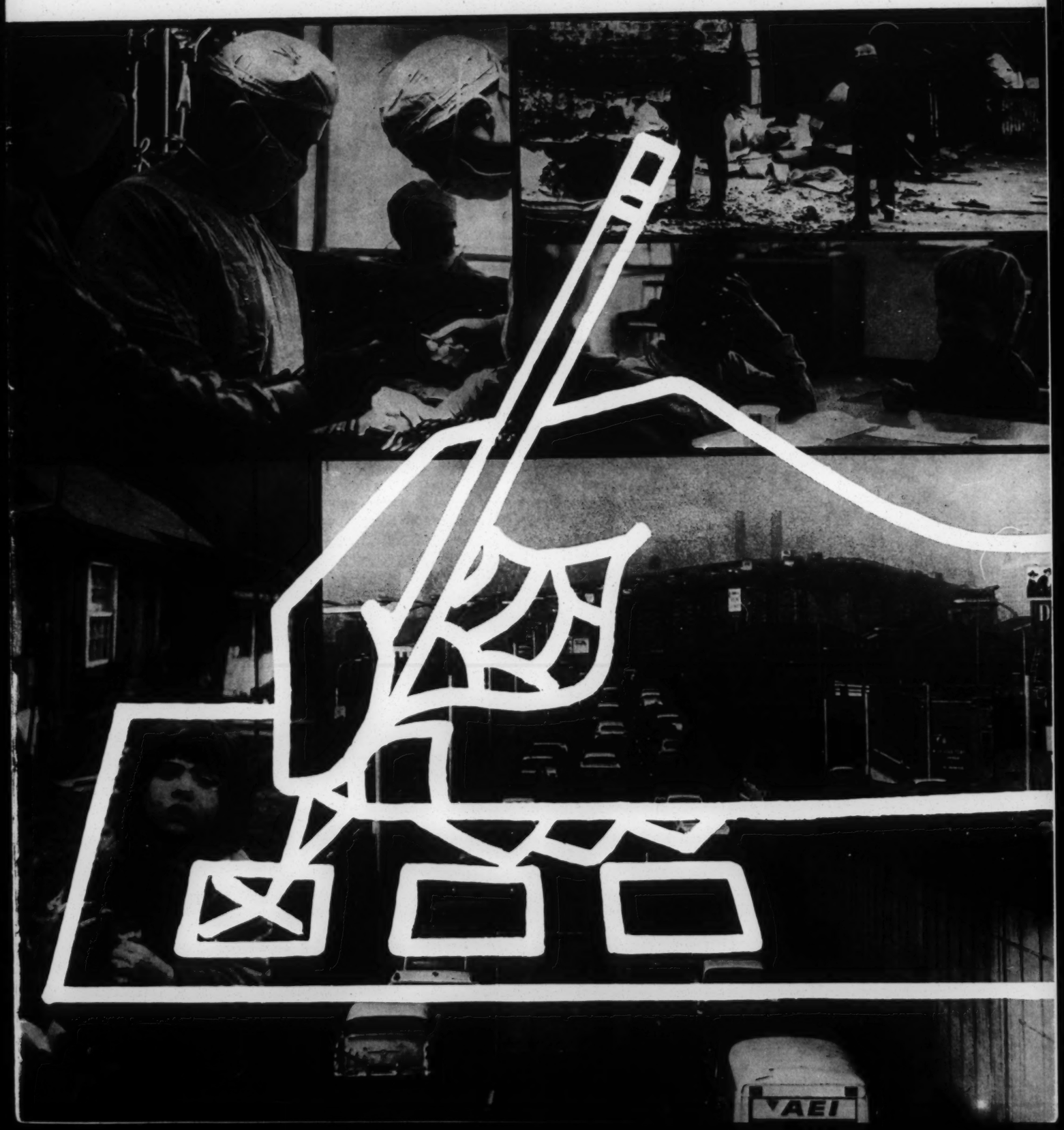
Kehrer replied, "Nobody here needs to be reminded that Callaway is no friend of organized labor."

OCTOBER 1966

LABOR
Papers + Briefs

The American Federationist

THE '66 ELECTIONS: Progress or Stalemate



NYT 8/23/66

Koota Says New Court Rulings Have 'Shackled' Police Officials

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Change in Position

Aaron E. Koota, the Brooklyn District Attorney, charged yesterday that "confusion and uncertainty" spread by recent court rulings had "effectively shackled" law enforcement.

Mr. Koota told 52 graduating Housing Authority policemen that new restrictions on police interrogations and older court decisions on searches and seizures had "contributed to the removal of an effective deterrent to crime, namely, the certainty of swift discovery, apprehension and punishment of the criminal."

Mr. Koota's remarks, particularly regarding confessions, were markedly different from statements he made last November. He said then that a person should have access to a lawyer "at the moment he comes into contact with the law."

"When a man intelligently waives his right to counsel, his confession should not be admitted [into evidence]," Mr. Koota said at that time.

Yesterday he called for a new

Continued on Page 23, Column 6

No Weakening Seen

By SIDNEY E. ZION

The commander of detectives in the Times Square area said this week that the recent United States Supreme Court ruling on confessions has not weakened law enforcement.

"They're not stealing the precinct out from under me, that's for sure," said Lieut. Joseph G. Calhoun, in the commander's office at the 16th Precinct station house on 47th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues. "The city is not being run away with."

"We don't get as many confessions as before," the husky, bespectacled 58-year-old lieutenant said. "As soon as you say to them that they don't have to talk, many of them don't talk. But nobody walks out of here free. You've got to understand that in most cases we don't need a confession—we've got more evidence than is required to make a prima-facie case."

The Supreme Court's confession ruling, handed down on

Continued on Page 23, Column 5

NO 'HANDCUFFING' OF POLICE IS SEEN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

June 13, requires the police to warn a suspect of his rights and to offer indigents free legal counsel before questioning. Only if the suspect freely and knowingly waives his rights may a subsequent confession be admitted into evidence.

Many Decry Ruling

The ruling has been decried by most enforcement officials, who say it will "handcuff" the police by making it difficult, if not impossible, to get confessions. These, they contend, are the backbone of law enforcement.

But Lieutenant Calhoun, who was born in the a station house and has been on the police force 34 years, said that in his precinct, one of the busiest in the city, arrests had not been affected and that "we've performed just as well."

"It's harder work, that's all," he said. "What has happened is that now we do our work before making an arrest, whereas, before the confession decision, we often went to work only after getting a statement from the suspect. We're doing more scientific work now, more legwork."

As an example, Lieutenant Calhoun, a detective for 29 years, pointed to a typical burglary case.

"Say there's been a burglary and we find out that there's a guy who was seen in the neighborhood who has a burglary record and doesn't belong in that part of town," he explained.

"Before this ruling, we would just pick him up and take him in for questioning. Now we check for fingerprints and, if we don't come up with anything, we put him under surveillance. So, while we might not get him for that particular burglary, we catch him on the next one."

Can Live With Decision

The commander of detectives said that while he did not like the Supreme Court decision, "we can live with it, we're surviving."

"If that's the times, the trend, the change, we have to abide by it," he said. "If it makes the job harder, so what? In fact, in some ways I favor the decision, because at least it gives the poor, unfortunate suspect, the guy you have to protect, the same rights as the hardened criminal, who has money for a lawyer and would never talk anyway."

How do the police elicit confessions from those other than hardened criminals?

"Well," Lieutenant Calhoun said, "some of them just want to get it off their chests. But most of them you have to con. You promise them you'll put in a good word with the D.A. [District Attorney], you make 'em like you, like that, you know?

Play Opposing Roles

"And you use techniques like the nice-guy, tough-guy deal, Mutt and Jeff, whatever you want to call it. You know, one detective acts tough and the other guy is the buddy, the friend who only wants to help," the lieutenant said.

Do the police still use these techniques if the suspect waives his rights to counsel and silence?

"It doesn't work that way now," Lieutenant Calhoun said. "Because those who are now willing to talk are the kind you don't have to con. They just want to talk."

The lieutenant said that one major reason for the police opposition to the confession ruling was that "You have to be almost humble to these suspects."

"When you read them their rights," he said, "it almost insults your intelligence. Often after you've read it once they'll stare at you and say they don't know what you're talking about, and then you have to read it again."

Koota Says New Court Rulings Have 'Shackled' Police Officials

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

rule under which "a confession or other evidence, even if illegally obtained, could nevertheless be competent and admissable at a trial, depending on all the surrounding circumsances in the reviewable discretion of the trial court."

Mr. Koota's suggestions in November, made in radio and newspaper interviews, were in large part adopted by the United States Supreme Court in June.

The Court ruled that suspects must be advised of their right to remain silent and offered legal counsel by the police before questioning. No statement may be admitted into evidence unless the suspect has been advised of these rights and has waived them.

Backing Is Promised

In November, Mr. Koota said: "If a man has a constitutional right to a lawyer, the mere fact that it might impede law enforcement or make it more difficult to prosecute is not a reason to deny him those rights. I think that is fundamental to our judicial process and our form of government."

Yesterday, he said: "The police officer today must patrol his post with a copy of the Penal Law under one arm and the latest decisions of the Supreme Court under the other."

He also told the new patrolmen that "so long as I am District Attorney . . . I and my office will stand by you and support you in your decisions and actions if they are made honestly and in good faith, even though it subsequently develops that they were not consistent with the latest pronouncements of the courts."

"Do not try to be lawyers," he continued. "Do not try to be judges. Do your utmost within the law to protect the innocent, peaceful citizens. Let us, the lawyers and the prosecutors, carry the cudgels for you in the courts."

Example Provided

Mr. Koota gave the Housing Authority policemen the following example of how he said the courts had undermined the morale of the police by sowing "uncertainty and confusion" in criminal law.

"A woman leans out of a window of a housing project, in the wee hours of the morning, screaming, 'Help, thief, murder, stop that man!'

"A Housing Authority policeman observes a man running out of the house at top speed. What is the patrolman to do? . . .

"Has the officer the right to arrest this man who may be completely innocent of wrongdoing? If he stops this individual, may he demand an explanation of the flight or may he search the person of the suspect?"

Mr. Koota said that whatever split-second decision the policeman made would ultimately be reviewed by judges, "sitting in cloistered towers, in a calm, detached amosphere."

Monday morning quarterbacking is a poor substitute for the immediacy of police decision and action necessary to protect the public," he said.

Comment by Professor

A leading expert in criminal law said yesterday that Mr. Koota's hypothetical case was one in which the policeman could "clearly" make a legal arrest.

The expert, Prof. Yale Kamisar of the University of Michigan Law School, said:

"There is no doubt that in such a situation, with a woman yelling, 'Stop that man,' an officer has probable cause to make an arrest. The Constitution does not forbid it."

Moreover, Mr. Kamisar said that under the New York stop-and-frisk law, which was recently upheld by the State Court of Appeals, "reasonable suspicion" was sufficient to justify an arrest.

Professor Kamisar, who is known as a liberal in legal matters and whose articles have been cited by the United States Supreme Court, said he was "very discouraged" over Mr. Koota's speech.

"It was refreshing to have him depart from the party line last fall," Mr. Kamisar said. "Evidently he has decided it is more politically attractive to return to the fold."

Mr. Koota could not be reached for comment on why he had apparently changed his position.

As to the effect the new confession ruling is having on law enforcement, Paul Kallman, a detective of the 48th Precinct, in the Bathgate section of Brooklyn, said yesterday:

"The ruling has made it harder for us, but we're still doing the job. In the great majority of cases we don't need confessions, although we like to get them because they cement the case."

Pearson Pays Off a Bet

OTTAWA, Aug. 12 (Canadian Press)—Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson has sent $5 to Prime Minister Wilson of Britain. When Mr. Wilson was in Ottawa two weeks ago Mr. Pearson offered to bet him that West Germany would defeat Britain in the World Soccer Cup championships "in order to help your balance of payments." Britain won.

Saigon Plans Bicycle Race

SAIGON, South Vietnam, Aug. 12 (Reuters)—The South Vietnamese Government said today it would stage a 300-mile bicycle race next week. About 150 cyclists will compete along a road frequently ambushed by the Vietcong. Troops are expected to guard the route.

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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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8/13/66

18 IN HOUSE G.O.P. OFFER RIGHTS BILL

LEGISLATION

They Say Last Year Showed Stronger Law Is Needed

NYT 3/6/66

WASHINGTON, March 5 (UPI—Eighteen House Republicans moved today to steal a march on the Johnson Administration by proposing new civil rights legislation to bolster enforcement of the four major laws enacted since 1957.

The group, led by Representative Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, announced that the new bill would be introduced Monday. In a joint statement, they said the civil rights laws passed in 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1965, "if enforced, will remedy many ancient wrongs."

"But events of the last 12 months demonstrate that the courts do not yet have all the legal tools necessary," the G.O.P. members said.

The Republican bill would do the following:

¶Set up nondiscriminatory methods of selecting juries in both Federal and state courts without regard to race, color or sex.

¶Toughen Federal criminal penalties for anyone depriving an individual of his guaranteed civil rights.

¶Provide Federal safeguards against either private or official violence for civil rights workers.

¶Make it easier to prosecute public officials involved in violence against civil rights advocates.

¶Subject state or local governments to damage suits in areas where officials violate an individual's civil rights.

¶Give the Justice Department authority to initiate civil rights law suits on its own.

Laws Called Insufficient

In their statement, the Representative said:

"It is empty to declare our commitment to equal rights if men and women can be persecuted for exercising those rights. It is insufficient to pass laws implementing the constitution if men can disobey the letter of those laws and subvert their spirit with impunity.

"It is futile to take civil rights controversies from the streets into the courts if he administration of justice lacks uniform equity and force.

"It is time for us to guarantee that justice will be done throughout the land."

The bill follows the general lines expected to be taken by the Administration in its request for civil rights legislation this year.

The G. O. P. group, in addition to Mr. Mathis, consisted of Alphonzo Bell of California, William T. Cahill of New Jersey, Silvio O. Conte of Massachusetts, Robert F. Ellsworth of Kansas, Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

Also, Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, James Harvey of Michigan, Frank J. Norton of upstate New York, Theodore R. Kupferman of Manhattan, William S. Maillard of California, Joseph M. McDade of Pennsylvania, F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts.

Also, Charles A. Mosher of Ohio, Ogden R. Reid of Westchester, Howard W. Robison of upstate New York, and Robert T. Stafford of Vermont.

~~FEDERAL P~~ LEGISLATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1966.

NYT 4/28/66

House Approves Enforcement Power on Job Rights

By JOHN HERBERT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 27—The House of Representatives passed with surprising ease today a bill to give enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the agency established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The vote was 298 to 94.

The bill would give the commission authority to issue cease and desist orders against employers and labor unions found to practice discrimination because of race, sex or national origin.

Under Title VII of the civil rights act, the commission, headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., has only conciliatory powers. If conciliation fails, the aggrieved party can file a lawsuit or the Attorney General can go into court against patterns of discrimination.

Despite the large affirmative vote, it was generally believed in Congress and in the commission that the bill would not pass the Senate this year. The Administration is not pushing it and many feel that the commission, in operation only nine months, has not yet established what can be done under its present powers.

Powell Plays Major Role

The chief force behind the bill was Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, who heads the Hous Education and Labor Committee.

Mr. Powell was reported to have insisted that the bill be considered ahead of some bills regarded as more vital by the Administration, including the minimum wage measure. The House leadership went along without much display of enthusiasm.

Republicans gave the bill strong support, but they objected to the method of administration it prescribes.

"This bill," the House Republican Policy Committee said in a statement, "would transform the commission into an agency that would rival the old National Labor Relations Board under the Wagner Act and before the Taft-Hartley amendments.

"As a result, the employer labor union or employment agency that is charged with an unfair employment practice, would find that the same commission that filed the charge, investigated the case, determined that there was merit to the charge, attempted conciliation issued a complaint, and conducted the hearing, would have the power to make the final determination of guilt or innocence and to issue the cease and desist order."

Amendment Defeated

A Republican amendment to split the power between an investigator and the commission, as was done with the N.L.R.B., was defeated by a voice vote. Representative James G. O'Hara, Democrat of Michigan, said the bill was based on "the tried system used in state fair employment practice laws."

Representative Powell said strong enforcement powers were needed if the nation was to end discrimination in employment.

The bill would also extend coverage of the law. Under present law, businesses with 100 or more employes are covered and this will be reduced to 25 or more by June of 1968. Under the bill, coverage would be extended to businesses with eight or more employes by June of 1967. It is estimated that on that date more than 37 million employes would be covered.

Since Title VII went into effect last July 2, the commission has received several thousand complaints. It has reported widespread voluntary compliance and some success with conciliation. Several law suits have been filed where conciliation did not work.

Mr. Roosevelt testified last summer that the commission needed enforcement powers to be fully effective.

Strikebreaking Alleged

Leaders of the Transport Workers Union appealed by telegram to President Johnson and Cabinet officers yesterday to halt the alleged use of Cuban women refugees for strikebreaking. The union charged that 20 refugee women were hired at premium wages to replace striking union members at United China and Glass Company.

TEN CENTS

LEGISLATION

PRESIDENT URGES CONGRESS TO BAN ALL HOUSING BIAS

4/29/66

Message Also Asks Stronger Criminal Laws to Protect Civil Rights Workers

CALLS FOR JURY REFORM

Housing Plan Is Expected to Meet Stiff Opposition—Ervin Criticizes It

Text of civil rights message will be found on Page 22.

By JOHN D. POMFRET
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28—President Johnson asked Congress today to enact "the first effective Federal law against discrimination" on racial or religious grounds in the sale and rental of housing.

The request was included in the President's Civil Rights Message. It is expected to arouse more controversy and opposition in Congress than the other provisions proposed by Mr. Johnson in the message.

The other provisions, like most past civil rights legislation, would have their principal impact in the Southern states. Discrimination in housing, however, is widely practiced in all parts of the country and many Congressmen from the North as well as the South

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Rights Workers Protection

Mr. Johnson also proposed a far stronger law than anything now on the statute books to protect Negroes and others who work for racial justice from interference in the exercise of their rights.

He sought legislation to insure that Federal and state court juries are selected in nondiscriminatory fashion.

The President also asked Congress to broaden the Attorney General's authority to bring suit for the desegregation of schools and public facilities.

He asked the Senate to approve legislation that cleared the House yesterday to give enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the agency established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Lastly, he asked Congress to provide funds for 100 more agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in order to strengthen the bureau's capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.

Agency's Manpower Taxed

The bureau has 6,492 agents. Mr. Johnson said in his message that at times in the recent past as many as a third of them had been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters.

Shortly before he sent his proposals to Capitol Hill, Mr. Johnson dismissed them with a group of civil rights leaders at the White House.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, who participated in the meeting, described the reaction of the civil rights leaders as "extremely warm."

One of the civil rights proponents said that the group regarded Mr. Johnson's proposals favorably, but probably would try to strengthen them.

He said that the group would

Continued on Page 22, Column 5

Johnson Calls on Congress to Ban All Housing Bias

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

probably try to get Congress to enact legislation to transfer state criminal trials to Federal courts in areas with "segregated systems of justice."

He said that the civil rights advocates might also attempt to secure passage of legislation to pay Federal indemnities to civil rights workers injured while attempting to secure rights for Negroes.

Not Disappointed

He emphasized that the civil rights leaders who met with the President were in no way disappointed with Mr. Johnson's proposals and intended to work for their passage in Congress.

Among those meeting with Mr. Johnson were the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council and a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Floyd R. McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Miss Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Joseph L. Rauh, general counsel of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and David Brody, director of the Washington office of the Anti-Defamation League.

Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, also attended the meeting.

He said that his committee would begin hearings on the President's proposals on Wednesday with Attorney General Katzenbach as the first witness.

Mr. Katzenbach said that he thought the President's proposals would be passed by Congress, but added: "I'm not going to give long odds on it until I know how the Republican leaders are going to go."

The Attorney General said that the Republican leaders had not indicated that they were going to oppose the proposals, nor have they given their commitment to support them.

He indicated that he had kept in close touch with the Senate minority leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, during the drafting of the legislation. Mr. Katzenbach said that the Senator had indicated that he liked some of the proposals, but had questions about others.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, quickly attacked the housing provisions of Mr. Johnson's message.

"It's unconstitutional according to all decisions handed down by the Supreme Court during the first 150 years of its existence and it's unenforceable," he said. "It is not aimed solely at the South. Its impact may be felt more strongly in other areas of the country. It should be most interesting to watch the politics or the debate now that others' oxen are being gored."

The bill incorporating the intent of the President's message declares it to be the policy of the United States to prevent "discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, lease, financing, use and occupancy of housing throughout the nation."

The bill would make it unlawful for anyone engaged in the sale or lease of a dwelling, including real estate agents or brokers to refuse to sell or rent because of race, color, religion or national origin. Nor could they discriminate in the conditions of sale or rental or represent for discriminatory purposes that any dwelling was not available for inspection, sale or rental when that was not so.

Damages Provided

The prohibitions would be enforced by civil actions in Federal or state courts brought by private individuals or, where a pattern of discrimination appeared to exist, by the Justice Department. Courts would be empowered to issue orders banning discrimination and, on a showing that discrimination had been practiced, award damages of up to $500.

At present, only Federally sisted housing is subject to Federal discrimination bans, under executive order.

The bill would leave in operation state and locad fair housing laws.

The new criminal statute proposed by the President is aimed at what he called "a relatively few racial fanatics" who would deny civil rights by violence.

The Federal laws covering this area were passed during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War, with maximum prison terms of 10 years. The Justice Department has found them inadequate.

The President proposed that any interference in the exercise of fundamental rights by threats or force by any person, acting individually or in a group, privately or officially, be made a Federal crime.

The rights specifically enumerated are voting, education housing, employment, jury service and travel.

Maximum penalties would be one year in prison and a $1,000 fine in cases where no bodily injury was done, 10 years in prison and a $10,000 fine where there was bodily injury and life imprisonment when death resulted.

NEW LITTER BASKETS TO ADORN THE CITY

The city's streets will soon be adorned with chartreuse and green litter receptacles instead of plain litter baskets.

Sanitation Commissioner Joseph F. Periconi said 1,000 of the new baskets would go into use next month, 200 in each borough.

Christopher C. Gilson, executive director of the Citizens Committee to Keep New York Clean, annuonced the plan at a lunche on meetingof that committee yesterday. He said he hoped that New Yorkers would associate the chartreuse and green colors with cleanliness.

Also announced were a new float featuring Phil D. Basket, New York's "king of cleanliness," and a talking litter basket with Phil D. Basket urging persons to make use of the receptacles. The float will be exhibited at ball games, beaches and other places where there are crowds.

Some of the other new projects that the committee will undertake soon include new Clean City Digests to be distributed to schools, new teaching aids for schools, a garden to be planted on a city-owned lot in Brooklyn to snow what can be done with an unkept area and new clean-city advertisements for radio, magazine, newspaper and television.

Text of the President's Message to Congress Urging New Civil Right Legislation

WASHINGTON, April 28—Following is the text of President Johnson's today:

Last year I came before the Congress in an hour of crisis to recommend new and powerful guarantees of the right to vote.

Americans faced again the ancient questions:

Who shall take part in the process of democracy?

Shall it be only those born with white skins?

If a man's color should not be the sole criterion for determining his right to vote, how shall we make sure that Negroes are not denied the ballot?

I asked the Congress, on that March night in 1965, to strike down all restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, state and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

Less than five months after I spoke, the Congress perfected and passed our Voting Rights Act of 1965.

I said then that the challenge of voting discrimination had been nothing less than a test of our faith in democracy. Congress met that test. The voting Rights Act of 1965 reaffirmed the equality of man and government by all the people.

The fruits of the Voting Rights Act and of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are already impressively apparent.

Discrimination in places of public accommodation—perhaps the most unbearable insult to Negro citizens—has been made unlawful. The mandate of that law has spread faster and more effectively than its most optimistic supporters believed possible.

Discrimination in employment is now illegal. Opportunities closed to Negroes in the past have begun to open.

The discriminatory use of Federal funds has been prohibited. The effect of that prohibition—strengthened by new Federal procedures—is now being felt in schools, hospitals, welfare programs and in many other areas once blighted by racial bias.

The Community Relations Service has helped to bring new understanding to areas where community tensions have threatened to disrupt peaceful progress. Now that the service has been integrated with other civil rights facilities in the Department of Justice and is being enlarged, we expect it to be even more effective.

In the five states where voter discrimination was once most severe, Negro registration has increased by 50 per cent. Voter registration by local officials and Federal examiners appointed under the act has exceeded 330,000.

2-Year Registration Gain Cited

At the time of the 1964 national election, less than 25 per cent of the Negro citizens of voting age in those five states were registered to bote. We expect that by the time of the next elections in these states the figure will reach 50 per cent. It is already over 40 per cent.

or even unwilling to act against the most brazen violence.

So it is that new measures are essential if rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution to every citizen are to be protected.

Laws enacted a century ago to contain racial terror and Klan violence are now clearly inadequate. One of the most important of these statutes requires proof not simply of an act violating a person's civil rights. It also requires the often-difficult showing of specific intent to do so and proof of a conspiracy.

Further, no matter how brutal the crime and no matter what the motive of the criminal, it is possible that the courts will conclude that some degree of involvement by local officials may well be required by these ancient statutes.

And, finally, though offenses may range from threats to murders, only a single set of penalties is provided, and those may be inadequate to suit the gravity of the crime.

Law enforcement authority so restricted cannot be effective, and if that authority is lacking, so is justice. What gain is there for either conscience or country if we proudly affirm human rights and then permit those rights to be swept aside by lawless fanatics?

Accordingly, today I propose the enactment of legislation to make up our authority against civil rights violence clear and sure. The legislation I offer is designed to prohibit any interference with the exercise of fundamental rights by threats or force, by any person—whether as an individual or in a group and whether privately or officially.

Measure Enumerates Rights

The measure enumerates these rights, including voting, education, housing, employment, jury service, and travel. And it provides for graduated penalties, permitting our courts to make appropriate responses to differing degrees of interference or intimidation.

Further, we shall ask for expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, specifically to permit it to increase its effective role in the enforcement of civil rights laws.

At times in the recent past, as many as one-third of the bureau's agents have been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters. The number of civil rights complaints the bureau investigated in the last fiscal year was 143 per cent more than the figure for 1961. These responsibilities place a heavy burden on the bureau's field staff.

On the advice of Attorney General Katzenbach and F.B.I. Director Hoover, I recommend that Congress authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 F.B.I. agents and additional supporting personnel—to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.

In every city and town and rural community, law-abiding men and women must look for protection primarily to improved local law enforcement. But the Federal Government has its responsibilities to see that Federal rights are

selection exists. Federal courts will have broad authority to grant relief.

IV

Ten years after the Supreme Court of the United States declared racial segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional, the Congress found it necessary to give new force to the court's decision.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided that all programs receiving Federal financial assistance—including public education—must be administered on a nondiscriminatory basis. The act called for the withdrawal of funds where discrimination remained. It also gave the Attorney General authority to file and intervene in suits to desegregate schools.

Enforcement of the 1964 act has brought more progress in real integration in one year than in all the preceding nine years.

While there are still far too few Negro children in desegregated classrooms, the number has multiplied several times. It must and will grow substantially again in the fall.

In providing financial assistance, this Administration has insisted on an end to discrimination. But whether or not our assistance is accepted, the requirements of the Constitution must still be met. Segregated schools are still illegal. The law of the land must be and will be upheld.

Thus the Department of Justice has insisted, in more than 40 school suits under the 1964 act, that whether or not school boards receive financial assistance, desegregation must proceed.

Despite marked gains of the last two years, the fact remains that today—12 years after the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in schools—only one in 13 Negro school children in the South attends classes with white children.

Two amendments to the 1964 act are needed to strengthen the campaign against racial discrimination in the schools.

One would enlarge the Attorney General's initiative under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

That act authorized the Attorney General to file suits to help communities where severe local pressure and the poverty of aggrieved citizens made private suits impossible. Yet this authorization was qualified by the requirement that the Attorney General first receive a complaint from a parent unable to sue on his own before the Government's legal resources could be brought to bear.

Attorney General Is Limited

Although the Attorney General can move directly against discrimination in voting, in employment or in public accommodations, with respect to school discrimination he must first receive a complaint before acting. In communities where the atmosphere of intimidation and ignorance of the law's protection is most severe, the filing of a complaint is most unlikely.

Thus where the need of the Attorney General's intervention is the greatest,

clear understanding that legal reforms can be counted only a small part of a national program for the Negro American.

We know that the more important challenges of racial inequality today are emphatically national.

Negro ghettos indict our cities North and South, from coast to coast. Hope of cutting back the severe unemployment rate among Negroes is tied directly to the expansion of our national economy. And the ultimate need in human terms — of a more generous idea of brotherhood and a more responsible conception of equality—are part of the unfinished business in every state.

The time has passed when we could realistically deal effectively with racial problems by the passage of what could be strictly defined as civil rights laws.

In fact, the most disturbing current measures of the impact of discrimination are economic facts that cover the entire nation:

Nonwhite Americans constitute only 11 per cent of the national labor force, but they make up 20 per cent of the unemployed. They take home less than 7 per cent of the total personal income of all Americans.

Racial Disparity in Poverty

One-fifth of the entire population lives in poverty. One-half of nonwhite Americans live in poverty.

In junior high schools across the country, 12 per cent of white children are in school grades below their age level—compared to 30 per cent of Negro children.

Poor housing, unemployment and poverty, while they affect racial minorities particularly, will not be defeated by new civil rights laws. Thus, the programs that Congress has adopted go far beyond the vindication of civil rights.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will enrich t he quality of our public schools.

The Housing Act of 1965 will provide part of the decent low-and middle-income housing our cities desperately need. Beyond this, adoption of the Demonstration Cities Act this year will launch a major attack on the blight of urban ghettos.

Amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act adopted in 1965 will help unskilled Negroes, as well as whites, prepare for a role in the economies of today and tomorrow.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1965—the Antipoverty Act—is reaching out with new hope for the disadvantage for those pre-school children, teenagers, and older men and women who have never before had cause to hope.

We do not call any of these civil rights programs." Nevertheless, they are crucial, and perhaps decisive elements in the Negro American's long struggle for a fair chance in life.

Sees a Chain of Discrimination'

It is self-evident that the problems

freedom to live in the home and the neighborhood of its choice.

This year marks the hundreth anniversary of the first statute enacted by the Congress in an attempt to deal with discrimination in housing. It reads.

All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every state and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property."

For 100 years this law has reflected an ideal favoring equality of housing opportunity. Acting under this statute and the 14th Amendment, the Supreme Court has invalidated state and local laws prohibiting the sale of houses to Negroes. It has prohibited the enforcement of racially restrictive convenants. It has struck down state legislation imposing undue burdens upon minority groups with respect to real estate transactions.

Previous Legislation Is Recalled

There is nothing novel about the Congressional concern with housing that I now ask you to expand. Programs enacted by Congress have, for more than three decades, stimulated the development of private housing, and directly financed hundreds of thousands of public housing units.

The historic Housing Act of 1949 proclaimed a national goal for the first time: A decent home and suitable living environment for every American family."

The great boom in housing construction since the Second World War is, in large part, attributable to Congressional action to carry out this objective.

Yet not enough has been done to guarantee that all Americans shall benefit from the expanding housing market Congress has made possible.

Executive Order No. 11063, signed by President Kennedy on Nov. 20, 1962, prohibited housing discrimination where Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration Insurance programs are involved. That executive order clearly expressed the commitment of the executive branch to the battle against housing discrimination.

But that order, and all the amendments that could validly be added to it, are inevitably restricted to those elements of the housing problem which are under direct executive authority.

Our responsibility is to deal with discrimination directly at the point of sale or refusal, as well as indirectly through financing. Our need is to reach discrimination practiced by financial institutions operating outside the F.H.A. and V.A. insurance programs, and not otherwise regulated by the Government.

Our task is to end discrimination in all housing, old and new—not simply in the new housing covered by the executive order.

I proposee legislation that is constitutional in design, comprehensive in scope and firm in enforcement. It will cover the sale, rental and financing of all dwelling units. It will prohibit discrimination, on either racial or religious

North and South, from coast to coast—represent fully as severe a denial of freedom and the fruits of American citizenship as more obvious injustices. As long as the color of a man's skin determines his choice of housing, no investment in the physical rebuilding of our cities will free the men and women living there.

he Fair Housing Law I pr opose this year is an essential part of our attempt to rejuvenate and liberate America's growing urban areas—and more importantly, to exapnd the liberty of all the people living in them.

A nation that aspires to greatness cannot be a divided nation—with whites and Negroes entrenched behind barriers of mutual suspicion and fear.

It cannot tolerate:

¶Overcrowded ghetto schools, producing new thousands of ill-trained citizens for whom the whole community must be responsible.

¶Rising health hazards and crime rates in the ghettos' ugly streets and homes.

¶The failure of expensive social programs, such as urban renewal, where there is no way out and up for Negro residents.

The truly insufferable cost of imprisoning the Negro in the slums is borne by our national conscience.

When we restrict the Negro's freedom, inescapably we restrict a part of our own.

Negro Americans compromise 22 per cent of the enlisted men in our army Combat units in Vietnam—and 22 per cent of those who have lost their lives in battle there. We fall victim to a profound hyprocrisy when we say that they cannot buy or rent dwellings among citizens they fight to save.

VII

No civil rights act, however historic, will be final. We would look in vain for one definitive solution to an injustice as old as the nation itself—an injustice that leaves no section of the country and no level of American life unstained. This administration has pledged that as long as racial discrimination denies opportunity and equal rights in America, we will honor our constitutional and moral responsibility to restore the balance of justice.

Yet no amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the National Government, can by itself bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the states and local governments, of industry, and of all citizens, white and Negro.

Hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans in every part of the country are making that effort now. They know that the responsibilities of citizenship follow inevitably from the achievement of civil rights and economic opportunity.

They know that an obligation lies before them, to take full advantage of the improved education and training that is now becomingavailable to them in the public schools, in vocational

tively than its most optimistic supporters believed possible.

Discrimination in employment is now illegal. Opportunities closed to Negroes in the past have begun to open.

The discriminatory use of Federal funds has been prohibited. The effect of that prohibition—strengthened by new Federal procedures—is now being felt in schools, hospitals, welfare programs and in many other areas once blighted by racial bias.

The Community Relations Service has helped to bring new understanding to areas where community tensions have threatened to disrupt peaceful progress. Now that the service has been integrated with other civil rights facilities in the Department of Justice and is being enlarged, we expect it to be even more effective.

In the five states where voter discrimination was once most severe, Negro registration has increased by 50 per cent. Voter registration by local officials and Federal examiners appointed under the act has exceeded 330,000.

2-Year Registration Gain Cited

At the time of the 1964 national election, less than 25 per cent of the Negro citizens of voting age in those five states were registered to bote. We expect that by the time of the next elections in these states the figure will reach 50 per cent. It is already over 40 per cent.

This achievement serves to renew our faith in the ultimate triumph of a government in which all free men can participate. It strengthens our resolve to extend the franchise to all who are eligible.

For a democracy cannot be fully realized, when in these five states more than a million eligible Negroes remain unregistered. The challenge to them—and to those in Government and private life who labor with them for their just share in the electoral process—is as critically important as the legislative need to enact today's civil rights laws. The statutes now on the books have given Negro Americans the key to freedom. Now it must be used.

I

Once more this year I am asking the Congress to join in an attack on the discrimination that still afflicts our land.

Four times in nine years the representatives of the people have labored through days and nights — through weeks and months—toward the passage of civil rights legislation.

I was part of each of those efforts. I know the fatigue and the triumph that accompanied them. Thus I do not ask for new laws lightly.

Yet discrimination, racial practices still exist in many American communities. They deny the Negro his rights as a citizen. They must be ended.

I ask the Congress:

First, to reform our Federal criminal statutes to provide Negroes and all who labor or speak for racial justice the protection of stronger and more effective criminal laws against interference with the exercise of long established rights.

Second, to establish detailed procedures of jury selection in Federal courts so that discrimination may be banished—and to create forceful guarantees that state court juries also will be selected without discrimination of any kind.

Third, to broaden the Attorney General's authority to bring suit for the desegregation of schools and public facilities—enabling him to commit the Government's legal resources where they are most critically needed.

Fourth, to declare a national policy against racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, and to create effective remedies against the discrimination in every part of America.

II

Perhaps the most evident threat to civil rights in 1966 is the danger that recently secured rights may be violently denied by a relatively few racial fanatics.

Citizens who honor the law and who tolerate orderly change—a majority in even part of the country—have been shocked by attacks on innocent men and women who sought no more than justice for all Americans.

The effect of that violence extends far beyond individual victims. Every assault or murder that goes unpunished reinforces the legacy of violence—the knowledge that it is danagerous for a Negro to assert his rights, or even for others to stand up for those rights.

Our Federal system assumes that local law enforcement will extend protection to all. Yet the speed with which the fanatics strike has made the work of prevention extremely difficult—even for zealous local police authorities. In some areas, local authorities have been slow

Measure Enumerates Rights

The measure enumerates these rights, including voting, education, housing, employment, jury service, and travel. And it provides for graduated penalties, permitting our courts to make appropriate responses to differing degrees of interference or intimidation.

Further, we shall ask for expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, specifically to permit it to increase its effective role in the enforcement of civil rights laws.

At times in the recent past, as many as one-third of the bureau's agents have been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters. The number of civil rights complaints the bureau investigated in the last fiscal year was 143 per cent more than the figure for 1961. These responsibilities place a heavy burden on the bureau's field staff.

On the advice of Attorney General Katzenbach and F.B.I. Director Hoover, I recommend that Congress authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 F.B.I. agents and additional supporting personnel—to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.

In every city and town and rural community, law-abiding men and women must look for protection primarily to improved local law enforcement. But the Federal Government has its responsibilities to see that Federal rights are secured and their transgressors brought to justice.

We shall meet these responsibilities.

III

The fabric of law enforcement extends from the police patrol to trial and correction. Racial discrimination in any part of this fabric can spoil the rest.

It is necessary that we improve our investigative resources. It is necessary that we strengthen Federal authority against interference with basic rights and impose meaningful sanctions on those who violate them.

Yet if we go only this far—and permit racial discrimination to corrupt the selection of juries—we shall leave it at the center of our legal system a potential for injustice that mocks our hopes for a great and just society.

Trial by a freely selected jury of one's peers is not a new right. It has its roots in the Magna Carta. Blackstone described it as the "grand bulwark" of man's liberties.

Yet we have been reminded in recent months that in many areas the exclusion of minority groups from jury service remains systematic and complete.

Denying jury service to any group deprives it of one of the oldest and most precious privileges and duties of free men. It is not only the excluded group which suffers. Courts are denied the justice that flows from impartial juries selected from a cross section of the community. The people's confidence in justice is eroded.

Jury discrimination takes many forms, open and subtle, intentional and inadvertent:

Many jury officials may compile their basic list of potential jurors from membership lists, clubs and civic organizations that tend to exclude minority groups.

Some state laws require jury officials to make highly subjective judgments of a juror's "integrity, good character and sound judgment."

Even when the list of qualified jurors has been fairly compiled, officials in many areas are still free to exclude a particular class of citizens arbitrarily when they make assignments to particular juries.

None of today's civil rights laws gives sufficient protection against these practices.

An 1875 statute makes it a Federal crime for officials in either Federal or state courts to exclude jurors because of their race. But criminal sanctions operate only upon individuals—not upon an entire system.

Could Restore Integrity of System

What is required is not the punishment of individuals. It is the restoration of integrity in the system itself.

The time has come for new legislation redeeming the promise made to every American: a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

I recommend legislation stating explicitly for all our courts that the right to serve on grand or petit juries shall not be denied on the basis of race or color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

For Federal courts, the legislation will carefully prescribe each step of the jury selection process.

In state courts, the Attorney General and private citizens will be empowered to sue wherever discrimination in jury

years, the fact remains that today—12 years after the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in schools—only one in 13 Negro school children in the South attends classes with white children.

Two amendments to the 1964 act are needed to strengthen the campaign against racial discrimination in the schools.

One would enlarge the Attorney General's initiative under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

That act authorized the Attorney General to file suits to help communities where severe local pressure and the poverty of aggrieved citizens made private suits impossible. Yet this authorization was qualified by the requirement that the Attorney General first receive a complaint from a parent unable to sue on his own before the Government's legal resources could be brought to bear.

Attorney General Is Limited

Although the Attorney General can move directly against discrimination in voting, in employment or in public accommodations, with respect to school discrimination he must first receive a complaint before acting. In communities where the atmosphere of intimidation and ignorance of the law's protection is most severe, the filing of a complaint is most unlikely.

Thus where the need of the Attorney General's intervention is the greatest, his help is least likely to become available.

Accordingly, I propose that the act be amended to allow the Attorney General to file suit directly, without waiting for a complaint, against discrimination in public schools or public facilities.

The second amendment would give the Attorney General the tools to deal with interference against voluntary school desegregation—the same tools that he now has when school desegregation comes under a court order.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 included provisions to protect court-ordered desegregation from interference. These provisions were reasonably adequate when the desegregation of difficult areas was begun under court order.

But today, principally because of wide acceptance of the Office of Education's desegregation standards, many school districts are desegregating for the first time without the direct compulsion of court orders.

This is a hopeful sign—and one that imposes a new obligation on the Government. We must provide adequate assurances against interference to parents and children eager to desegregate schools, and people siding with and encouraging them, in the exercise of their rights.

The criminal legislation I have already described dealing with intimidation would apply to any violent obstruction of school desegregation. But I also recommend civil injunctive procedures against violence, threats of violence or any other interference with school desegregation.

V

The day has long since passed when problems of race in America could be identified with only one section of the country. The social and economic toll exacted by discrimination in employment, for example, is felt in all sections.

The Federal Government has worked strenuously to bring leadership to a national effort against such discrimination through the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Plans for Progress with Industry, and establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Other specific legislative steps can now be taken to bolster this effort. The first year's experience of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission suggests that it should be endowed with enforcement power and that its coverage should be broadened.

Proposals focusing on these purposes are already before the Congress. I urge that these needs be given ghe fullest legislative consideration, and that the Senate complete action on the bill passed by the House of Representatives yesterday.

Freedom from discrimination is not enough. There must be freedom from the disadvantage that 200 years of discrimination helped create. There must be freedom of opportunity, freedom to work.

We look to those at the White House Civil Rights Conference this June and to private employers across America to help us find new ways to match t he nation's promise of civil rights by the fact of civil results—in full and equal employment opportunity.

VI

We undertake to expand and reform the civil rights laws this year with the

Poor housing, unemployment and poverty, while they affect racial minorities particularly, will not be defeated by new civil rights laws. Thus, the programs that Congress has adopted go far beyond the vindication of civil rights.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will enrich t he quality of our public schools.

The Housing Act of 1965 will provide part of the decent low-and middle-income housing our cities desperately need. Beyond this, adoption of the Demonstration Cities Act this year will launch a major attack on the blight of urban ghettos.

Amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act adopted in 1965 will help unskilled Negroes, as well as whites, prepare for a role in the economies of today and tomorrow.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1965—the Antipoverty Act—is reaching out with new hope for the disadvantage for those pre-school children, teenagers, and older men and women who have never before had cause to hope.

We do not call any of these civil rights programs." Nevertheless, they are crucial, and perhaps decisive elements in the Negro American's long struggle for a fair chance in life.

Sees a Chain of Discrimination'

It is self-evident that the problems we are struggling with form a complicated chain of discrimination and lost opportunities. Employment is often dependent on education, education on neighborhood schools and housing, housing on income, and income on employment. We have learned by now the folly of looking for any single crucial link in the chain that binds the ghetto.

All the links—poverty, lack of education, underemployment and now discrimination in housing—must be attacked together. If we are to include the Negro in our society, we must do more than give him the education he needs to obtain a job and a fair chance for useful work.

We must give the Negro tse right to live in freedom among his fellow Americans.

I ask the Congress to enact the first effective Federal law against the discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

The time has come for the Congress to declare resoundingly that discrimination in housing and all the evils it breeds are a denial of justice and a threat to the development of our growing urban areas.

The time has come to combat unreasoning restrictions on any family's

antee that all Americans shall benefit from the expanding housing market Congress has made possible.

Executive Order No. 11063, signed by President Kennedy on Nov. 20, 1962, prohibited housing discrimination where Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration Insurance programs are involved. That executive order clearly expressed the commitment of the executive branch to the battle against housing discrimination.

But that order, and all the amendments that could validly be added to it, are inevitably restricted to those elements of the housing problem which are under direct executive authority.

Our responsibility is to deal with discrimination directly at the point of sale or refusal, as well as indirectly through financing. Our need is to reach discrimination practiced by financial institutions operating outside the F.H.A. and V.A. insurance programs, and not otherwise regulated by the Government.

Our task is to end discrimination in all housing, old and new—not simply in the new housing covered by the executive order.

I proposee legislation that is constitutional in design, comprehensive in scope and firm in enforcement. It will cover the sale, rental and financing of all dwelling units. It will prohibit discrimination, on either racial or religious grounds, by owners, brokers and lending corporations in their housing commitments.

Under this legislation, private individuals could sue in either state or Federal courts to block discrimination.

The Attorney General would be empowered to sue directly for appropriate relief, wherever he has reasonable cause to believe that a pattern of discrimination exists.

Department Studies Are Due

The legislation would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make factual studies, and to give technical assistance to the Community Relations Service and all other public an private organizations working to eliminate discriminatory housing patterns.

The bill I am submitting to the Congress this year would leave in effect the many state laws that have preceded the Federal Government in the field of fair housing. We would hope to enact a law that will not only open the fight against discrimination where there are o state laws against it, but also strengthen the enforcement efforts of states which have fair housing programs now.

The ghettos of our major cities—

profound hyprocrisy when we say that they cannot buy or rent dwellings among citizens they fight to save.

VII

No civil rights act, however historic, will be final. We would look in vain for one definitive solution to an injustice as old as the nation itself—an injustice that leaves no section of the country and no level of American life unstained. This administration has pledged that as long as racial discrimination denies opportunity and equal rights in America, we will honor our constitutional and moral responsibility to restore the balance of justice.

Yet no amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the National Government, can by itself bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the states and local governments, of industry, and of all citizens, white and Negro.

Hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans in every part of the country are making that effort now. They know that the responsibilities of citizenship follow inevitably from the achievement of civil rights and economic opportunity.

They know that an obligation lies before them, to take full advantage of the improved education and training that is now becomingavailable to them—in the public schools, in vocational training, in the universities.

They know that it is their task to lead others in the quest for achievement and social justice—to inspire them with confidence, with preserverance, with the mutual forbearance on which our democracy depends.

VIII

We are engaged in a great adventure—as great as that of the last century, when our fathers marched to the Western frontier. Our frontier today is of human beings, not of land.

If we are able to open that frontier, to free each child to become the best that is in him to become, our reward—both spiritual and material—will exceed any that we gained a century ago through territorial expansion.

Whether we shall succeed is an issue that rests in the heart of every American. It rests in the determination of Negro Americans to use the opportunities for orderly progress that are now becoming—at last—a reality in their lives. It rests in our common willingness to expand those opportunities in the years ahead.

That issue can and will be decided in only one way. For we have not come this far to fail within sight of our goal.

of the American

One Good Thing In Bill

LEGISLATION

Sen. Ervin Likes Provision To Prevent U.S. Jury Bias

Greensboro Daily News 4/30/66

BY ROY PARKER JR.
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—North Carolina Sen. Sam Ervin whose subcommittee will hold the initial Senate hearings on the newest civil rights bill, has found one good thing in it.

For Ervin, this is somewhat of a record. The Tar Heel senator has been one of the most implacable and vocal foes of the series of rights measures voted by Congress in recent years.

The newest one, sent to Congress Thursday by President Johnson, heralds "the demise of the Constitution," except for one provision, Ervin said in a statement.

* * *

THE PROVISION Ervin finds "worthwhile" would establish jury commissions in each federal court district to assure nondiscrimination in selection of federal juries.

The North Carolina senator said that the rights bill was offered as "a natural reaction . . . to the activities of a few demagogic politicians and a few murdering criminals in the South."

"Without their illegal acts, many of the bills would never have been proposed," he said.

President Johnson promised to offer the legislation soon after a Southern jury failed to convict several men charged with the murders of civil rights workers.

But Ervin, whose constitutional rights subcommittee expects to hold hearings within a month, said federal law is now adequate to prevent racial discrimination in selection of juries in state courts.

"I have considerable misgivings over further intrusion of the federal government in the jury system of the states," Ervin said.

* * *

THE HOUSING TITLE of the bill, prohibiting racial discrimination in private housing, is interesting, Ervin said, because "it is the first major civil rights legislation in history not aimed solely at the South."

On the other hand, he said, "it is unconstitutional . . . and it is unenforceable."

Proposed authority for the U.S. attorney general to initiate school desegregation suits and criminal penalties for racial intimidation "are repugnant to the basic concepts of American liberty," Ervin said.

Ervin seemed to predict that the rights law may be passed despite his opposition. If Congress "capitulates" to "unpeaceful demonstrations and misplaced righteous indignation . . . we will be sharing in the demise of the Constitution," he said. "I am sad to think I may share in this demise as a member of Congress."

* * *

ERVIN, WHO has won his talking spurs in several state civil rights filibusters, said the debate should be "most interesting" this time because of the housing title.

That title, which would have major impact in large cities outside the South, is considered political dynamite by many who have supported rights bills in the past.

"It should be most interesting to watch the politics of the debate now that others' oxen are being gored," said Ervin.

LEGISLATION

AC 6/3/66

Russell Briefs Dixie Forces, Expects Dirksen Rights Aid

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Southern senators Monday braced to oppose an anticipated early attempt to fix a limit on the time allotted for the Senate Judiciary Committee to consider the 1966 civil rights bill.

Nine senators from seven Southern states met for 1½ hours in the office of Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell for what was described as an "informal chat" and "an exchange of views" on the civil rights bill, plus "some other matters."

The Southern senators quickly learned that they could expect support from Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen, a consistent advocate of civil rights legislation, who predicted that Congress would kill President Lyndon B. Johnson's latest proposal to ban discrimination in the sale or rental of housing.

The Justice department, which drafted the proposal, based it on the government's constitutional right to regulate interstate commerce. This is the same argument it used successfully to underpin the public accommodations section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as well as in desegregation of rail and bus terminals.

Dirksen balked at this approach. "If you can tell me what in interstate commerce is involved about selling a house fixed on soil or what federal jurisdiction there is I'll eat the chimney on the house," he said.

"In my opinion it is absolutely unconstitutional," Dirksen said. He indicated he would support a filibuster against the fair housing proviso of the President's legislation.

President Johnson's bill also is designed to end discrimination in the selection of state and federal juries, provide more protection from violence for Negroes and civil rights workers, and permit the Justice De-

Continued on Page 6, Column 4

Russell Briefs Dixie Forces, Expects Dirksen Rights Aid

Continued from Page 1

partment to initiate school and public facility desegregation suits.

Both Dirksen and Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield said they would oppose a move reportedly planned by Sen. Jacob K. Javits for Tuesday to set a time limit on committee consideration of the bill.

Supporters of the legislation want the time limit because the Senate Judiciary Committee is dominated by Southern leadership.

EASTLAND BOSS

Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi is chairman of the committee. Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina is chairman of the constitutional righs subcommittee, to which the bill will be assigned initially.

The Southerners would be in position to stall committee action for a long time, even if not for the whole session, without instructions to report the bill back to the Senate by a specific date.

Sen. Russell, who leads a bloc of 19 senators from 10 states (Tennessee's two senators and Sen. Ralph Yarborough of Texas are not considered part of the bloc) did not meet with reporters after Monday's meeting.

NO FORMAL MOTION

Other sources said no formal strategy was laid out at the meeting, but added there is no doubt the Southerners would oppose a motion to limit time on committee action.

Sen. Ervin was the only member attending the Southern caucus to comment on the proposed civil right legislation.

He said with a smile, "This time somebody's ox is being gored besides mine."

He was referring to the bill's fair housing provision, which would affect other areas of the country as well as the South.

Other sections of the bill pertain to criminal violation of civil rights, jury selection and school desegregation, all aimed primarly at conditions in the South.

Ervin said in a more serious tone, "This is a bill to destroy the rights to property."

Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach is scheduled to be the first witness when the House Judiciary Committee begins hearings on the bill Wednesday.

3 Arrested in Savannah In Bogus Check Cases

SAVANNAH, Ga. (AP)—Savannah police said Monday they arrested three men possessing bogus payroll checks during the weekend and were attempting to determine if other areas in Georgia had reported similar worthless checks.

Two Macon men, Clyde Robert Loftin and Bobby Childree, both 29, and Auturo Rodriquez, 42, of New Orleans were charged with cashing worthless checks, counterfeiting checks and forgery.

Officers said Loftin was arrested in a Savannah department store attempting to cash one of the checks and the other two men were captured after a chase by police in Chatham and Effingham counties.

Police said the three had a number of Georgia veterans drivers licenses, social security cards and cards identifying themselves as General Electric employes.

Officers said the trio also possessed $700 in cash and merchandise allegedly taken from Savannah-area businesses which cashed their checks.

According to police, most of the checks were drawn in the amount of $144.67 and made payable to fictitious Savannah residents. All checks had the same serial number and were printed on a check-writing machine, police said.

KATZENBACH ASKS HOUSING BIAS BAN

LEGISLATION

Calls New Civil Rights Bill Constitutional—Will Seek to Win Dirksen's Support

5/5/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 4—The Administration began today what is expected to be a bitter election-year struggle for its new civil rights bill.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, testifying before a House Judiciary subcommittee, made a detailed defense of the most controversial section, that calling for the first national prohibition against racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing.

"I have no doubts whatsoever as to its constitutionality," Mr. Katzenbach said, in an obvious response to a statement earlier this week by Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Senate minority leader, that the bill was "absolutely unconstitutional."

Has Had A Key Role

The Attorney General told reporters later that he would try to change the Illinois Republican's mind.

"We want Senator Dirksen's support," he said. "I think we will get Senator Dirksen's support. He is a very reasonable man."

In the past, President Johnson's civil rights bills have passed the Senate with bi-partisan support and with Senator Dirksen playing a key role.

Proponents of the bill said that the strategy would be to try to pass the bill in the House as soon as possible and get it to the Senate in time to defeat an expected filibuster before Congress adjourns.

Continued on Page 31, Column 2

KATZENBACH ASKS HOUSING BIAS BAN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

Strong Republican support will be needed if this is to succeed.

As expected, Mr. Katzenbach and the bill reeeived a warm reception before the subcommittee, which is headed by Representative Emanuel Cellar of Brooklyn. Mr. Celler is also chairman of the full Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Celler said that the Administration had given the committee a "heavy burden" but every effort would be made to expedite its consideration by the House. He said the hearings would end later this month.

In addition to open housing, the bill calls for racially balanced state and Federal juries, a stronger Federal law against racial violence and intimidation and authority for the Attorney General to file school desegregation lawsuits without receiving a complaint.

'Problems of Racial Injustice'

Mr. Katzenbach said the full bill was needed to help combat "deep-seated, interconnected and complex problems of racial injustice which are immediate, apparent and not susceptible to effective treatment without action by Congress now."

Title IV of the bill prohibits discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin by property owners, tract developers, real estate bokers, lending institutions and all others engaged in the sale, rental or financing of housing.

An aggrieved individual could seek injunctive relief in the courts, which could also award him damages up to $500. But Mr. Katzenbach said that he did not anticipate "hundreds of lawsuits" but widespread compliance similar to that achieved under the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

He said that segregated housing was perpetuated by builders, landlords, real estate agents and those who provide mortgage money, not out of racial prejudice but out of fear of economic loss.

"If all those in the housing industry are bound by a universal law against discrimination, there will be no economic peril to any of them," Mr. Katzenbach said.

The Attorney General said that the proposal could be supported under the 14th Amendment and the interstate commerce clause of the Constiuttion.

"Are we to tell our Negro citizens that the Congress who has guaranteed them access to desegregated public schools and to swimming pools and to golf courses is powerless to guarantee them the basic right to choose a place to live?" he asked.

"To me it is clear that the 14th Amendment gives the Congress the power to address itself to the vindication of what is, in substance, the freedom to live."

Mr. Katzenbach said that the housing industry clearly came under the scope of interstate commerce, which Congress has the authority to govenr.

"The construction of homes and apartment buildings, the production and sale of building materials and home furnishings, the financing of construction an purchases all take place in or through the channels of interstate commerce," he said.

'A National Necessity'

"The ending of compulsory residential segregation has become a national necessity," Mr. Katzenbach said. "Law must lead and law must protect in this vital area as i thas in voting, public accommodations, school and employment.'

In response to questions on the jury proposals, Mr. Katzenbach said that they would 'do away with blue ribbon juries' and make it more difficult to obtain a conviction, but he believed the proposals were needed, nevertheless.

On Federal courts, the bill calls for selection of jury lists from registered voters within a district in order to obtain a cross-section of racial and economic groups. On state juries, the Attorney General would have authority to enforce racial balance through Federal Court injunction.

Mr. Katzenbach said that one of the most widely used methods of securing lists of names for Federal juries was through the "key man" system under which leading citizens were asked to furnish names of persons suitable for jury service. Names suggested frequently are white members of the upper economic and social classes. These are called blue ribbon juries.

"It is sometimes easier to get a conviction with a blue ribbon jury," Mr. Katzenbach said. But he said he saw no reason for concern, that all segments of society should be represented on juries.

LEGISLATION

Katzenbach Sees Okay Of Rights Bill by Dirksen

ac 5/5/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach said Wednesday he thinks Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen will support President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1966 civil rights bill.

However, the attorney general indicated the administration may have to make "reasonable" concessions to gain Dirksen's backing.

KEY TO PASSAGE

Dirksen, who holds the key to the bill's passage, has branded the housing proposal as "absolutely unconstitutional."

Katzenbach told a House Judiciary Subcommittee Wednesday that he thinks the housing provision is "clearly constitutional."

Newsmen were informed later by the attorney general that he plans to confer with Dirksen in hopes of bringing the Illinois Republican around to the administration's point of view.

'VERY REASONABLE'

Katzenbach was asked if he considers Dirksen's support crucial to passage.

"We want Sen. Dirksen's support," he replied. "I think we'll have it. He's a very reasonable man."

Administration sources have indicated there would be no hope of breaking a Southern filibuster in the Senate unless Dirksen agreed to join with Democrats to vote cloture.

Administration leaders acknowledged from the outset that the housing provision would have to be modified to obtain

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

Katzenbach Thinks Dirksen Will Back Johnson Rights Bill

Continued from Page 1

passage. Katzenbach conferred with Dirksen several times before the bill was drawn by the Justice department.

Some Southerners view the housing provision as an instrument of compromise to be used by the Johnson administration to win support for three other parts of the bill.

Katzenbach, lead-off witness before the subcommittee, said two key intentions of the bill are to end "compulsory residential segregation" and to insure that jury selection reaches low income as well as minority groups.

Other sections of the bill would give the federal government stronger powers to deal with "Klansmen and other fanatics" in civil rights violence and to push desegregation of schools and public facilities where action is needed most, said Katzenbach.

Dirksen said earlier this week that fair housing legislation supported by movement of goods and finances through interstate commerce would not stand a constitutional test.

The attorney general told the subcommittee that the legality of the housing proposal is supported by both the interstate commerce clause and by a recent Supreme Court ruling in a Georgia case, which grew out of the highway slaying of Washington Negro educator Lemuel Penn near Athens.

Six of the nine Supreme Court justices declared in the Georgia decision that Congress has the power under the 14th Amendment "to reach such purely private misconduct if it chooses to do so," said Katzenbach.

The attorney general predicted there would be widespread compliance and few court suits over fair housing if the legislation is enacted.

One of the main purposes of legislation to forbid discrimination in federal and state jury selection is to eliminate widespread exclusion of Negroes, said Katzenbach.

However, Katzenbach said, jury discrimination frequently excludes persons of low economic status and other groups from jury duty.

Underground Test

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Atomic Energy Commission announced that an underground nuclear test of low yield was conducted Wednesday at its Nevada test site.

Katzenbach Yields on Rights Bill

LEGISLATION
5/6/66 AC

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach said Thursday he would not object to exempting "Mrs. Murphy's Boarding House" from the Fair Housing Provision of the 1966 Civil Rights Bill.

This was the first concession for President Lyndon B. Johnson's latest civil rights package.

The issue of "Mrs. Murphy's Boarding House" stirred congressional debate during passage of the 1964 act affecting public accomodations.

A provision was inserted in the 1964 law to exempt places which accomodate five or less persons, such as a boarding house that might be operated by a Mrs. Murphy or anyone else.

Rep. William C. Cramer, R-Fla., noted the congressional storm over "Mrs. Murphy" two years ago and asked why the administration had not included that exemption in housing provision.

"I don't think that the intent or the purpose here (of the housing provision) would be impeded

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Katzenbach Yields on Rights Bill

Continued from Page 1

by exempting Mrs. Murphy's boardinghouse," replied Katzenbach.

Cramer, the only Southerner sitting on the House Judiciary Sub-Committee holding hearings on the bill, questioned whether the government should include vacant land under the fair housing section and how the interstate commerce clause applied to idle land.

"I think this is important," said Katzenbach. "The 15th Amendment applies here (to vacant land.)"

The attorney general said the law would apply only if the land was to be used for residential purposes.

Some House Republicans refused to join Senate GOP Leader Everett Dirksen in his opinion that the housing provision is unconsttutional. Rep. Clark MacGregor, R-Minn., a member of the Juduciary Sub - Committee, said Dirksen was wrong about the bill.

House Republican Leader Gerald M. Ford and Rep. William M. McCulloch, ranking Republicans on the sub-committee, withheld their opinions until the evidence is presented.

MORE OPTIMISTIC

Katzenback seemed more optmistic than ever that Dirksen would support the bill.

"We've had a number of dscussions," said Katzenbach. "He hasn't committed himself. I feel sure he will support it."

Dirksen holds the key to a Senate coalition of Democrats and Republicans which has broken Southern filibusters in the past on civil rights legislaton.

Cramer asked why the Justice department wants to strike a provision from the 1964 act that requires a written complaint before the federal government can file a school desegregation suit.

COMPLAINTS ADJUSTED

"I'll tell you why I want to strike that," declared Katzenbach. "We had one district that had 21 complaints. We went down to that system to adjust those complaints. They did adjust those complaints. They went around and got all 21 complaints withdrawn."

He later refused to identify the school system for a reporter. Katzenbach said language forbidding racial balance in schools and the bussing of students should be taken from the 1964 act because "I can not read anything in that language whatsoever."

He voiced no objection to replacing the section referring to racial balance with a much-fought-over definition of desegregation included elsewhere in the 1964 act.

Katzenbach also said he would not object to exempting private clubs under the fair housing provision so long as the bill was not changed to permit organizations to circumvent the open-occupancy intent.

Rep. McCulloch of Ohio differed with Katzenbach on eliminating the "key man" system of jury selection for federal courts. Community leaders recommend names for jury duty under the system.

Katzenbach argued, "I think the key man system in virtually every area has some built in bias."

GOPs Marshal All Strength To Head Off Rent Subsidies

LEGISLATION AC 5/9/66

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Republicans conceded Sunday it would take all of their strength and a lot of Democratic help to fight off last-ditch White House efforts to win approval of rent subsidy funds this week.

At issue is an administration attempt to reinstate $22 million in rent subsidy money in the $14 billion appropriations bill that comes up for House action Tuesday.

Rep. Glenn R. Davis, R-Wis., led the fight last week when the House appropriations committee voted 25 to 21, to delete the subsidies for the big city needy.

But he was less than optimistic Sunday. "It's too close to guess," he said. "It'll be a real squeaker."

House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., thought chances of defeating President Johnson's proposal were good, but he admitted it would be close.

"I think it'll be a close battle because the White House will undoubtedly have all its troops up there to add to the appropriation," he said.

The $14 billion appropriations bill is to finance 23 federal agencies, including the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, for the fiscal year beginning July 1. The measure was cut by nearly $307 million in the appropriations committee.

After the committee whacked off the rent subsidy funds, administration leaders served notice they would bear down Tuesday in an effort to get the money reinstated on the House floor.

Both Ford and Davis said the key issue was the administration's obvious intent to widen the range of rent subsidies at a later date to include middle income—as well as low income—families.

If debate on the measure can be kept on that basis, Davis said he believed moves to reinstate the money would fail. But, he said, if debate wandered away on strictly money issues, the administration would have a good chance of winning.

Ford said the appropriations committee only deleted the rent subsidy money after Housing Secretary Robert Weaver let it be known that his agency would like to expand the program from families who earn less than $6,000 a year to those who earn less than $10,000.

As authorized by Congress last year, the program would permit low-income families — those eligible for public housing and who earn less than $6,000— to pay 25 per cent of income for rent, with the government paying the rest.

Davis charged that the rent program was under "an ethical and administrative cloud."

The administrative cloud, he said, was Weaver's effort to expand the program beyond the intent of Congress. He said the ethical cloud was the administration's tactics in mustering congressional support.

Earlier, both the House and Senate voted $12 million for rent subsidies in a supplemental appropriations bill for the current fiscal year. This was approved by a House-Senate conference committee, but changes still must be approved by both houses.

In the Senate this week, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara will testify again before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during hearings on the $3.4 billion foreign aid bill.

LEGISLATION

New Rights Bill Hits Senate Snag

AJ 5/9/66

WASHINGTON, May 9, (UPI). The first roadblock to President Johnson's new civil rights bill emerged Monday—a proposal aimed at curbing the government's authority to cut off federal aid in desegregation cases.

Sen. Sam Ervin Jr.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C., planned to propose such a rider in the Senate today. He said that since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 the government had used federal aid "to enforce Washington's notion of acceptable integration progress" in violation of the intent of the law.

His amendment would prohibit a fund cutoff until those receiving the aid had a chance to answer the complaint. Proof of violation of the law would have to be based on "substantial evidence."

"Congress has meekly surrendered the control of the federal purse strings to the 'equal opportunity officer' of each agency which he may use to effectuate his own notions of sociological progress," Ervin said.

Since Ervin is chairman of the Senate judiciary subcommittee which will hold hearings on the 1966 rights bill, his proposed amendment is a very real hurdle for the President's measure.

On the other side of the Capitol, Chairman Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., of the House Judiciary Committee, who has sponsored and managed all four civil rights bills enacted since 1957, conceded that this year's bill appeared to be the toughest ever, with the fair housing provision the "stickiest" part of it.

"That's going to meet with opposition on the part not only of members from the South, but a good many members from the North, particularly in suburban areas where men won by small margins," he said.

But, he said Sunday, "We have every expectation that this bill will pass."

The bill would impose a national ban on discrimination in the sale and rental of housing; reform federal and state jury selection procedures; strengthen laws against civil rights violence, and set up new legal weapons against school desegregation.

Rights Bill Exemption Stirs Fight

LEGISLATION
AC 5/11/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which is holding hearings on the 1966 civil rights bill, Monday declared opposition to exempting "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" from the fair housing section.

Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., said, "I am not giving up readily on this matter. I want to go all the way—not part of the way —to prevent racial discrimination in dwellings."

When Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach was first questioned about "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" by a judiciary subcommittee Friday, he said he did not think the exemption would impair objectives of the housing legislation.

"Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" came to prominence during debate over the 1964 bill forbidding discrimination in public accommodations. Boarding houses accommodating five or fewer persons are exempted under the 1964 act.

"If we are to strike down ghettos and raze slums," said Celler, "we cannot do it with half-hearted measures."

Katzenbach told the subcommittee Monday that the open occupancy section would not be a cureall for slums, but would be an "indispensable" factor in

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

Rights Bill Exemption Denounced

Boarding Houses In, Celler Says

Continued from Page 1

breaking up Negro ghettos and eliminating de facto school segregation in large urban centers.

The attorney general stuck fast to a provision that would apply the fair housing legislation to the sale of owner-occupied homes.

"If you have a section in which the homeowner does not come under this bill and he can deal with the real estate broker, I think you have gutted this bill," he told the subcommittee.

However, Katzenbach said, "There is absolutely nothing in this bill to keep you from selling to a friend."

Rep. Celler asked Katzenbach if intimidation and harassment of students who integrated white schools—such as was reported in Americus and Sumter County, Georgia, last year by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—would be sufficient cause for the federal government to file suit under another section of the bill forbidding such acts.

Katzenback said he would consider this reason for federal suit and would hope court action would "create a climate of free choice" in school desegregation."

Celler also asked Katzenbach if the slaying of a Negro, who was in no way associated with civil rights activities in an area, to discourage activities of other Negroes, would be covered by the section providing criminal prosecution for violation of federally guaranteed rights.

Katzenbach replied, "Yes. I think that would be similar to Col. Penn." He referred to Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn, a Washington educator who was slain as he drove along a northeast Georgia highway. Penn was returning to Washington from Army reserve training at Ft. Benning, Ga. in 1964.

NEW RIGHTS STEPS ASKED BY WILKINS

LEGISLATION

House Panel Hears Plea to Strengthen Johnson Bill

NYT 5/18/66

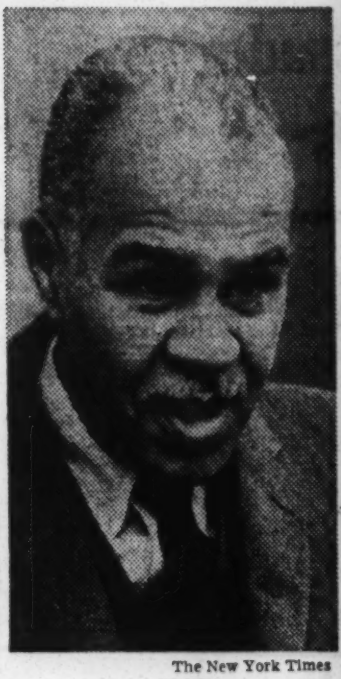
By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17 — Roy Wilkins, speaking for a federation of liberal organizations, urged the House Judiciary Committee today to approve a civil rights bill much stronger than that requested by President Johnson.

Mr. Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, appeared before a Judiciary subcommittee on behalf of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of which he is chairman.

The Negro leader called for adoption of four major amendments to the Administration bill



The New York Times

Roy Wilkins

as a "firm consensus within the Leadership Conference as to what civil rights groups should support as a minimum." The Conference is a federation of more than 100 civil rights, labor, religious and civic organizations.

The amendments would add the following features to the bill:

¶Provide for executive as well as judicial enforcement of the section banning racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

¶Establish an "automatic trigger" for bringing under Federal jurisdiction jury selection in state courts having a history of racial discrimination. (Under the Administration bill, the Attorney General would seek Federal standards on an individual basis, through the Federal courts, when state

The New York Times

Roy Wilkins

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¶Provide for executive as well as judicial enforcement of the section banning racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

¶Establish an "automatic trigger" for bringing under Federal jurisdiction jury selection in state courts having a history of racial discrimination. (Under the Administration bill, the Attorney General would seek Federal standards on an individual basis, through the Federal courts, when state courts continue discrimination.)

¶Provide a system of indemnification whereby the victims of racial violence could recover monetary awards from persons or governments engaging in the violence.

¶Extend fair employment practices provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to local governments and agencies such as police departments and courts.

Strong Endorsement

"We believe it would be a national tragedy if Congress failed to enact the Administration bill," Mr. Wilkins said. "Our changes are advanced as a supplement, in the same manner that the Leadership Conference in 1964 and 1965 offered suggestions that were adopted by Congress—suggestions that went beyond the original bill as introduced."

The major civil rights leaders, including Mr. Wilkins, met with President Johnson at the White House on April 28, the day the bill was submitted to Congress. At that time, they expressed approval of the measure but said they would work to strengthen it in Congress.

Mr. Wilkins said today that the Administration's proposal for open housing was inadequate and out of date in that it would authorize aggrieved parties to go to court rather than set up an agency with power to move against discriminatory practices.

"Victims of discrimination are rarely in a position to initiate and carry through lengthy court proceedings," he said adding that "In state after state, anti-bias laws of the old-fashioned type have been amended to provide for administrative enforcement and most new laws contain that feature."

Case - by - case procedure through the courts also is not sufficient to end discrimination on juries, Mr. Wilkins said. He noted that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 contained an "automatic trigger" that suspended literacy requirements in areas where large numbers of Negroes were unregistered.

"We propose that a similar trigger, based on statistical evidence of nonparticipation of Negroes in jury service, be included in the bill, for the purpose of suspending state qualifications and appointing a Federal official to select state juries where discrimination exists," he said.

Mr. Wilkins's recommendations drew little response from the subcommittee. But some members expressed alarm at a proposal made by William L. Taylor, staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, who also called for amendments to strengthen the bill.

In the open-housing section, Mr. Taylor said, there should be a provision for the withdrawal of Federal charters and insurance of banks and other lending institutions that fail to put a nondiscrimination clause in their loan agreements with builders.

The committee chairman, Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, asked if this would not require financial institutions to "go into the highways and byways to police the builders."

Dirksen Asserts Civil Rights Bill Should Be Put 'on Hook' for '66

LEGISLATION

He Returns to Senate Floor on Crutches — Housing Bias Ban Is Assailed

NYT 5/25/66

WASHINGTON, May 24 (AP) —Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen said today he believed sufficient opposition had accumulated to put the Administration's Civil Rights Bill "on the hook next year."

Mr. Dirksen, the Senate Republican leader, reiterated his position that a provision to ban discrimination in the sale and rental of housing is unconstitutional.

The Illinois Senator spoke out at a news conference after opposition witnesses had assailed the housing provision in House subcommittee hearings. The opponents called the bill unconstitutional and said it was potentially of little value to Negroes.

Mr. Dirksen, who broke a thigh bone in a fall May 10, returned to the Senate floor today walking on crutches. The 70-year-old Senator had fallen while getting out of bed at Walter Reed Army Hospital, where he had gone for a series of tests.

A Key to Passage

Mr. Dirksen has been the key to passage of civil rights bills in the Senate, where he has been able to provide the Republican votes needed to overcome Southern filibusters. His refusal to go along could stall the pending measure indefinitely.

The Republican leader took note of a May 18 statement by Chief Justice Earl Warren that a survey of 34 pending bills to change the method of jury selection indicated that "some of them go a very long way and would very radically change the relationship between our Federal and state governments."

Mr. Dirksen said he believed Justice Warren's remarks indicated that Congress needed more time to study this issue as well as the constitutionality of the housing provision.

The House Judiciary Subcommittee heard witnesses both for and against the bill, with much of today's testimony centering on the housing provisions.

Alan L. Emlen, speaking for the National Association of Real Estate Boards, called the housing proposal "an affront to the American tradition of freedom of contract."

Mr. Emlen said that giving a Negro the right to file suit against a home-ower on the grounds he was blocked from buying a house because of his race would be "destructive of home ownership."

United Press International Telephoto

Everett McKinley Dirksen, Senate Republican leader, at his office yesterday.

Another witness Alfred Avins, a law professor at Memphis State University, attacked the constitutionality of the proposed housing law, saying it would be a denial of the rights of freedom of choice and association.

Mr. Avins made a prepared statement on behalf of the Liberty Lobby, a conservative group.

Support for the measure came from Andrew J. Biemiller, representing the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. What opposition exists to the housing proposal, he said, is based on racial bigotry or ignorance of the facts.

LEGISLATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 1966.

Ervin Plans Slow, Thorough Hearing on New Civil Rights Bill

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 6 — Senate hearings on the Administration's civil rights bill opened today under the chairmanship of Sam J. Ervin, who indicated they would be broad, thorough and unhurried.

The North Carolina Democrat kept the first witness, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, waiting under television lights for almost two hours while he enumerated scores of objections to the bill.

"I honestly fear," the white-haired Senator declared, "we may be witnessing the twilight of federalism."

Mr. Ervin, chairman of a Judiciary subcommittee on constitutional rights, said the hearings would cover not only the broad civil rights legislation submitted by President Johnson and six related bills, but also a measure he and J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, have introduced to rewrite Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Under Attack in South

Title VI is intended to ban racial discrimination in any Federally assisted program. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is currently under attack by Southern school and hospital officials regarding the administration of the title, which Ervin said should be clarified to eliminate any requirement for achieving "racial balance."

For the hearings, the Senator said, the subcommittee has solicited the views of the governors of the 50 states, seven professors of law and the state education officers of the Southern and Border states. So far, witnesses have been scheduled through June.

The Administration bill is believed to be in trouble in Congress. One reason is opposition to a section that would ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing.

Procedural Trouble Possible

A House Judiciary subcommittee headed by Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, concluded hearings on the bill last month and is expected to report it out in a few days. However, even if the measure passes the house, it faces procedural trouble in the Senate.

Although the parent Judiciary Committee can be bypassed if it maintains its traditional hostility to civil rights legislation, Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Senate Republican leader, has expressed opposition to the housing section and thus may not be available to help break a Southern filibuster.

Other than the housing section, the bill would be applicable largely in the South. It would attack racial discrimination on state and Federal juries, strengthen Federal laws against racial crimes and violence and give the Attorney General additional authority to initiate lawsuits for desegregation of schools.

An all-white audience packed the hearing room this morning when Mr. Ervin opened the hearings. The Senator said the section on jury reform had apparently been written by someone "who has little knowledge of the courthouse" and threatened to "sacrifice centuries of experience with the administration of criminal law merely because of a new-found infatuation with sociology."

He said it was "absurd" to think that the housing section could be maintained under interstate commerce clause of the Constitution.

"A house may be bought and sold," Mr. Ervin said, "but with the exception of the house trailer and in the absence of acts of God, it never crosses a state line, I fail to see how we can rely upon tornadoes and hurricanes as channels of interstat commerce."

Rights Bill Called Assault on Nation

LEGISLATION

AC 6/7/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A Southern-led Senate subcommittee opened sharp debate Monday on the 1966 Civil Rights Bill amid growing signs that the Administration measure is in danger of being delayed in a House committee.

Sen. Sam Ervin, D-NC, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, called the bill "a drastic assault on 190 million Americans."

Ervin opened the Senate hearings with a statement which he required an hour and 20 minutes to read, setting the pace for lengthly hearings before the subcommittee.

The entire first day of hearings was taken up with statements read by Irvin and Atty. Gen. Nicholas de B. Katzenbach. The attorney general agreed to paraphrase his statement, but Ervin insisted that he take the time to read it.

Administration supporters do not expect the Senate Judiciary committee to report out the bill as proposed by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

The administration strategy is to bring up the bill in the Senate after it is passed by the House without permitting the measure to fall into the clutches of the committee, which is headed by Sen. James O. Eastland, D-Miss.

However, there were indications that the bill was in trouble

Continued on Page 8, Column 7

Sen. Ervin Tags Rights Bill Assault on 190 Million

Continued from Page 1

in the House Judiciary Committee.

A source close to the committee predicted the bill would not be voted out at this time if it contains the controversial fair housing provision.

Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-NY, chairman of the house committee and a strong supporter of past civil rights legislation, was quoted openly by a Negro leader at last week's White House conference on civil rights as saying the bill is in trouble.

The housing provision seems to be the main complaint in the House committee, which is reluctant to vote out a bill that some congressmen think is doomed in the Senate.

The proposed legislation would strengthen federal prosecution of civil rights crimes, provide open housing, reform jury selection and would permit the attorney general to file school desegregation suits without written complaints.

Sen. Ervin denounced federal civil rights proposals as innovations defying "constitutional proscriptions and common sense."

NOBODY CHANGES MIND

LEGISLATION

Sen. Ervin Knows His Law As Katzenbach Finds Out

AC Cons Hist

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 11 — White-haired Sam Ervin arched his eyebrows, peered over the top of his horned-rimmed glasses at his adversary and a classic, drawn-out debate on constitutional law began on Capital Hill this week.

No one was in a hurry. There was good reason not to be so.

Everyone directly involved knew that if the President's proposed 1966 civil rights bill, the instruments of discussion before Ervin's subcommittee on constitutional rights, was going anywhere, it would not be to the Senate floor.

Therefore, witnesses understood they could do more than testify and answer questions. They could debate the chairman, Sen. Ervin, and ask him questions and listen to his answers, and then debate some more.

THE TIME had to be spent—Sen. Ervin would see to that—so the participants whiled away the hours with lawyer-to-lawyer arguments and polite regional insults from one politician to another.

Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach was well aware of the arrangement. He spent three days in front of Ervin and the glare of eight bright television lights.

Katzenbach thrust more at Ervin's constitutional ideas than he testified in behalf of the civil rights legislation.

Ervin, who looks much younger than his 69 years, is a constitutional lawyer of enormous reputation. This goes back to the days when he sat on the Supreme Court of North Carolina before coming to the Senate.

A member of the Justice Department once said Sen. Ervin's reputation is acknowledged among the federal lawyers, although they most often disagree on civil rights affairs.

This justice official recalled that Sen. Ervin was asked why he never cites any U.S. Supreme Court cases after 1930.

The senator was supposed to have retorted, "Because I don't agree with them."

ERVIN AND KATZENBACH spent hours debating whether the power of the 14th Amendment is limited to prohibiting states from certain actions, or whether the authority is extended to Congress to pass legislation prescribing actions that the states must follow.

Neither had any hope of converting the other to his point of view. But it was something to do.

For illustration purposes, this is the way the debate went for a few minutes:

SEN. SAM ERVIN
Often Speaks in Parables

Ervin declared that the state courts could be prohibited from doing specific things under the 14th Amendment but Congress could not set forth judicial procedures for the states.

Katzenbach: "Suppose we drafted this (the bill section pertaining to state jury selection) and said that if the appropriate state or local official shall fail to furnish a written statement of jury selection information subscribed to under oath containing a detailed descripton of the following, then it will be in violation of the 14th amendment. That is just another way of saying it."

Ervin: "That would be trying to beat the constitutional devil around the stump, and I don't think you can do it."

Katzenbach: "No sir. I am just simply taking the approach that you took."

Ervin: "No, I didn't take that approach."

KATZENBACH: "You say these (jury selection proposals) are prescribing procedures and that approach is no good."

Ervin: "I don't take that approach. I take the approach that under the Constitution the federal courts have the power to invalidate state procedures which contravene the 14th Amendment. But I take the position that the federal government has no power that Congress has no power to take and go beyond that and affirmatively adopt laws which establish state procedures . . ."

The same argument was renewed later on.

Katzenbach: "Now it seems to me that when Congress enacts a statute under Section 5 (of the 14th Amendment), it can say in effect: 'If you don't do these things, you are in violation of the 14th Amendment. These are required practices and procedures for you.'

"If you feel better about this by saying, 'If you don't do this you can't proceed with the trial,' it seems to me that is not really different from stating the other."

KATZENBACH CITED a South Carolina case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court to drive home his point.

Sen. Ervin, a Southern gentleman as the word goes who often speaks in parables, replied, "Mr. Attorney General, I respectfully submit that the distinction between that case and the point we are discussing is about as wide as the gulf which yawns between Lazarus in Abraham's bosom and dives in hell."

Not everybody understood everything that was being said, and nobody was changing anybody's mind.

It was a great debate between an aggressive senator who said he knew what the law was and a patient attorney general who said he knows what the law is.

Liberals Ask Dixie Aid To Kill Housing Bill

LEGISLATION

AC 6/19/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A liberal congressman from the upper-West approached a Deep South representative of moderate outlook at a recent cocktail party and pleaded, "You Southerners have got to save me from that housing bill."

The upper-Westerner had no second thoughts about voting for past civil rights bills aimed at correcting racial inequalities in the South.

But suddenly the matter of civil rights moved into his congressional district and, as the practical politician that he is, the non-Southerner had some qualms about his vote.

He now represents in Congress a predominantly all-white "bedroom" type district. If he votes for a civil rights bill with a strong open housing section, he fears political suicide between now and 1970.

If he votes against the bill, he is afraid of being defeated after 1970 when he anticipates reapportionment will place a large number of Negroes, some of them living in ghettoes, in his district.

So, the upper-Westerner discreetly called on a Southerner who sits on the committee now considering the civil rights bill, to save him from his dilemma.

This is an example of political quivering outside the South as the civil rights movement, and the effect of national legislation, edge above the Mason-Dixon line.

Crusty battle-scarred veterans of the long and losing war against legislation to protect Negro rights in the South get little comfort when a former down-the-line proponent of civil rights bills takes them aside in private and says: "You are right this time."

But the Southerners are greatly amused. Members of both the House and Senate who come from the South talk freely about such conversations with their Northern and Western counterparts.

However, when talking to reporters, the accounts are off the

Continued on Page 18, Column 1

Liberals Ask Dixie Aid In Killing House Bill

Continued from Page 1

record, for no Southern gentleman wants to embarrass fellow lawmakers — even if they might be Yankees.

Non-Southern objectors to the civil rights bill don't like the two main sections of the five-part measure.

Open occupancy in housing would have a next-door application all across the country. This kind of legislation has proved unpopular with the voters whenever a referendum has been held, especially in large suburban areas.

JURY SELECTION

Jury selection reforms would have a major effect in the South, but will likely have an equal impact elsewhere. That section of the bill is intended to let persons of all strata play the game.

It would mean the janitor would share in the judicial power structure the same as a big businessman. This tends to upset community power structures which have carefully worked out a discriminating jury-selection system in the name of "blue-ribbon" panels.

Southerners can credit their present amusement to the person whom they cussed most for civil rights legislation, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

ON THE SPOT

The President, a Southerner, angered his home region by moving first against what he considered the most pressing civil rights problem.

Non-Southern areas with problems of discrimination are now being put on the spot. This year it is with proposed open housing and jury selection legislation.

Next year, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission will have completed a study of racial discrimination in education across the country, and no little part of that report will deal with de facto segregation in schools outside the South.

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JOHNSON TO YIELD ON OPEN HOUSING TO AID RIGHTS BILL

LEGISLATION

Will Accept Exemptions to Bias Ban—House Panel Backs Other Sections

NYT 6/28/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 27—The Johnson Administration has agreed to accept some exemptions in the open housing section of its civil rights bill to increase the bill's chances of passing Congress this year.

The House Judiciary Committee tentatively approved all other sections of the bill today and will begin considering amendments tomorrow to the controversial provision that would ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, who met with committee leaders last week, is said to agree with many members of Congress that the section will have to be watered down if widespread opposition is to be overcome.

Several amendments are under consideration, and representative Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn Democrat who is committee chairman, said after today's session that "no agreements of any sort" had been reached. He indicated there was wide disagreement in the committee over how far the exemptions should go.

Celler Standing Frim

Mr. Celler, sponsor of the Administration bill, said he was sticking by his resolve of a few weeks ago to oppose all amendments.

"Personally, I want to keep it intact," he said. It was understood, however, that there was strong support for going beyond the "Mrs. Murphy" type of amendment—exempting rentals in small owner-occupied housing—that was approved by Mr. Katzenbach several weeks ago.

This strong support is for exempting housing offered for sale or rental privately. This would permit the homeowner to sell to a friend or relative without putting his house on the open market and not run the danger of a lawsuit charging him with discrimination.

Real controversy, however, centers on proposals to exempt one- and two-family dwellings that are listed with real estate agents. Civil rights groups that have been lobbying for the bill are strongly opposed to exempting the real estate industry.

As the bill now stands, it would permit anyone seeking housing to bring suit against owners, real estate agents and lending institutions accused of discriminating because of race, religion or national origin.

Because of the broad coverage

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

JOHNSON TO YIELD ON OPEN HOUSING

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

in the bill as written there are several approaches to writing amendments that are said to be acceptable to the Administration. An example would be to exempt homeowners but to leave the real estate industry and other commercial interests covered.

The chief organized opposition to the bill has come from the National Association of Real Estate Boards, which represents about 83,000 agents dealing chiefly in the sale of single-family homes.

Mr. Celler said he hoped the committee could complete action on the bill by Thursday. It is now expected to come before the House for a vote by late July or early August.

The committee today wrote in one limitation to a section intended to strengthen Federal criminal laws. This section involves persons who harm or intimidate because of race or religion those engaged in civil rights activities sanctioned by the Federal Government.

The limitation, approved by a vote of 18 to 16, would make the section apply only to civil rights workers engaged in "lawful" activities. The amendment containing the limitation was offered by Representative George W. Grider, Democrat of Tennessee.

Civil rights groups opposed the amendment, saying that Southern officials and judges might use it as a technicality to thwart Federal prosecutions. They cited, for example, state law that might conflict with Federal law and policy.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., counsel for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, told a reporter that the amendment would make the law nonapplicable to marchers such as those who were tear-gassed in Canton, Miss., last week because they were on property in violation of local laws.

The committee made no changes in sections calling for a ban against racial discrimination in the selection of state and Federal juries and giving the Attorney General authority to initiate lawsuits for the desegregation of schools.

House Panel Votes to Keep Open Housing in Rights Bill

LEGISLATION 6/29/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 28—The House Judiciary Committee refused today, by a vote of 17 to 15, to strike the open housing section from the Administration's civil rights bill. Then, however, Southerners and other regular opponents of civil rights legislation voted with the more liberal Democrats against softening amendments that sponsors of the bill now consider necessary to pass it.

One by one, those amendments were defeated by a close vote and the result was confusion and despair among moderates who believe it is of tactical importance to report a less stringent housing section to the floor.

The committee will meet again tomorrow, and further attempts will be made to write in some exemptions to the provision that would ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

Celler Fears Changes

The 35-member committee met in executive session and the strange developments were pieced together late in the afternoon from members who were under instructions from the chairman, Emanuel Celler, not to disclose details.

Mr. Celler, who gave reporters a vague report of what had happened, apparently expressed the view of the Johnson Administration when he said he was personally glad to see the bill intact but feared for its future in its present form.

"Being practical I want to get something done," the white-haired, Brooklyn Democrat said. "From a practical standpoint the situation may become disappointing later. There may be some changes I don't like on the floor," he added.

Almost everyone says the housing section has little chance of passing the House and Senate in its present form. The Administration has agreed to watering-down amendments if necessary to get the bill through.

This is the first rights legislation concerning housing submitted by a President and one of the first pieces of civil rights

Continued on Page 27, Column 1

HOUSE UNIT KEEPS HOUSING BIAS BAN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

legislation that would be applicable nationally as well as in the South.

As a result, the traditional voting patterns in Congress have been thrown out of kilter and legislative leaders are not quite sure where they stand or how to proceed.

When the committee met this morning 14 Northern Democrats and three liberal Republicans supplied the necessary votes to keep the housing section in the bill.

But when bipartisan efforts were made to adopt amendments the strange coalition of liberal Democrats, Southerners and civil rights foes went into operation and defeated the amendments, usually by a narrow vote.

Northern liberals who generally express the views of the civil rights groups were said to believe they could not vote to water down the housing section, which many consider too weak already. Southerners were miffed at the fact that Congress seems capable of voting strong civil rights bills only involving the South and refused to modify the section.

One member said the traditional civil rights conservatives on the committee wanted to give it a "political burden" by keeping the housing section in unacceptable form.

So many amendments were offered, and defeated, that members lost count. The Department of Justice had a representative in touch with the committee grading the amendments according to their acceptability to the Administration.

One given a high grade by the Justice Department and narrowly defeated was a bipartisan effort sponsored by Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland and supported by James C. Corman, Democrat of California.

This would have had the effect of exempting owners selling their homes and leasing or renting small housing projects where the owner occupies one of the units. As the bill stands, all owners' real estate agents and lending institutions would be subject to lawsuit by those who felt they had been subjected to discrimination.

On a finding of discrimination, a court could award punitive damages up to $500. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, however, told Congress he did not expect a rash of lawsuits but foresaw, instead, widespread, voluntary compliance.

The committee did accept a minor amendment offered by Representative William M. McCulloch of Ohio, the ranking Republican of the committee. It would exempt religious or fraternal organizations that operate homes for their own faith or membership.

Mr. McCulloch was silent, however, about the Republican position on the bill. Asked his opinion of the committee action, Mr. McCulloch said:

"I feel like the poet who wrote something about marching them up the hill, then marching them right down again."

Some Democrats grumbled that the Republican leadership was anxious to put Democrats on the spot by voting out the housing section exactly as President Johnson submitted it.

The committee has approved other sections of the bill, all applicable primarily in the South. They would strengthen Federal laws against racial crimes, seek to end jury discrimination and give the Attorney General more authority to file desegregation lawsuits.

LEGISLATION

Dixie Shift Toughens Housing

AC 6/29/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — The House Judiciary Committee voted 17 to 15 Tuesday not to strike the open housing section from the administration's civil rights bill.

Then, in a tactical maneuver, Southerners and other traditional opponents of civil rights legislation voted with the more liberal Democrats against softening amendments that sponsors of the bill said they considered necessary to obtain passage of the measure.

One by one, the amendments were defeated by a close vote and the result was confusion and despair on the part of those moderates who feel it is of tactical importance to report a less stringent housing section to the floor.

MEETS TODAY

The committee will meet again Wednesday when further attempts will be made to write in some exemptions to the provision that would ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing.

The 35-member committee met in executive session. Details of what went on were pieced together late in the afternoon from accounts given by members of the committee. They were under instructions from the chairman, Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, not to disclose details.

Celler, who gave reporters a vague report of what happened, apparently expressed the view of the Johnson administration when he said he was personally glad to see the bill intact but feared for its future in its present form.

LITTLE CHANCE

"Being practical I want to get something done," he said. "From a practical standpoint the situation may become disappointing later. There may be some changes I don't like on the floor."

The housing section is given little chance of passing the House and Senate in its present form. The administration has agreed to watering-down amendments if necessary to get it through.

This is the first civil rights legislation concerning housing submitted by a president and one of the first that would be applicable nationally.

As a result, the traditional

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

Dixie Shift Toughens Housing Bill

Continued from Page 1

voting patterns have been thrown out of kilter.

When the committee met Tuesday morning 14 Northern Democrats and three liberal Republicans supplied the necessary votes to keep the housing section in the bill.

But when bi-partisan efforts were made to adopt the softening amendments, the unusual coalition of liberals and Southerners went into operation and defeated them, generally by a close vote.

Northern liberals who generally express the views of the civil rights groups were said to feel they could not vote to water down the housing section, which many consider too weak already. The Southerners objected that Congress seemed capable of voting strong civil rights bill only against the South and refused to modify the section. One committee member said the conservatives wanted to give the bill a "political burden" by keeping the housing section in unacceptable form.

HOUSE UNIT EASES HOUSING BIAS BAN

LEGISLATION

Exempts Individual Sales—Bill Cleared for Floor

NYT 6/30/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 29—The House Judiciary Committee approved President Johnson's civil rights bill today after accepting a compromise amendment to the open housing section that would exempt the vast majority of individual home sales.

By a vote of 21 to 13, the committee adopted the amendment sponsored by Representative Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland.

This broke a two-day deadlock over the controversial section that would ban discrimination in the sale or rental of all types of housing.

The committee then approved the entire bill by a vote of 24 to 9 and asked that it be brought to a vote by the full House as soon as possible.

However, the committee also accepted an amendment sponsored by civil rights groups and offered by Representative John Conyers Jr., Democrat of Michigan, to establish an enforcement agency for open housing with power to issue cease-and-desist orders.

The vote on this amendment was 13 to 4, and there were indications that some members were not aware of how strong it was, although Mr. Convers announced that it would give the agency powers beyond conciliation, similar to those of the National Labor Relations Board.

It was the Mathias amendment that made the housing

Continued on Page 23, Column 4

HOUSE UNIT EASES HOUSING BIAS BAN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

section acceptable to the committee. Basically, it exempts the homeowner from charges of discrimination when he sells his property. Mr. Mathias said the exemption would also apply to the real estate agent when the owner stated racial preference of the buyer.

The amendment says an owner can discriminate in his first two sales of property during a 12-month period. Thus those who buy and sell for profit, builders and lending institutions would still be covered.

So would most apartment rentals. The Mathias amendment, however, also exempts buildings of four units or less when the owner lives on the premises — Mrs. Murphy's boarding house, as such units have come to be known.

What emerged from the committee was a housing bill similar to a New York State law that has strong enforcement powers but limited coverage. Most of the used homes sold in the suburbs would be exempt.

Celler Backs Revision

The committee chairman, Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, who is sponsor of the bill, predicted that the Mathias compromise would assure the legislation's passage in the House.

"I support the bill as reported out," he said. "All good legislation is the result of compromise. The bill without the Mathias amendment would be like having a wine celler without a corkscrew."

In addition to the housing section, the bill would seek to end racial discrimination in the selection of state and Federal juries, broaden Federal criminal laws against racial violence and give the Attorney General additional authority to file desegregation lawsuits.

By including a housing section, Mr. Celler said, "the bill, in effect, says civil rights must mean the same in the North as well as the South, the East as well as the West."

One factor behind today's action was a last-minute coagulation of Republican support. Both the House and Senate Republican leaders, Representative Gerald Ford of Michigan and Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, had branded the House Section unconstitutional.

Faced with this opposition, Mr. Mathias called Republican governors and other party leaders outside of Congress and tell them that the party could not afford to fail to support civil rights legislation this year.

Although there was no sign of change on the part of Mr. Ford and Mr. Dirksen, the ranking Republican on the committee, William M. McCulloch of Ohio, began working for a compromise on housing.

Mr. McCulloch, who has supported civil rights legislation in the past, would not say whether he would support the Administration bill on the floor. But he did indicate his approval when he said, "A man's castle is still his home" and he can sell it as he wishes.

10 Countries

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LIBERAL ON COAST FEARS RIGHTS BILL

LEGISLATION

Rep. Corman Concerned by Effect of Housing Fight

7/4/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 3—The 22d Congressional District of California lies on the edge of Los Angeles in the San Fernando Valley. It ranks among the top 10 districts in the nation in the affluence and education of its residents.

The district has a population of about 500,000, with 96 per cent white, 2 per cent Negro and 2 per cent Mexican-American. It is a stronghold of the John Birch Society, which is reported to have 10,000 members there.

In 1964 the district voted three to one for Proposition 14, the state constitutional amendment intended to nullify state legislation forbidding racial discrimination in housing.

Since 1961, the district has been represented by James C. Corman of Van Nuys, a 45-year-old former member of the Los Angeles City Council. In his five years in Congress, Mr. Corman has been a supporter of civil rights and most other liberal legislation sponsored by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

1964 Rival Is Back

In the process, his support in the district has become more and more marginal. In 1964, Mr. Corman received 51 per cent of the votes in a contest with a conservative Republican, Robert C. Cline.

Mr. Cline is back again this year spending his full time in the district campaigning to unseat Mr. Corman.

Mr. Corman, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, has been upset by the open housing section of President Johnson's civil rights bill. This, Mr. Corman says, has put him on the spot like nothing else since he has been in Congress.

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Mr. Corman, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, has been upset by the open housing section of President Johnson's civil rights bill. This, Mr. Corman says, has put him on the spot like nothing else since he has been in Congress.

It would have helped his position back home considerably, Mr. Corman said in an interview, if he had opposed the housing section outright. As it was he took a leading role in working out a compromise that would exempt most homeowners.

Mr. Cormon said his support of the measure even in watered down form could cause his defeat in November.

"But I think civil rights is the most critical domestic issue of the day and I think it is something that is going to be with us for a long time," he said. "I think legislation in this field is necessary to reach a peaceful solution."

Typical Liberal Problem

Mr. Corman's difficulty with the housing section is typical of a number of other liberals in Congress who have had no trouble supporting strong civil rights legislation in the past.

The civil rights bill was approved by the Judiciary Committee last Wednesday after a two-day struggle on the housing section, which would ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing. Other sections of the bill, applicable chiefly in the South, would strengthen Federal laws against racial crimes, ban discrimination on state and Federal juries and give the Attorney General more authority to file desegregation lawsuits.

A bipartisan compromise on housing — which Mr. Corman helped Representative Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, sell to other members of the committee — exempts rentals of small buildings when the owners lives on the premises and exempts most owners who sell their homes.

Still covered are most commercial interests in the real estate market. Real estate agents are exempt when the owner, in listing his house for sale, specifies the desired race or religion of the buyer.

Much of the opposition to the housing section has come from real estate agents. Mr. Corman said he expected the compromise to diminish but not eliminate the strong opposition in his district. His opponent has been using Mr. Corman's role in the legislation as a campaign point against him.

Mr. Corman said he would depend on other factors to pull him through. One is the fact that he is a former Marine who has supported President Johnson down the line in Vietnam.

"We don't have many pacifists in out district," Mr. Corman said with a smile.

LEGISLATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 20,

KATZENBACH ASKS HOUSING ACCORD

Offers Compromise to Rights Bill to Senate Panel

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 19 — Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach today proferred a two-step compromise to opponents of the controversial open housing section of the Administration's civil rights bill, which is expected to come to a crucial debate in the House next Monday.

In an appearance before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, Mr. Katzenbach stressed that he hoped the "strongest possible" bill would emerge from the expected week-long House debate. He made a sometimes impassioned plea for an end to housing discrimination as an "absolutely essential" step in breaking the "isolation of the ghetto."

In an exchange with Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, who is the subcommittee chairman, Mr. Katzenbach criticized what he called "the conspiracy" of real estate brokers not only in seeking to exclude Negroes from white housing but also in starting "a massive lobbying and mail campaign" against the provisions of the civil rights bill designed to end such practices.

Chain-smoking, the Attorney General nevertheless clearly indicated his acceptance of either of two compromise levels of coverage for the open housing section, both of which are less broad than the Administration's original proposal.

In a tacit acknowledgement of the Administration's own assessment of its voting strength —or lack of it—on the open housing issue, Mr. Katzenbach told the Senators that "the process of legislation often involves differences of opinion and some compromise."

He described the open housing compromise drafted late last month in the House Judiciary Committee, principally by Charles McC. Mathias, Republican of Maryland, as "still effective in covering rental housing and in preventing real estate people from discriminating on their own hook."

"I would prefer the bill as the Administration introduced it," Mr. Katzenbach declared, "but at the same time the House version would be a tremendous help in solving a very serious problem."

According to one estimate by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Mathias compromise would leave nearly two-thirds of the 60 million existing housing units in the nation uncovered by the antidiscrimination terms of the housing section.

However, Mr. Katzenbach's testimony today sharply underlined the confusion here over the difference between the language of the compromise, adopted by the House Judiciary Committee by a vote of 21 to 13, and the intention of its drafters.

Mr. Katzenbach first defined the difference and then said he would be willing to accept either the "language" version or the "intention" version, in that order.

He later told a newsman that the language version was "really quite a strong bill."

"But I don't want to be fraudulent about it," he added.

"I think we have to make this clear."

To the Senate subcommittee the Attorney General explained that under the language of the Mathias amendment, it was his belief that a real estate agent, even though "instructed to discriminate" by a homeowner in the sale or rental of his property—a situation he said the compromise drafters intended to exempt from the bill's coverage —would nonetheless probably still be liable to its terms.

"I think a very good case could be made [in court] htat the agent is covered," he told the subcommittee. "The intention of the authors is not accomplished by the language and agents are still covered."

Mr. Kattenbach also said it had been the intention of the authors to exempt homeowners from charges of discrimination when they sold or rented their properties without an agent, and also to exempt real estate agents when the owner stated in advance a discriminatory preference about a buyer.

The crucial difference is in thd exemption or liability of real estate agents, through whom the great majority of sales and rentals are made. Civil rights groups supporting a strong housing section have predicted that real estate agents would "connive" with sellers to evade its provisions if allowed any exemption.

Either of the exemptions would apply only to owner-occupied dwellings of four units or less. This was an attempt to exclude both "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house and Mr. Murphy apartment house" as Mr. Katzenbach described it today.

Associated Press Wirephoto

SUPPORTS HOUSING BILL: Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach testifying yesterday before a Senate subcommittee on the Administration's open-housing measure.

LEGISLATION

Rights Leaders Assail Klan Bill

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The House UnAmerican Activities Committee's proposed anti-Ku Klux Klan bill, which is co-sponsored by Atlanta Rep. Charles Weltner, was attacked Thursday by civil rights leaders as a fraud and a subterfuge.

Southern spokesmen for the Anti - Defamation League of B'nai B'rith endorsed the idea of legislation to eliminate KKK activities, but they objected to language in the bill introduced by Weltner and Committee Chairman Edwin Willis, D.-La.

Although not a single witness has fully endorsed the bill, during the first two days of hearings on the proposal, the committee is assured of a majority vote to recommend passage to the House of Representatives.

Rep Weltner

Rep. Willis

TO SUPPORT BILL

At least five of the nine HUAC members plan to support the bill in revised form.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., a Washington attorney, who spoke for the Americans for Democratic Action, told the committee that the "bill is unconstitutional, unworkable and unwise."

Rauh added, "If enacted, it would fail to protect individuals against the Klan activities of violence. Bluntly put, this legislation is a fraud on the American people."

The Rev. C. T. Vivian, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headquartered in Atlanta, said at a press conference that the bill would be "terrible" for civil rights organizations and would be unconstitutional.

PRESS CONFERENCE

Vivian participated in a press conference held by the National Committee to Abolish HUAC.

He said Negroes fear that the bill would be used by Southern officials to obtain membership lists of civil rights organizations, and members would be subject to intimidation.

Southern officials also could twist the proposed law to prevent Negroes from testing "unjust laws" by direct action.

The bill would permit prosecution of interstate conspiracies by "clandestine organizations" to deprive anyone of federally guaranteed rights.

TWISTED VIEW

Vivian said some Southern officials might interpret clandestine organizations to mean civil rights groups, not the KKK.

He said the HUAC bill would restrict prosecution of civil rights murders to state courts if the slaying did not involve interstate commerce.

The HUAC proposal is "in direct competition" with the section of the 1966 Civil Rights Bill which would make civil rights violence a federal crime, said Vivian.

He said the bill proposed by HUAC, which is dominated by Southern congressmen, endangers passage of the civil rights legislation this year.

INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

An original HUAC bill introduced by Rep. Weltner to provide only injunctive relief to individuals from conspiracies to violate federal rights was described by Vivian as "worse than this bill; it would have made it more difficult for civil rights organizations."

Clarence Mitchell, Washington bureau director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, opposed the HUAC bill and advocated passage of the Civil Rights Act.

Irving K. Kaler of Atlanta, a Southeastern board member of the Anti-defamation League, told the committee, "Our national conscience mandates" the elimination of the Klan.

GEORGIANS FAVOR

Almost all leading Georgians favor legislation to eradicate KKK activities, he added.

Kaler is vice chairman of the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee.

He is also state vice chairman of the Ellis Arnall campaign for governor.

The three HUAC members who have said they will join Weltner and Willis in supporting the anti-Klan legislation are Rep. John Buchanan, R.-Ala., Rep. John M. Ashbrook, R.-Ohio, and Rep. George F. Senner, D.-Ariz.

LEGISLATION

Missourian Breaks Tie In House

AC 9/4/66

Johnson-Backed Compromise Wins

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON The House approved by the barest margin Wednesday a Johnson administration compromise on the open housing section in the 1966 civil rights bill.

The vote came out 179 to 179 on an amendment to exempt two sales or rentals a year by owners and their real estate brokers in such transactions.

Rep. Richard Bolling, D-Mo., who was presiding, voted in favor of the compromise in breaking the tie.

Johnson administration leaders put together an unorthodox combination to adopt the compromise on the hairline vote.

The crucial ballots came from a few Deep South congressmen, including Rep. Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta.

The democratic leaders still have a fight on their hands to keep the modified housing section in the bill.

A motion was pending to strike the entire section when the House adjourned Wednesday. The motion was made by Rep. Arch A. Moore Jr., R.-W. Va.

If a vote on Moore's motion failed Thursday, he plans another attempt to strip the housing section from the bill before a final vote is taken either late this week or early next week.

Georgia's other nine congressmen opposed the open housing compromise. When the Civil Rights Bill came up last week, they had discussed with other Southerners the possibility of voting for a strong housing section, hoping to kill the entire measure or set up a filibuster.

However, by the end of last week the Georgians had decided the risk was too great that their votes for an all-inclusive opening housing section might be misinterpreted back home as being "soft on segregation."

In fact, the nine Georgia congressmen, excluding Weltner, opposed a substitute motion by Rep. Clark MacGregor, R-Minn., proposing that the open housing law cover all homeowners.

None of Wednesday's votes was recorded in the House, but a reporter in the gallery counted how the Georgia delegation voted.

House Republican leader Gerald Ford of Michigan, who last week had declined to state his position and this week had refused to discuss the issue with reporters, led the majority of the 139 GOP House members in trying to kill the housing section this year.

The Democratic majority, which has settled on the compromise as the only way to obtain passage of any open housing legislation this year, picked

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

Open Housing Bill Passes As Tie Is Broken in House

Continued from Page 1

up support from about 25 Republicans.

The compromise would permit owners to sell or lease two houses a year to anyone they choose; would allow these owners to instruct real estate brokers to discriminate in sales or rentals; would exempt from the anti-discrimination law owner-occupied apartment buildings containing no more than four family units; and would exclude from the law fraternal and religious organizations which provide housing to members to further the purposes of the institutions.

President Lyndon B. Johnson had asked Congress to pass open housing legislation covering all sales, leases and financing of housing.

Administration leaders came out on top in parliamentary maneuvering when the House began consideration of the housing section Wednesday afternoon. This advantage may have saved the section from defeat.

Rep. Moore first moved to eliminate the housing section. Rep. Charles Mathias, R-Md., immediately offered an amendment which he said was intended to clear up any doubt that homeowners with two transactions a year and their real estates brokers would be exempted under the law.

Rep. Bolling ruled from the chair that a vote on the Mathias amendment took preference over Moore's move to strike the section.

Rep. MacGregor then offered his substitute to cover all residential owners/and to exempt only owner-occupied with not more than four units.

Bolling ruled the House had to vote on MacGregor's substitute before deciding either Mathias' amendment or Moore's motion.

MacGregor's proposal was voted down 186-67. All 10 Georgia congressmen voted to defeat MacGregor's substitute.

A vote was then taken on Mathias' amendment, and the administration scraped up enough votes to tie and to win on Bolling's favorable vote.

Other Deep South congressmen besides Weltner who voted for the compromise included Rep. Sam Gibbons, D.-Fla., Rep. Dante B. Fascell, D.-Fla., and Rep. George Grider, D.-Tenn.

A vote on Moore's motion to eliminate the housing section was put off until Thursday.

CASTS DECIDING VOTE
Rep. Richard Bolling

Nixon to Visit Saigon Briefly

SAIGON (UPI) —Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon will arrive here late Friday for a brief look at the Viet Nam situation.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman said Nixon would stay at the residence of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge during his visit here.

Nixon will remain in Saigon for the entire period of his visit. There will be no trips to the field.

HOUSE HOLDS FIRM ON HOUSING RIGHTS

LEGISLATION

Defeats Efforts to Weaken Curb on Discrimination in Sales and Rentals

NYT 8/6/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4—The House defeated today attempts to weaken further the open housing section of the Administration's civil rights bill.

This action gave sponsors of the bill new hope that the controversial section would survive further assaults tomorrow and win final approval in the form tentatively approved yesterday. In its present form, most individual home sales are exempted from the bill's anti-discrimination provisions.

Only two chances were approved today in tedious and prolonged debate, and they strengthened and expanded the coverage of the housing section.

'Block-Busting' Opposed

One was to make it unlawful to refuse to sell or rent housing to persons with children. This amendment was sponsored by Bob Casey, Democrat of Texas, who has 10 children, and was supported by Hugh L. Carey, Democrat of Brooklyn, who has 14.

The other was the insertion of an "anti-block busting" amendment sponsored by Jonathan B. Bingham, Democrat of the Bronx. Block-busting is the practice by which real estate agents profit by changing the racial make-up of a neighborhood.

The House recessed tonight without voting on a crucial amendment to strike the housing section from the bill. It was agreed that this amendmend would be voted on tomorrow. If it is defeated, as is expected, further amendments will be in order.

Margins Are Substantial

Attempts to kill the entire bill and to render the housing section virtually ineffective were defeated by substantial margins today. Some opponents said their only hope of defeating the measure lay in the possibility that some of its backers would go home early for the weekend.

As the housing section now stands, it would forbid real estate agents, builders, lending institutions and other commercial interests to practice racial discrimination in the sale or rental of all housiing.

However, under a bipartisan amendment accepted yesterday, the individual who makes no more than two sales or rentals a year — and his agent, if so designated in writing — is ex-

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House, Standing Firm, Defeats Moves to Weaken Open Housing

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

empt. Also exempt is the person who rents an apartment or house with four or fewer family units while he, the owner, is living on the premises.

The effect of the amendment, sponsored by Representative Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, is to exempt 60 per cent of the housing units in the nation. Still covered are large apartment buildings and tracts of individual homes constructed by commercial builders.

Enforcement would be through court order or by a Federal board with power to order persons to cease discrimination. There is a good chance, however, that that provision creating the enforcement board will be removed in either the House or Senate. President Johnson requested no such enforcement agency. The House Judiciary Committee added it in amending the bill.

The Mathias amendment was approved yesterday by one vote. It is still subject to a second roll-call vote on final passage of the bill, which may not come until next week.

Foes Hold Strategy Talks

Today, Southerners who oppose the entire bill held a strategy session in the office of Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, who is chairman of the Rules Committee.

It was a strange alliance of Southerners, Republicans and very liberal Democrats who voted against the Mathias amendment — the liberals because it weakened the bill and the others because they wanted no such housing law.

The Southerners decided to try to have more members on hand for roll-calls. Delay also emerged as part of the opposition strategy.

When a motion was made by Harlan Hagen, Democrat of California, to make the section applicable only to housing completed after enactment of the bill, Judge Smith, as he is called by his colleagues, came forward and opened debate about what is known as Mrs. Murphy's boarding house.

Mr. Smith, his coat pockets building with papers, argued that the old-fashioned boarding house was not exempt, even though sponeors of the bill insisted it was. Other Southerners agreed the language in the bill was not clear and the debate droned on until sponsors pointed out that the issue was not germane to the amendment.

Amendment Is Rejected

Later in the day, Mr. Smith moved to strike the enacting clause of the bill, one method of kiling a piece of legislation. This was defeated, 177 to 149, another indication that the bill probably will survive and be sent to the Senate pretty much in its present form.

Also defeated was an amendment by Basil L. Whitener, Democrat of North Carolina, to provide Government backing for housing loans that lending institutions might be required to make under the bill.

Chet Holifield, Democrat of California, noted that banks in his state had cut off credit to businesses in the riot-torn Watts district of Los Angeles and asked if they would be forced to make such loans under the bill.

Byron Rogers, Democrat of California, a sponsor, assured him that they would not.

Mr. Casey's amendment in

Associated Press Wirephoto

William H. Booth as he testified on the rights bill.

behalf of children brought laughter, but he assured the House he was serious.

"We who are attempting to propagate the race have trouble finding housing," he said. "Sometime they will accept pets before they do children."

The amendment passed, 99 to 50.

Mr. Bingham's anti-block-busting amendment was accepted by voice vote.

The amendment says it will be unlawful for any person to induce others to sell or lease dwellings on racial or religious grounds if their purpose is to lower values, increase antisocial behavior or cause a decline in the quality of schools.

HOUSE APPROVES STIFF RIOT CURBS

LEGISLATION

Would Make Federal Crime of Inciting Disturbance on Interstate Facility

NYT 8/9/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8 — The House voted today to make it a Federal crime for any person using the facilities of interstate commerce to incite or carry out a riot or other violent civil disturbance.

Representatives, clearly impatient with violence that has occurred in several cities, accepted by voice vote a broad antiriot proposal that carries a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

In doing so, they overrode the recommendations of the Justice Department which had approved a milder version similar to existing conspiracy statutes.

Title V Amended

The successful proposal was in the form of an amendment to Title V of the Administration's civil rights bill, now in its third week of debate on the House floor. Title V was designed to broaden Federal criminal laws against violence and intimidation of minority groups and civil rights workers, primarily in the South.

The amendment was offered by an opponent of the bill, William C. Cramer, Republican of Florida, who said, "the people of this country are crying for Congress to take action" against "fires, looting, vandalism, violence and death that have become bywords of the American summer."

During a period of emotional debate on the proposal, Southern conservatives were urging Federal action under the 14th amendment to the Constitution while the most militant liberals were demanding local rights in law enforcement, a reversal of traditional roles.

Text of Amendment

The text of the amendment is as follows:

"Whoever moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce or uses any facility in interstate or foreign commerce, including the mail, with intent to

(1) incite, promote, encourage, or carry on, or facilitate the incitement, promotion, encouragement, or carrying on, of a riot or other violent civil disturbance;

"Or (2) commit any crime of violence, arson, arming, or any other act which is a felony under Federal or state law, or a high misdemeanor under New Jersey law, in furtherance or during the commission of an act or activity specified in paragraph one;

"Or (3) assist, encourage, or instruct any person to commit or perform any act specified in paragraphs one and two; and therefore performs or attempts to perform any act specified in paragraphs one, two, and three, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both."

Other than the antiriot amend-

Continued on Page 25, Column 4

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HOUSE APPROVES STIFF RIOT CURBS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

ment, Title V was approved essentially as it came out of the Judiciary Committee. Tomorrow, the House will take up Title VI, which gives the Attorney General authority to initiate school desegregation lawsuits without receiving requests to do so from the district involved.

Speaker John W. McCormack, Democrat of Massachusetts, said he expected a final vote on the bill no later than Wednesday. It is expected to pass by an overwhelming margin.

Weapon Against Klan

During the debate, Mr. Cramer said:

"This amendment is the result of evidence which supports the contention that this violence [in several cities this summer] is the work, in part, of well-trained, outside agitators who come into these communities for the express purpose of inciting violent civil disobedience."

Mr. Cramer said it could be used against the Ku Klux Klan; George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi party; and other extremist white groups as well as militant groups that have been working in Negro communities.

He said it could be used to stop the distribution of inflammatory literature in this country by Robert Williams, the former Negro leader of Monroe, N. C., who fled several years ago and has been promoting racial violence from Cuba.

Asked if it could be used against such Negro leaders as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Mr. Cramer said, "not if he led peaceful demonstrations" as he was doing in Chicago last week when he was attacked by a white mob.

Southern Support

Mr. Cramer was joined in support of the amendment by both Southerners who have opposed any kind of civil rights legislation and some Northern members of both parties who have had a liberal voting record on civil rights.

Roman C. Pucinski, Democrat of Illinois, waved a pink leaflet that he identified only as a "scurrilous pamphlet" that had been distributed in Chicago before the riots "by people who have no interest in human dignity and human rights." He called for a strong Federal statute for "restoring law and order."

James C. Corman, Democrat of California, offered a substitute amendment that he said the Justice Department had approved as "easier to enforce." It would have made it illegal to conspire to incite a riot through interstate commerce and would retain state law enforcement.

But Mr. Cramer and his allies angrily argued down the Corman substitute, saying it went no further than the Federal conspiracy law that covers all Federal crimes.

"It cuts my amendment," cried Mr. Cramer. "It wouldn't deal with the intent of an individual."

Mr. Cramer said the Justice Department's position was, "if we have to do this let's do it lightly." John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois, accused Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach of ignoring "the idea of a conspiracy" in the riots.

William F. Ryan, Democrat, of Manhattan, said the House had "lost sight of the purpose of Title V."

"It was drafted to protect those who are exercising their constitutional rights in Communities where law and order have broken down," he said.

The voice vote for the Cramer amendment seemed overwhelming. After that, the House defeated efforts both to weaken the section and to add a provision whereby local governments would have to pay indemnity for persons injured in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

The indemnification feature was supported by civil rights organizations and offered on the floor by Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat of Michigan. Sponsors of the bill pointed out it had been defeated in committee.

Saigon Students Assail G.I. Marital 'Escalation'

SAIGON, South Vietnam, Aug. 8 (UPI)—A group of Saigon University students called today for an end of the "escalation" of marriages between American servicemen and Vietnamese girls. They also demanded segregation of foreign troops and a deadline for their withdrawal from South Vietnam.

The demands were made in a statement issued after a meeting of the students. They also called for an end of the war and solution of the economic, political and social problems it has caused.

The students criticized the increasing number of Vietnamese women who are taking part in "the escalation of the marrying of U. S. men."

"Vietnam has a good tradition and high morals," the statement said. "No woman is proud when marrying an American."

The students attribute what they regard as a moral decline to social and economic problems resulting from the war. They said it was the responsibility of the Government to take immediate corrective measures.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSED IN HOUSE BY 259-157 VOTE

LEGISLATION
8/10/66

HOUSING COVERED

Measure Faces a Stiff Fight in Senate and Possible Filibuster

Excerpts from housing title, summary of bill, Page 29.

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9—After 12 days of intense debate, the House passed by a comfortable margin tonight the civil rights bill submitted by President Johnson last spring.

The vote was 259 to 157.

The bill now goes to the Senate, where it faces opposition by Republican leaders and the possibility of a filibuster by Southern Democrats.

The main provisions of the bill would assure nondiscrimination in the selection of Federal and state juries, combat racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, broaden the Federal laws against acts of racial violence or intimidation, and permit Federal court injunctions against anticipated violence or intimidation.

Title Watered Down

This afternoon, Southerners and Republicans were successful in rendering ineffective Title VI of the bill. It would have permitted the Attorney General to file school desegregation lawsuits without being requested to do so by citizens in the district involved.

Representatives, who began debating the bill in a committee of the whole on July 25, completed consideration of amendments at 6 o'clock this evening, reported the bill to the full House and took the first roll-call votes on key amendments and on final passage.

By a vote of 237 to 176, the House approved the Mathias amendment to the open housing section, which had passed by one vote earlier in the week. This was the amendment offered by Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, that exempted most individual home sales from the nondiscrimination provisions of the bill.

Riot Clause Voted

Next, Representatives voted 389 to 25 to make it a Federal crime for persons using interstate commerce to incite or carry out a riot, as provided in an amendment submitted by William C. Cramer, Republican of Florida.

Then, the amendment rendering ineffective Title VI of the bill was approved by a vote of 214 to 201. This amendment was offered by Basil L. Whitener, Democrat of North Carolina, and restored a provision in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to require a written request before the Attorney General can initiate court action to desegregate schools and other facilities.

Finally, before the final roll-call, the House defeated 222 to 190, a motion by Arch A. Moore Jr., Republican of West Virginia, to strike the open housing section from the bill.

The housing section had been the chief center of controversy

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSED IN HOUSE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

during the debate. Many Republicans and Democrats with strong voting records on previous civil rights legislation were opposed to legal restrictions against the sale or rental of housing.

As the section, Title IV, now stands, it would cover primarily large apartment houses and individual homes built or sold by commercial interests. The person who makes no more than two real estate transactions a year and his agent, if so designated in writing, are exempt. So is the owner who lives on the premises of his boarding or apartment house, provided it has no more than four family units.

Future Housing Covered

The Mathias amendment exempts 60 per cent of the housing units in the nation, but the vast majority of those to be built in the future will be covered.

Despite the softening action in the amendment, civil rights advocates were able to retain a strong enforcement provision. In addition to action in the courts, the victim of discrimination would be able to take his complaint to a Federal fair housing board that would have power to issue cease-and-desist orders against landlords, builders, real estate agents and financial institutions.

Chief opposition to Title IV had come from Southerners and the majority of Republicans, North and South. On the motion to strike the housing section tonight some Republicans rejoined civil rights supporters for the roll-call vote. Still, 86 of the 139 Republicans voting, including the minority leaders, voted to eliminate the housing section from the bill.

During debates Representatives were counted on the floor and no record vote was taken. Therefore, Democratic leaders, who had accepted the Mathias compromise as the strongest provision possible, were not certain until tonight that Title IV would survive.

Dirksen Renews Opposition

The bill faces even tougher opposition in the Senate. Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican minority leader whose help on civil rights legislation has been crucial in the past, said today he remained opposed to the housing section. He also expressed reservations about the section designed to end racial discrimination on Federal juries.

Mr. Dirksen said Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate majority leader, wanted to place the bill directly on the calendar for early consideration, bypassing the Judiciary Committee headed by James O. Eastland, Democrat of Missis-

Excerpts From Open Housing Title of Rights Bill

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5—Following are excerpts from the open housing section—Title IV—of the civil rights bill before the House tonight:

Policy

SECTION 401

It is the policy of the United States to prevent discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin in the purchase, rental, lease, financing, use and occupancy of housing throughout the nation.

SECTION 402

For purposes of this title, a person shall be deemed to be in the business of building, developing, selling, renting, or leasing dwellings if he has, within the preceding 12 months, participated as either principal or agent in three or more transactions involving the sale, rental, or lease of any dwelling or any interest therein.

But nothing contained in this bill shall be construed to prohibit or affect the right of any person, or his authorized agent, to rent or refuse to rent, a room or rooms in his home for any reason, or for no reason; or to change his tenants as often as he may desire .

Prevention of Discrimination in the Sale or Rental of Housing

SECTION 403

(A) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a real estate broker, agent, or salesman, or employe or agent of any real estate broker, agent, or salesman, or any other person in the business of building, developing, selling, renting, or leasing dwellings, or any employe or agent of any such persons—

(1) To refuse to sell, rent, or lease, to refuse to negotiate for the sale, rental, or lease of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion, national origin, or number of childen or age of such children.

(2) To discriminate against against any person in the terms, conditions, or privileges of sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling, or in the provision of services of facilities in connection therewith, because of race, color, religion, national origin, or number of children or age of such children.

(3) To make, print, or publish, or cause to be made, printed, or published any oral or written notice, statement, or advertisement, with respect to the sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling that indicates any preference, limitation, or discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin, or an intention to make any such preference,

Provisions of Civil Rights Bill of '66

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9 — Following is a summary of the civil rights bill before the House tonight:

Title I—Jury Duty

No person shall be excluded from jury duty in Federal courts because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status. Selection of juries to be based on a cross section of those in the district—from voter registration tests or some other source if so directed by the judicial council for the circuit involved. Jurors must be literate, be a citizen of the United States, be physically and mentally capable of serving and be free of criminal charges or conviction.

Title II—State Juries

No citizen shall be excluded from service as a grand or petit juror in any state court on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status. The Attorney General may institute suit in Federal court to achieve the purposes of the Title. The court may require the state court to comply with the law by using objective criteria for jury selection or appoint a master to oversee jury selection.

Title III—Civil Suits

Whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to deprive another of right, privilege or immunity granted, secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States because of race, color, religion or national origin, such other person, or the Attorney General, may institute a civil suit in Federal court for an injunction against such action.

Title IV—Housing

It is the policy of the United States to prevent discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, lease, financing, use and occupancy of housing throughout the nation. Most individual home sales are exempted, as are apartment houses and boarding houses of four family units or less. Covered by the Title primarily are large apartment buildings and individual homes sold and rented by commercial interests. Enforcement is by lawsuit and by a special enforcement board that would have authority to issue cease-and-desist orders against real estate agents, builders, landlords and financial institutions found to have discriminated.

Title V—Intimidation

Broadens Federal criminal laws against harming or intimidating persons who are engaged in rights and activities guaranteed by the Constitution and Federal laws. Provides punishment up to life imprisonment if death is involved, 10 years if bodily injury is involved, and fines up to $10,000. Also makes it a Federal crime for persons using interestate commerce to incite or carry out riots.

Title VI—Schools

Permits the Attorney General to institute school desegregation lawsuits when he receives a written complaint from an individual saying he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to equal protection of the law, as previously provided in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VII—Voting Records

Provides for the preservation of election records to permit enforcement of civil rights laws relating to elections and voting.

Title VIII—Annual Report

Orders the Attorney General to submit an annual report to Congress on the enforcement of civil rights laws, the first report due Sept. 7, 1967.

Title IX—Financing of Act

Authorizes appropriations for the act, estimated at less than $13-million a year.

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tion shall affect, or be construed to affect, any liability for payment of a real estate or other commission by any person with respect to the sale, lease, or rental of a dwelling.

(E) Nothing in this section shall prohibit, or be construed to prohibit, a real estate broker, agent, or salesman, or employe or agent of any real estate broker, agent, or salesman from complying with the express written instruction of any person not in the business of building, developing, selling, renting, or leasing dwellings, or otherwise not subject to the prohibitions of this section pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) hereof, with respect to the sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling owned by such person, if such instruction was not encouraged, solicited, or induced by such broker, agent, or salesman, or any employe or agent thereof.

Prevention of Discrimination in the Financing of Housing

SECTION 404

It shall be unlawful for any bank, savings and loan institution, credit union, in-

atory housing practice which occurs in a state, or political subdivision of a state, which has a state or local law prohibiting such practice and establishing or authorizing a state or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice, the court, upon issuance of a temporary injunction, restraining order, or other appropriate order preserving the complainant's right to obtain all relief, including the opportunity to buy or rent the specific dwelling with respect to which the alleged practice occurred, may stay proceedings in such civil action for a period not exceeding 30 days pending referral by the court or the complainant, as appropriate, to such state or local authority:

Provided, that, at the expiration of such 30-day period, the court may further stay proceedings for an additional period or pending the termination of then pending state or local enforcement proceedings, if it believes that such proceedings will proceed expeditiously and that such further stay will serve the interests of justice; in the event of such further stay, the court may continue or withdraw any orders it has previously entered in the case as the in-

other members at the rate of $25,000 per annum.

(4) Three members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

(b) The board may, in accordance with Civil Service law, appoint and fiv the compensation of such officers, attorneys, and employes, and make such expenditures as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

(c) The board shall make such rules and regulations as shall be necessary and proper to carry out its functions, including the conduct of hearings hereinafter authorized.

(2) The board is authorized to delegate to any group of three or more members any or all of the powers it may itself exercise. It is further authorized to delegate to any member or members, or to any agent or agency the authority to conduct hearings.

(D) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (hereinafter referred to as the Secretary) is hereby authorized to direct and supervise, under such rules and regulations as he shall establish, investigations of violations of Sections 403, 404 and 405 of this Title, either upon the receipt of a written statement of a person alleging to be aggrieved or his rep-

stating the facts upon which his determination is founded.

(2) A copy of such written complaint shall be served upon the person or persons charged with the violation.

(G) (1) Upon receipt of a complaint, the board shall set a hearing thereon, provided no such hearing shall be conducted prior to 10 days after service of the complaint upon the person charged.

(2) In any such hearing the Secretary shall designate a person or persons to present evidence in support of the complaint.

(H) Except as provided in subsections (F) and (G) of this section, the board shall conduct hearings and shall issue and enforce in the same manner and shall be subject to the same conditions and limitations and appelate procedures as are provided for the National Labor Relations Board under Section 160 (b), (c), (d), (f), (i) and (j) of Title 29, United States Code, and all parties to the hearing shall have the same rights as are therein provided: provided, the propositions of Section 160(c) of Title 29, United States Code relative to reinstatement of employes and to complaints under Section 158(a) (1) or (a) (2) of Title 29 United States Code shall be inapplicable: and provided further a violation hereunder shall be treated in the same manner as an unfair labor practice under said provisions of Section 160 of Title 29, United States Code.

(I) The Secretary may delegate any power or duty herein granted or imposed to a duly designated representative.

Assistance by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

SECTION 409

The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall—

(A) make studies with respect to the nature and extent of discriminatory housing practices in representative communities, urban, suburban, and rural, throughout the United States:

(B) Publish and disseminate reports, recommendations, and information derived from such studies;

(C) Cooperate with and render technical assistance to Federal, state, local, and other public or private agencies, organizations, and institutions which are formulating or carrying on programs to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices;

(D) Cooperate with and render such technical and other assistance to the Community Relations Service as may be appropriate to further its activities in preventing or eliminating discriminatory housing practices; and

(E) Administer the pro-

of the 100 Representatives voting, including the minority leaders, voted to eliminate the housing section from the bill.

During debates Representatives were counted on the floor and no record vote was taken. Therefore, Democratic leaders, who had accepted the Mathias compromise as the strongest provision possible, were not certain until tonight that Title IV would survive.

Dirksen Renews Opposition

The bill faces even tougher opposition in the Senate. Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican minority leader whose help on civil rights legislation has been crucial in the past, said today he remained opposed to the housing section. He also expressed reservations about the section designed to end racial discrimination on Federal juries.

Mr. Dirksen said Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate majority leader, wanted to place the bill directly on the calendar for early consideration, bypassing the Judiciary Committee headed by James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi. Mr. Dirksen, however, said that no decision had been made as yet with regard to Senate procedure.

A Southern filibuster in the upper chamber is likely in the early fall, and if Democratic leaders are to be successful in breaking it they will need Republican votes.

The bill passed by the House tonight had to overcome several obstacles that had not confronted the landmark civil rights legislation of 1960, 1964 and 1965. The civil rights movement was split, militant groups opposing the bill on the ground that it is too weak to attack the basic problems still facing American Negroes and other minorities.

Although the more moderate civil rights leaders have been lobbying for it, some, such as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., have charged that the Mathias amendment virtually made the housing section worthless. Others say the housing provision, if it can clear the Senate, will at least provide national policy against housing discrimination and open many units besides.

Also posing difficulty for the bill was the fact that for the first time racial discrimination in the North was being attacked. Most bills in the past had been applicable chiefly in the South.

Some Representatives expressed reservations about further civil rights laws because of the emergence of "black power" among some Negro groups and increased rioting in urban areas.

Voting Patterns Affected

As a result, traditional voting patterns were shaken up. Administration leaders frequently did not know where they stood, and it turned out to be the most prolonged debate on any rights measure before the House.

During the afternoon, Southerners almost succeeded in seriously weakening a main provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that gives the Federal Government authority to withhold funds from any federally assisted program.

Mr. Whitener, the Southern leader on the Judiciary Committee, offered an amendment to prevent the Government from withholding funds until it had been proved that the local government involved was in violation of Federal law or the Constitution.

The amendment was defeated 136 to 127. Southerners charged that agencies such as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare were going beyond the law and attempting to "make over the South" although not imposing the same restrictions on the rest of the nation. School integration was the main issue.

Representatives did accept an amendment by Howard H. Callaway, Republican of Georgia, to prevent the provision on fund withholding from being used to achieve racial balance. This, however, is expected to have little effect because the Administration says present law forbids such practice.

building, developing, selling, renting, or leasing dwellings, or any employe or agent of any such persons—

(1) To refuse to sell, rent, or lease, to refuse to negotiate for the sale, rental, or lease of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion, national origin, or number of childen or age of such children.

(2) To discriminate against against any person in the terms, conditions, or privileges of sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling, or in the provision of services of facilities in connection therewith, because of race, color, religion, national origin, or number of children or age of such children.

(3) To make, print, or publish, or cause to be made, printed, or published any oral or written notice, statement, or advertisement, with respect to the sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling that indicates any preference, limitation, or discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin, or an intention to make any such preference, limitation, or discrimination.

(4) To fail or refuse to show any dwelling which he is authorized to show to prospective buyers, rentors, or lessors, because of race, color, religion, national origin, or number of children or age of such children to fail to submit promptly to his principal any offer to buy, rent, or lease because of race, color, religion, or national origin, or to fail to refuse to use his best efforts to consummate any sale, rental, or lease because of the race, color, religion, national origin or number of children or age of such children, of any party to the prospective sale, rental, or lease.

(5) To represent to any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin that any dwelling is not available for inspection, sale, rental, or lease when such dwelling is in fact so available.

(6) To deny to any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin, or because of the race, color, religion, or national origin of the person he represents or may represent, access to or participation in any multiple-listing service or other service or facilities related to the business of selling or renting dwellings.

(7) To engage in any act or practice, the purpose of which is to limit or restrict the availability of housing to any person or group of persons because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(8) To induce or attempt to induce any person to sell, rent, or lease any dwelling by representations regarding the present or prospective entry into the neighborhood of a person or persons of a particular race, color, religion, national origin, or economic status.

(B) Nothing in this section shall apply to an owner with respect to the sale, lease, or rental by him of a portion of a building or structure which contains living quarters occupied or intended to be occupied by no more than four families living independently of each other if such owner actually occupies one of such living quarters as his residence.

(C) Nothing in this section shall bar any religious or denominational institution, or any charitable or educational institution or organization which is operated, supervised or controlled by or in conjunction with a religious organization, or any bona fide private or fraternal organization, from giving preference to persons of the same religion or denomination, or to members of such private or fraternal organization, or from making such selection as is calculated by such organization to promote the religious principles or the aims, purposes, or fraternal principles for which it is established or maintained.

(D) Nothing in this section shall apply to an owner with respect to the sale, lease, or rental of a dwelling.

(E) Nothing in this section shall prohibit, or be construed to prohibit, a real estate broker, agent, or salesman, or employe or agent of any real estate broker, agent, or salesman from complying with the express written instruction of any person not in the business of building, developing, selling, renting, or leasing dwellings, or otherwise not subject to the prohibitions of this section pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) hereof, with respect to the sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling owned by such person, if such instruction was not encouraged, solicited, or induced by such broker, agent, or salesman, or any employe or agent thereof.

Prevention of Discrimination in the Financing of Housing

SECTION 404

It shall be unlawful for any bank, savings and loan institution, credit union, insurance company, or other person that makes mortgage or other loans for the purchase, construction, improvement, or repair or maintenance of dwellings to deny such a loan to a person applying therefor, or discriminate against him in the fixing of the down payment, interest rate, duration, or other terms or conditions of such a loan, because of the race, color, religion, or national origin of such a person, or of any member, stockholder, director, officer, or employe of such person, or of the prospective occupants, lessees, or tenants of the dwelling or dwellings in relation to which the application for a loan is made.

Interference, Coercion or Intimidation

SECTION 405

No person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or interfere with any person in the exercise or enjoyment of, or on account of his having exercised or enjoyed, or on account of his having aided or encouraged any other person in the exercise or enjoyment of any right granted by Sections 403 or 404.

Enforcement by Private Persons

SECTION 406

(A) The rights granted by Sections 403, 404 and 405 may be enforced by civil action in appropriate United States District Courts without regard to the amount in controversy and in appropriate state or local courts of general jurisdiction. A civil action shall be commenced within six months after the alleged discriminatory housing practice or violation of Section 405 occurred.

(B) Upon application by any party and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, a court of the United States in which a civil action under this section has been brought may appoint an attorney for such party or parties and may authorize the commencement of a civil action without the payment of fees, costs, or security. A court of a state or subdivision thereof may do likewise to the extent not inconsistent with the law or procedures of the state or subdivision.

(C) The court may grant such relief as it deems appropriate, including a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, and may award actual damages to the plaintiff, or, in the alternative, if the defendant has received or agreed to receive compensation for services during the course of which the discriminatory housing practice occurred, the court may award as liquidated damages an amount not exceeding the amount of such compensation.

(D) In the case of a civil action brought under subsection (a) alleging a discrimin- state or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice, the court, upon issuance of a temporary injunction, restraining order, or other appropriate order preserving the complainant's right to obtain all relief, including the opportunity to buy or rent the specific dwelling with respect to which the alleged practice occurred, may stay proceedings in such civil action for a period not exceeding 30 days pending referral by the court or the complainant, as appropriate, to such state or local authority:

Provided, that, at the expiration of such 30-day period, the court may further stay proceedings for an additional period or pending the termination of then pending state or local enforcement proceedings, if it believes that such proceedings will proceed expeditiously and that such further stay will serve the interests of justice; in the event of such further stay, the court may continue or withdraw any orders it has previously entered in the case as the interests of justice may require. The issuance or withdrawal of any temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order entered by the court pursuant to this subsection may be conditioned upon the posting of reasonable bond or other security as may be just. If, after direction by the court, a complainant fails to make reasonable efforts to initiate appropriate proceedings under applicable state or local law, the court may, in its discretion, and in the absence of a showing of good cause for such failure, dismiss the action.

Enforcement by the Attorney General

SECTION 407

(A) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights granted by this title, he may bring a civil action in any appropriate United States District Court by filing with it a complaint setting forth the facts pertaining to such pattern or practice and requesting such preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights granted by this title.

(B) Whenever an action under Section 406 has been commenced in any court of the United States, the Attorney General may intervene for or in the name of the United States if he certifies that the action is of general public importance. In such action the United States shall be entitled to the same relief as if it had instituted the action.

Enforcement by the Fair Housing Board

SECTION 408

(A) (1) There is hereby established a fair housing board (hereinafter referred to as the board). The board shall consist of five members, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President shall designate one member as chairman. No more than three members of the board may be of the same political party.

(2) The term of office of each member of the board shall be five years, beginning with the effective date of this act, except of those members first appointed, one shall serve for five years, one for four years, one for three years, one for two years, and one for one year. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

(3) The chairman shall be compensated at the rate of $25,500 per annum and the cordance with Civil Service law, appoint and fiv the compensation of such officers, attorneys, and employes, and make such expenditures as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

(c) The board shall make such rules and regulations as shall be necessary and proper to carry out its functions, including the conduct of hearings hereinafter authorized.

(2) The board is authorized to delegate to any group of three or more members any or all of the powers it may itself exercise. It is further authorized to delegate to any member or members, or to any agent or agency the authority to conduct hearings.

(D) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (hereinafter referred to as the Secretary) is hereby authorized to direct and supervise, under such rules and regulations as he shall establish, investigations of violations of Sections 403, 404 and 405 of this Title, either upon the receipt of a written statement of a person alleging to be aggrieved or his representative, or on the basis of information available to the Secretary indicating that there are reasonable grounds to believe that a violation may have occurred.

(E) For purposes of investigation the Secretary shall have, and for purposes of hearing the board shall have, the same powers and shall be subject to the same conditions and limitations as are provided for the National Labor Relations Board under Section 161 of Title 29, United States Code.

(F) (1) If, upon basis of an investigation, the Secretary shall determine that a violation has occurred he shall file with the board a written complaint indicating that such violation has taken place and

Urban Development

SECTION 409

The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall—

(A) make studies with respect to the nature and extent of discriminatory housing practices in representative communities, urban, suburban, and rural, throughout the United States:

(B) Publish and disseminate reports, recommendations, and information derived from such studies;

(C) Cooperate with and render technical assistance to Federal, state, local, and other public or private agencies, organizations, and institutions which are formulating or carrying on programs to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices;

(D) Cooperate with and render such technical and other assistance to the Community Relations Service as may be appropriate to further its activities in preventing or eliminating discriminatory housing practices; and

(E) Administer the programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further the policies of this title.

Effect on State Laws

SECTION 410

Nothing in this title shall be construed to invalidate or limit any law of a state or political subdivisions of a state, or of any other jurisdiction in which this Title shall be effective, that grants, guarantees, or protects the same rights as are granted by this Title; but any law that purports to require or permit any action that would be a discriminatory housing practice under this Title shall to that extent be invalid.

Ervin Seeks a Law To Protect Privacy Of U.S. Employes

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9 (AP) —A bill of rights for Federal employes was introduced today by Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, to protect them against what he termed unwarranted invasions of privacy and other "tyrannies" by Government agencies.

Mr. Ervin, chairman of the Senate constitutional rights subcommittee, said the group had received complaints showing that Federal employes' liberties "are being invaded and seriously circumscribed for reasons which have little or nothing to do with their jobs or national security."

Examples he gave at a news conference and in a speech included psychological tests probing into sexual and religious matters, pressures to make political contributions and to buy Government bonds, questionnaires about race, religion and national origin and limitations on off-duty activities.

He said that last Wednesday he had written to President Johnson that "the invasions of privacy have now reached such alarming proportions and are assuming such varied forms that the matter now demands your immediate and personal attention."

Mr. Ervin listed types of privacy invasion caused by coercion or intimidation that would be outlawed by his bill, including:

¶Race, religion and national origin questionnaires.

¶Indiscriminate requirements to disclose personal finances, assets, creditors and property interests of employes and members of their families.

¶Meetings to indoctrinate employes about matters unrelated to their jobs.

¶Requirements that employes take part in any activities not directly within the scope of their employment.

¶Requirements to make reports about personal activities and undertakings unrelated to their jobs.

The bill would also bar attempts to forbid patronizing any businesses or establishments.

Catholic Organists Confer On Congregational Singing

SPOKANE, Wash. (UPI) — Organists from 60 Roman Catholic parishes in the dioceses of Spokane, Yakima, Wash., and Boise, Idaho, diocesses have completed a series of workshops in accompanying congregational singing.

"We've been a silent group for too many generations," said Jean Anthony Grief of Spokane, church organist and hymn composer who conducted the sessions. "It's time that we caught up with our separated brethern. We are like children as far as singing in church is concerned."

The workshops concentrated on mastering the new liturgy ordered by the Vatican Council, playing for hymns sung by the congregation and selecting hymns laymen can sing.

U.S. Seeks to Avert Bar Criticism of Bill

LEGISLATION

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAL, Aug. 9—Opposition to a key provision of the Johnson Administration's civil rights bill stirred today among delegates to the American Bar Association's annual convention.

In response, the White House decided to send Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach from Washington on a flying mission to argue personally for the bill.

Plans for the hurried flight developed after the Maryland delegation to the association's policy-making House of Delegates, acting at the request of a Federal judge in Baltimore, called upon the association to denounce the jury discrimination section of the bill.

The Attorney General's plans for a flying trip con-

Continued on Page 28, Column 6

U.S. Seeks to Avert Bar Criticism

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

firmed the feeling among observers here that a negative vote by the 122,000-member bar association would seriously damage chances of Senate approval of the jury discrimination part of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966.

Solocitor General Thurgood Marshall, who is a member of the House of Delegates, said this afternoon that Mr. Katzenbach planned to leave Washington on a White House jet as soon as the House of Representatives took its final vote on the bill.

Mr. Katzenbach was expected to argue for the Administration's proposal before the 275-member House of Delegates votes on the issue tomorrow afternoon.

The Attorney General's trip was reportedly planned this morning after it was learned that the four-member Maryland delegation, led by William L. Marbury of Baltimore, had filed a resolution yesterday asking the House of Delegates to denounce the civil rights bill on the ground that it did not comply with the standards for jurors approved by the Federal judiciary.

Letter From Senator

Mr. Marbury said he had filed the resolution at the request of Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen of the United States District Court for Maryland. He said Judge Thomsen had decided to ask the association to oppose the bill after having received a letter from Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, a leading opponent of the bill.

The resolution points out that the present system of selecting Federal jurors was initiated in 1960 by the Judicial Conference of the United States, a statutory group composed of senior Federal district and appeals judges. It is headed by the Chief Justice of the United States.

Under these standards, "jury lists should represent as high a degree of integrity, intelligence, morality and common sense as possible."

The Administration's bill would have jurors selected at random from voter registration lists. Only illiterates, felons, noncitizens, nonresidents and the mentally or physically infirm would be exempted.

A condemnation of the proposed system by the bar association would be particularly damaging in view of a statement by Chief Justice Earl Warren last spring that some unspecified jury proposals were "inadvised."

Chief Justice Warren has declined to elaborate on his remarks. But it is known that some Federal judges frown on the Administration's proposal because it was not submitted to the judicial conference for its comments, as are most proposals that concern the courts.

High-Quality Juries

Also, Federal judges have traditionally taken pride in the widely held view that Federal juries are of higher quality than are state juries. This is said to be necessary because of the complexity of many Federal trials.

Since state juries would not be significantly affected by the Administration's bill unless they were found to be tainted with discrimination, the bill would reduce the quality of Federal juries below that existing in most state courts.

Mr. Katzenbach's decision to fly to Montreal became known at noon today, after his office had already announced that a scheduled luncheon speech by him today would have to be canceled because of the crucial vote in Washington.

The speech had been billed as a progress report on the President's Commission on Law Enforcement in Administration of Criminal Justice. It was given for him by James Vorenberg, executive director of the commission.

In it, Mr. Katzenbach proposed the creation of a "law corps" composed of law students working during the summer in police forces, bail projects, prosecutor's offices, correctional institutions and lower criminal courts.

This would bring "new perspectives and impetus for reform" to these institutions, would produce full-fledged lawyers with knowlodge of the problems and would get needed work done, he said.

Urges Research

Mr. Katzenbach decried the fact that so little is known of crime and punishment and urged creation of a national institute to do research in this area, patterned after the National Institutes of Health.

Much of his criticism of the existing system was directed at "the plea-bargaining system," which he termed "a wholesale operation" to dispose of criminal cases without trials, particularly in the lower courts.

The commission is seeking to develop standards to give assurances that guilty pleas do resolve in sentences tailored to the correctional needs of the criminal.

The commission report is due next February. Although Mr. Katzenbach did not say these recommendations would be in it, he seemed to be hinting they would be.

Russell Spurs Forces For Last-Ditch Fight On Civil Rights Bill

LEGISLATION

AC 8/11/66

President Not Happy On Housing

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Southern senators are ready to make an all-out, last-ditch stand against President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1966 Civil Rights bill, Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell said Wednesday.

Russell, leader of the Senate's Southern bloc opposed to civil rights legislation, pledged: "We're going to put all we can into it to stop it."

The House passed the Civil Rights Bill Tuesday. Major changes in Johnson's original proposal made on the House side included weakening of the open housing section, deletion of permission for the attorney general to file school desegregation suits without a written complaint, and the addition of a federal anti-riot law.

CALLED MILESTONE

President Johnson praised the bill Wednesday as an important milestone in race relations and called for Senate action "without unnecessary delay."

The president, in a special statement on the measure, said he regretted omissions that House members "gauged were necessary" in the provision to bar discrimination in the rental or sale of housing.

Although the housing provision was "not as comprehensive as that we proposed and sought the President said that the significance of the House action was "large in both practical and symbolic terms."

"Practically, the House has barred bigotry in all new housing and in apartment houses," he said. "This opens major avenues toward fair and adequate housing for millions of citizens."

STILL FOR ORIGINAL

White House Press Secretary Bill D. Moyers told newsmen he was sure that the administration still wanted its original housing proposal. This indicated there would be determined efforts in the Senate to broaden the open housing section.

While the House was still considering the civil rights bill over the past 12 days, Russell said the Southern senators held several meetings to begin preparation for a long siege of debate.

The southerners look toward a coalition with northern Republicans to prevent a vote to limit debate on the bill.

A two-thirds majority is required to cut off debate in the Senate. This would require 67 votes if all 100 senators were present.

The southern bloc led by Russell has approximately 20 members.

Georgia's other senator, Herman Talmadge, serves as one of the chief strategists in the southerner's fight on the rights bill.

Senate Republican Leader

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

Russell Rallying Senate Force For All-Out Civil Rights Battle

Continued from Page 1

Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois is the key to whether enough GOP senators will refrain from voting to shut off debate.

Dirksen says the housing section, which is estimated to cover 40 per cent of existing housing, but would affect a much larger percentage of new homes, is unconstitutional. He said he will not support a motion for limited debate.

Good Old Days Are Here Again
"Free Lunch Counter"
RED DOG SALOON
3106 Peachtree Road NE

Russell, suspicious that Dirksen might change his mind as he has in past years, would make no prediction about chances of dooming the Civil Rights Bill in the Senate, which is the last major obstacle for the measure.

The Georgia senator sees the housing section as the greatest leverage for sustaining a filibuster of long enough duration to kill the bill this year.

The open occupancy proposal is the first piece of national civil rights legislation to come before Congress during his more than 30 years in the Senate, he said.

"That's caused a great concern by some of our brethren who wanted to direct the provision against the South," said Russell.

"It would be comic if it were no so tragic to see what's done here in the name of civil rights."

Sections of the bill other than the housing provision "do more violence to the Constitution," Russell declared.

He said "federalization of state juries" would be a step into the last area where the U.S. government has not intervened in local affairs.

Setting standards for federal court jury selections is as bad, said Russell, pointing out that not one federal judge has endorsed the proposal.

The bill is scheduled to be transmitted from the House to the Senate on Thursday. The Senate Democratic leadership is expected to attempt to place the measure on the Senate calendar without sending it to the Judiciary.

It is anticipated the bill will be called up for Senate action within 12 to 15 days.

Johnson Hails Rights Bill As 'Milestone' for Justice

LEGISLATION

8/11/66

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10—President Johnson said today that the civil rights bill passed by the House of Representatives last night was "an important new milestone" toward racial justice He urged the Senate to approve the measure "without unnecessary delay."

Mr. Johnson said he regretted that the House had weakened the controversial section against discrimination in housing, but that the section nevertheless was important in both practical and symbolic terms.

"Practically, the House has barred bigotry in all new housing and in apartment houses," he said. "This opens major avenues toward fair and adequate housing for millions of citizens.

A Symbolic Victory

"Symbolically, the House has, in effect, declared to all Negro Americans that many of their fellow citizens believe it is wrong to deny anyone a decent place to live solely because of the color of his skin. The House also has declared that the law should be an instrument of justice in this cause."

[In Montreal, leaders of the American Bar Association killed Wednesday a resolution denouncing a key provision of the civil rights bill aimed at preventing discrimination in the selection of Federal juror.]

Representatives approved the bill by a vote of 259 to 157 after 12 days of debate. They defeated, 220 to 190, a motion to strike out the housing section. But they accepted, 237 to 176, a bipartisan amendment to exempt most individual home sales, or 60 per cent of the nation's housing units, from the antidiscrimination provisions of the bill.

President Johnson said those sections of the bill that combat discrimination in the selection of state and Federal juries and broaden the criminal laws and court action against racial violence and intimidation "are im-

Continued on Page 23, Column 2

KATZENBACH PLEA SWINGS BAR VOTE

LEGISLATION

Group Kills Move to Assail Juror Plank in Rights Bill

Antle

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAL, Aug. 10—The American Bar Association's leaders declined today to criticize a key provision of the Civil Rights bill, after hearing a rousing defense of the rights proposal by Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

The 275-member House of Delegates of the association killed a resolution that denounced the Administration's proposal to prevent racial discrimination by selecting Federal jurors at random from voter registration lists.

Mr. Katzenbach contended that the present selection system confronts him with "a massive problem" because it does not produce the fair cross-section of the community the Supreme Court requires.

The situation became more critical last month, he said, when the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which encompasses the states of the Deep South, declared unconstitutional the "key-man" system of selecting jury veniremen.

This system, which is the one used in most Federal Courts relies on prominent citizens to recommend names for jury duty.

Thus many grand and petit juries in the Fifth Circuit cannot take valid action until a constitutionally acceptable selection method is available, Mr. Katzenbach said.

Challenge to Group

He challenged the association to come up with an improvement on the Administration's jury proposal. But, failing that, he said, "I don't know what you expect me to do if Congress doesn't act on this problem."

"I can't wait," the Attorney General stated, "I can't simply delay. I can't live with the present system."

Mr. Katzenbach's arguments appeared to register with the delegates who before he spoke had voted 103 to 78 against a motion to shelve the matter pending a lengthy study.

As Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach is automatically a member of the House of Dele-

Johnson Hails Civil Rights Bill As 'Milestone' for Race Justice

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

portant steps toward resolving the great domestic strugge of our generation."

The President's remarks were in a statement released by the White House. Bill D. Moyers, the White House Press secretary, was asked if the President were asking the Senate to enact the housing section as it passed the House.

"I am sure," Mr. Moyer, replied, "that the original proposal is still desired by the Administration as it was." President Johnson had asked that racial discrimination be banned in the sale and rental of all housing.

Even in its present form, however, the bill is expected to have trouble in the Senate. Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Senate Republican leader, has branded the housing section unconstitutional and the bill is also subject to procedural delays.

Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic majority leader, said today that no decision had been made on sending the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to return it at a specified date or to place it

most of them Southerners, and 62 Republicans.

Of the 47 Democrats—fresh men and returning members—who unseated Republicans in the 1964 election, only six voted to strike the housing section. They were Earle Cabell and Richard White, both of Texas; Thomas S. Foley and Floyd V. Hicks, both of Washington; John A. Race of Wisconsin, and Walter H. Moeller of Ohio.

Eight Southerners, all Democrats, supported the Administration on the crucial vote to save the open housing section. They were Claude Pepper, Dante Fascell and Sam Gibbons, all of Florida; George Grider and Richard M. Fulton, both of Tennessee; Harry B. Gonzales and Jack Brooks of Texas, and Charles L. Weltner of Georgia. All represented urban areas and all voted for the bill.

The assistant majority leader, Hale Boggs of New Orleans, broke with the Administration by voting against the housing section and against the bill.

Thirty non-Southern Democrats voted to strike the housing section. Sixteen were from the border states of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

The others were Wayne Aspinall of Colorado; Walter S. Baring of Nevada; Ronald B.

Juror Plank in Rights Bill

Auto

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

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Mr. Katzenbach's arguments appeared to register with the delegates who before he spoke had voted 103 to 78 against a motion to shelve the matter pending a lengthy study.

As Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach is automatically a member of the House of Delegates and entitled to participate in its debates.

After his speech the delegates voted overwhelmingly to table the resolution that critized the Administration bill. Only 57 votes were mustered against a motion to table the resolution.

The attack on the Administration's jury provision was led by William L. Marbury, a Baltimore lawyer who said he was acting at the request of Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen of the United States Court for the Dictrict of Maryland.

Mr. Marbury contended that the proposed random selection system would lower the standards for jurors now approved by the Federal Judiciary. These standards call for jury lists that "represent as high a degree of integrity, intelligence, morality and common sense as possible."

Opposition to Provision

Special to The New York Times

Mr. Marbury said Negroes could be fairly represented on juries without "lowering the caliber in general of Federal juries."

John C. Satterfield of Yazoo City, Miss., a former president of the association, supported Mr. Marbury by citing a survey of Federal judges conducted by Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina.

According to the survey, none of the 45 judges who answered the polls favored the bill.

Among the other spokesmen backing Mr. Katzenbach's position were David F. Maxwell of Philadelphia, Edmund D. Campbell of the District of Columbia, Calvin H. Udall of Phoenix, Ariz. and Orison S. Marden of New York, the new president of the association.

Mr. Katzenbach flew here this morning and left shortly after the vote was taken at 4 P.M. His visit appeared to have paid handsome dividends. A rebuff by the 122,000-member association could have spelled serious trouble in the Senate for the jury discrimination provision of the Civil Rights bill of 1966, which passed in the House yesterday.

Johnson Hails Civil Rights Bill As 'Milestone' for Race Justice

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

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Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic majority leader, said today that no decision had been made on sending the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to return it at a specified date or to place it directly on the calendar.

But Mr. Mansfield and other Democratic leaders indicated they would try to have the bill placed directly on the calendar. Senator Jacob K. Javits said he would object to the bill's being sent to committee under any circumstances.

A Judiciary subcommittee headed by Senator Sam J. Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, an opponent of the bill, has been holding hearings now and then on the original Administration bill since early June. The full committee is headed by Senator James O. Eastland, Democratic of Mississippi, another opponent.

Showdown on Friday

A shutdown on the procedural question is expected on Friday after the bill is received from the House. Mr. Dirksen said he would oppose by passing the committee.

House members have said their voting on the housing section may have strong bearing on their re-election efforts in November.

An analysis of last night's voting showed that the entire House Republican leadership, including Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, the minority leader, voted to strike the open housing section. But they subsequently voted for final passage of the bill.

Voting for the bill on final passage were 183 Democrats and 76 Republicans. Voting against were 95 Democrats, most of them Southerners, and 62 Republicans.

Of the 47 Democrats — fresh men and returning members— who unseated Republicans in the 1964 election, only six voted to strike the housing section. They were Earle Cabell and Richard White, both of Texas; Thomas S. Foley and Floyd V. Hicks, both of Washington; John A. Race of Wisconsin, and Walter H. Moeller of Ohio.

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The assistant majority leader, Hale Boggs of New Orleans, broke with the Administration by voting against the housing section and against the bill.

Thirty non-Southern Democrats voted to strike the housing section. Sixteen were from the border states of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

The others were Wayne Aspinall of Colorado; Walter S. Baring of Nevada; Ronald B. Cameron and Harlan Hagen of California; Mr. Foley and Mr. Hicks of Washington, Mr. Moeller, Robert T. Secrest and Wayne Hays of Ohio; Kenneth Gray of Illinois, Clement J. Zablocki and Mr. Race of Wisconsin, and E. S. Johnny Walker and Thomas G. Morris of New Mexico.

Adam Clayton Powell issued a statement explaining why he had boycotted debate and voting on the bill. The Manhattan Democrat said he could not vote for the bill because it "holds out a phony carrot stick to black people meant to make them believe they are receiving nourishing food of equality when in truth we are continuing to starve them with empty promises."

Mr. Powell, however, was recorded as paired for the bill on the final passage. In pairing, an absent member pairs with an opponent who is present and neither vote is included in the vote tabulation.

CORE Attacks Bill

The Congress of Racial Equality attacked the civil rights bill yesterday as "worthless in some sections, racist in others."

Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE, said of the housing section of the bill:

"'In essence the black man is being told by Congress that he only has constitutional rights in 40% of the nation's housing; in the other 60% he is not equal."

LEGISLATION

AC 8/19/66

Senate Puts Off Battle On Rights Until Sept. 6

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Senate set the stage Thursday for a long post-Labor Day struggle over the 1966 Civil Rights Bill.

Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana said he will not move to take up the bill until Sept. 6.

Mansfield's announcement that the bill will be placed on the Senate calendar and will not be sent to the Judiciary Committee set off a clash with Sen. James O. Eastland, D-Miss., the committee chairman.

Mansfield called Eastland an obstructionist on civil rights legislation. The Democratic leader declared Eastland's committee would not report out the Civil Rights Bill in "two days, two weeks or two years."

Eastland replied the Senate leadership gives special treatment only to civil rights bills by refusing to refer them to his committee.

The Mississippi senator said a large number of amendments added by the House, which passed the bill Tuesday, need

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Senate Puts Off Battle On Rights Until Sept. 6

Continued from Page 1

to be discussed at public hearings.

The Judiciary subcommittee, headed by Sen. Sam Ervin, D-N.C., has been holding public hearings on President Lyndon B. Johnson's rights bill since June 1.

Mansfield said if Eastland's committee reports out a bill by Sept. 6, the Senate will proceed with it rather than the House-passed measure.

After the bill was read for the first time Thursday in the Senate, Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia and Eastland objected to an immediate second reading.

The objections put off a second reading until Friday.

An agreement had been worked out beforehand by Mansfield, Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen, and Russell, leader of the Southern opponents, to delay action until after Labor Day.

Any delay appears to put Southern opponents who plan to filibuster in a more favorable position to stop the legislation this year.

Many of the senators want to go home to campaign for reelection in November and it is already getting late in the legislative year.

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LEGISLATION

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MEMO: No.90
August 16, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary
RE: Civil Rights Act of 1966

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL MOVES TO THE SENATE

After 12 days of debate, a longer time than it has taken to consider any previous civil rights measure, the House completed action on the Civil Rights Act of 1966 and sent it to the Senate. An analysis of the bill in its present form is enclosed with this MEMO.

In the Senate, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield announced that debate will start on September 6, the day after Labor Day. The bill, he said, would not be referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee but would, instead, be held on the Senate calendar until the time came to take it up. He was by-passing Judiciary, Mr. Mansfield said, with engaging frankness, because it has been considering a companion bill for three months without doing anything and because its Chairman, James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), "has repeatedly interposed his towering presence in the procedural corridor between the Judiciary Committee rooms and the Senate floor. Once in that position, he has proved time and time again that he is immovable." A civil rights issue, Mr. Mansfield observed, "seems always to bring out the resisting best or worst in the Senator from Mississippi, depending, of course, on one's point of view."

It is in the Senate that the shape and substance of the new law will be determined finally. And it is in the Senate that we must now concentrate our energies not merely to prevent any weakening of the bill but rather to have it strengthened to meet more fully the demands of the present racial crisis.

The Fight On The Housing Section

Major attention in the House and in the country at large centered, of course, on Title IV of the bill, the section designed to prevent discrimination in housing.

One of the great disappointments of the House debate was to see the broad coverage of the original housing section cut back. About 60% of the nation's housing would be exempted from Title IV as the House approved it, including most single-family homes.

On the other hand, the bill would still make available on an open occupancy basis an estimated 23 million existing units in large apartments and newly completed developments and in the future would cover most new housing.

The exemptions in the Housing section are a disappointment. But it is a disappointment at least matched by what the real estate lobby must feel, since its extravagantly-financed campaign to strike the whole housing section was defeated. What is more, the House went beyond the original bill and kept the provision by Rep. John Conyers (D., Mich.) that vests administration of the housing provisions in a Fair Housing Board. The real estate lobby bitterly opposed the Board and maintained it made the bill more onerous than ever.

Juries and Violence

The bill provides for other substantive advances in civil rights. It would authorize reforms in the jury system that should make for fairer trials. And it would afford Negroes and civil rights workers greater protection against violence in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

But having said that, it must be recognized that the House-passed bill falls short of the kind of measure justice and the times demand. Unless the bill is strengthened in the Senate, the nation will be offered a step forward when it needs to take strides.

A Disquieting Atmosphere

Quite apart from the substantive limitations of the bill, the atmosphere that surrounded the House debate was in disquieting contrast to the mood of Congress in 1964 and 1965. The sense of urgency so evident then, was noticeably absent. Neither the President nor the Justice Department provided the effective leadership they have demonstrated in the past.

In 1964 and again a year ago, Northern members of the House aggressively sparked the debate; the Southerners were clearly on the defensive. This time, there almost seemed to be a reversal of roles. The mood of many Northern members was one of apprehension and timidity. With the November elections coming on, their votes and speeches frequently reflected political anxiety about voter reaction to big-city riots, "black power" slogans and the pressures of the real estate lobby.

Southern Amendments Adopted

Two Southern-sponsored amendments were adopted and a third, which would have nullified Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the section that authorizes withholding funds from federally-assisted programs that discriminate, failed of passage by only 9 votes.

One of the successful Southern amendments, offered by Rep. Basil Whitener (D., N.C.), gutted a section of the 1966 bill that was meant to give the U.S. Attorney General power to speed the desegregation of public schools.

The teller vote for that amendment, when Congressmen march up the aisle and are counted, was 132 to 104. That means nearly 200 House members were not there when the vote was taken. Many of them were back in their offices oblivious to urgent phone calls from floor managers of the bill and from the Leadership Conference.

The second major Southern amendment that won House approval was offered by Rep. William C. Cramer (D., Fla.). It is meant to punish those who travel interstate with the intent of inciting or encouraging riot or other violent civil disturbance or committing any crime of violence, arson, bombing, etc. Although Mr. Cramer argued that his amendment was directed against the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party, many of the members who spoke up for his proposal talked of the outside influences at work in the recent Cleveland and Chicago disturbances. Northern Democrats and Republicans alike seemed eager to demonstrate their readiness to take a tough line with rioters. In contrast to the close votes on other amendments this one was overwhelmingly adopted on final roll-call, 389 to 25.

Was The Mathias Amendment Necessary?

Timidity was the key-note again in the House adoption of the principal amendment to Title IV. Proposed by Republican representative Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, it would permit real estate brokers to handle discriminatory listings where individual home owners who are exempt from the coverage of the bill, make a request in writing.

One of the unresolved questions of the House debate is whether or not adoption of the Mathias amendment was "necessary" to keep a housing section in the bill. Mr. Mathias and other proven friends of civil rights felt it was. Groups within the Leadership Conference were split on the issue. Still, the amendment was acceded to with disconcerting readiness. Having presented Congress with a housing section that admitted no exceptions, the Administration seemed content to take the Mathias cutback--which the U.S. Attorney General himself testified would have the effect of knocking out "most of the suburbs"--without making any real effort to line up the votes to make the concession unnecessary.

But if the Democratic leadership appeared to give in too easily, the record of the House Republican leaders was shameful. The debate had just gotten underway when the Republican Policy Committee undercut support for Title IV by coming out publicly against it and calling it "politically motivated and unrealistic." In spite of Mr. Mathias's attempts to remind the members of the party of Lincoln that the question of the Congressional right to pass a fair housing law was "settled one century ago," the Republican leaders voted against his amendment and went on to vote to strike the weakened Title IV.

Two Conference-Backed Amendments Lose

Attempts to strengthen the Title V protections against violence were beaten back. The House Judiciary Committee had previously restricted the effectiveness of that title by limiting its application only to civil rights actions that were "lawfully" undertaken, thus leaving demonstrators unprotected if they happened to violate local trespass or speeding laws. An effort by Rep. Don Edwards (D., Calif.) to strike "lawfully" failed. So did a move by Rep. Charles Diggs (D., Mich.) to add a provision establishing an indemnification board whose purpose it would be to award damages to the victims of civil rights violence. Both proposals were defeated by voice votes. There was not even enough support among House liberals to force a counted vote on them.

Clarence Mitchell, Legislative Chairman of the Leadership Conference, commenting on the defeat of these amendments, noted that several purportedly liberal members who supported the Cramer anti-riot amendment "with emotion that overrode logic" went on, the very same day, to vote against the Diggs proposal. "I shall always remember with bitterness," he said, that these "same lawmakers crushed the amendment which would have given meager compensation to the maimed, the penniless and the widows and orphans of the victims of violence and terror simply because they or members of their families proclaimed their faith in the Constitution of the United States."

Neither the White House nor the Justice Department gave any support to the efforts to strengthen Title V. A statement that he would not oppose the indemnification board was as far as the U.S. Attorney General would go.

Needed: A Stronger Effort In The Senate

Following House passage of the bill, President Johnson expressed regret that the housing section had been weakened and indicated he favored a return to the original prohibition against racial discrimination in the sale and rental of all housing. We share that sentiment and we are committed to that goal. But it will take more than statements to accomplish it. Nor will it be accomplished by acquiescence in Senator Dirksen's demands for further modification of Title IV. What is required

is forceful and determined leadership by the President such as he has manifested on other occasions and other issues; the full strength of his office and his powers of persuasion in and out of Congress.

What else is needed? At least a much greater effort on the part of the organizations within the Leadership Conference.

Given this sort of all-out effort we are confident the House-passed bill will be strengthened in the Senate.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1966

(An analysis of the provisions of the bill H.R.14765 as it passed the House, August 9, 1966)

TITLE I - Federal Jury Reform

The first title regulates the selection of federal juries. It prohibits discrimination in selection on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status. It establishes the method of selecting jurors on a random representative basis. The basic source of jury lists will be voting lists, except that where such lists are not non-discriminatory, the judicial council of the circuit can require the use of additional sources. Literacy requirements can be met (according to the Attorney General's interpretation) by the filling out of a simple form.

TITLE II - State Jury Reform

Title II also prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status in the selection of state juries. The prohibition could be enforced through a civil action brought by the Attorney General, by a private person who suffers discrimination, or by a litigant in a civil or criminal case who raises the issue of jury discrimination. In any such case, the title provides discovery procedures under which it could be determined how juries are selected. If the court finds probable cause to believe that discrimination occurred or if the records are insufficient, the burden is shifted to the state to show non-discrimination.

TITLE III - Civil Action to Protect Civil Rights

This title protects all persons in all their civil rights against invasion by those who would deny them because of race, color, religion, or national origin. It authorizes courts to grant civil preventive relief in cases brought by persons whose rights are denied or threatened or by the Attorney General (where a pattern or practice can be shown). It also protects persons who advocate equal rights, extending protection to the exercise of rights of speech, assembly, petition and expression in some cases not now covered by federal law.

TITLE IV - Housing

Title IV outlaws discrimination in certain housing practices. It prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, or the number or age of children by real estate brokers, agents, salesmen or their employees or by builders, developers or those renting, selling or leasing property in any phase of their business activities. "Blockbusting" is among the prohibited practices.

These prohibitions do not apply to owner-occupied properties of four units or less or to brokers acting on written instructions from owners of such property.

Discrimination by banks, savings and loan associations and others in the business of financing real estate transactions is also prohibited where such discrimination is based on race, color, religion, or national origin.

The prohibitions of the title may be enforced by civil actions brought by aggrieved individuals or by the Attorney General in cases of a pattern or practice. In addition the title establishes a Fair Housing Board along the lines of the National Labor Relations Board, empowered to issue cease and desist orders prohibiting discriminatory practices. The Secretary of HUD is authorized to direct investigations and bring complaints before the Fair Housing Board.

It is estimated that the title will apply to 40% of the housing market, including almost all new housing and most rental units.

TITLE V - Prohibitions Against Interference With Constitutional Rights

This title makes it a federal criminal offense to injure, intimidate or interfere by force or threat of force with persons in the lawful exercise of civil rights because of race, color, religion or national origin, or attempt to do so. The rights protected are voting, running for political office, serving as a poll watcher, enrolling in or attending a public school or college, participating in or enjoying any federal or state program or benefit, seeking or working in any employment, engaging in housing activities, serving as a juror, using any common carrier, enjoying any benefit assisted by federal funds and enjoying the use of any place or public accommodations. Also prohibited is the injury, intimidation or interference with any person (or an attempt to do so) to discourage any person or group of persons from enjoying such rights or for having enjoyed them or assisted another to do so.

The title also contains a provision making it an offense to travel in interstate commerce with intent to incite a riot or to perform certain acts in furtherance of a riot.

Punishment under the title could be up to $10,000 or ten years imprisonment, depending on the gravity of the offense, or life imprisonment where death occurs. Existing civil rights statutes are amended to increase penalties.

TITLE VI, VII, VIII AND IX

Title VI makes little change in existing law because of amendments adopted in the House. It continues in effect the authority of the Attorney General to sue to desegregate public schools and public facilities upon receipt of a written complaint.

Title VII authorizes the Attorney General to allow destruction of voting records under certain circumstances.

Title VIII requires the Attorney General to render an annual report on his civil rights activities to the President and Congress.

Title IX is the miscellaneous title authorizing appropriations and providing that if any provision of the Act is held invalid the rest of it will not be affected.

Prepared by J. Francis Pohlhaus
Special Consultant

Deadlock Imperils Rights Bill

LEGISLATION
DC 8/22/66

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON (AP) — Administration leaders and Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, R-Ill., have reached a deadlock over open housing which indicates there may be no civil rights bill passed this year.

Dirksen has notified Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach that the administration can expect no help from him toward breaking what Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., predicted will be a "very strong filibuster" against the measure.

Katzenbach, in return, has insisted there must be in any bill that passes an open-housing provision.

STAND STILL SAME

Dirksen, the Senate Republican leader, has called this proposal to ban racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing unconstitutional and has said House action to exempt home and small apartment owners hasn't changed his stand.

While Dirksen is tinkering with a proposed substitute which would call for a study of the housing situation for possible later legislative remedies, Southern opponents have notified him they will not support any modification of the measure which woud make it more likely to win majority support in the Senate.

DIXIE OPPOSITION

A direct move to strike the housing section from the bill would be opposed by the talkative Southerners on the same grounds.

Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, fully aware of this tight deadlock, said last week that if the Senate doesn't pass a bill this year it can try again next year.

Dirksen told a reporter: "That might very well be what will happen."

The housing section is the focal point of controversy but a

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

WON'T FIGHT FILIBUSTER
Everett Dirksen

Deadlock Imperils Rights Bill

Continued From Page 1

provision aimed at the frequent selection of all-white juries in the South also is under fire. Sens. Roman L. Hruska, R-Neb., and Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C., are reported preparing strong arguments against it.

Javits said on a television-radio program taped for New York stations that it is essential to pass the open-housing provision to "establish the dignity" of minorities to live wherever they can afford to live.

"But it is going to be a hard, tough filibuster and very hard to break," he said. "And I hope very much the public will now be sufficiently aroused to realize that if you fail to break this filibuster, then you are endangering our civil rights progress and endangering the order and tranquility of our country in a very real way.

"This doesn't mean that we should be blackmailed into passing civil rights legislation because we are afraid of riots. It does mean that we shouldn't invite riots because we are unjust."

8/26/66 THE NEW YORK TIMES,

SENATE REJECTS WAGE RISE DELAY

42-40 Vote Backs Johnson on $1.60 Minimum by '68

LEGISLATION

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25—The Senate gave President Johnson and organized labor an uncomfortably narrow victory today by defeating a move to delay an increase in the minimum wage to $1.60 an hour.

By a vote of 42 to 40, the Senate rejected an amendment to the Administration's minimum-wage bill that would have postponed the rise until Feb. 1, 1969.

The effect was to leave intact provisions for a two-step increase in the minimum wage of $1.25 an hour. As the bill now stands, the minimum would rise to $1.40 next Feb. 1 and to $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1967.

The amendment was sponsored by a Republican, Senator Paul J. Fannin of Arizona but drew much support from conservative Democrats.

Voting for it were 21 Republicans and 19 Democrats. The opposition consisted of 35 Democrats and seven Republicans.

An Easier Victory

Administration and labor forces won an easier victory tonight with the rejection of another amendment that would have continued the exclusion of farm labor from the minimum wage law.

In a major breakthrough, the bill calls for coverage of farm workers for the first time. About 390,000 of them would be guaranteed a wage of $1 an hour, starting Feb. 1, with increases to $1.15 the following year and to $1.30 on Feb. 1, 1968.

Senator Spessard L. Holland, Democrat of Florida, moved to strike out the farm labor provisions. His amendment was rejected by a vote of 51 to 37.

It was supported by 19 Republicans and 18 Democrats and opposed by 41 Democrats and 10 Republicans.

The rejection of the amendment assured the retention in the final version of the bill of provisions for coverage of farm labor. A companion bill passed by the House May 26 includes similar provisions. Differences in the House and Senate measures will be adjusted in conference.

Unlike the farm labor question, the effective date for a $1.60 minimum wage is an issue that still must be settled in conference.

This is because the House version calls for a $1.60 minimum to take effect a year later than does the Senate version. The House voted 205 to 194 on May 26 for an effective date of Feb. 1, 1969, instead of Feb. 1, 1968.

Senate voting also included the rejection by 64 to 22 of an amendment by Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, Republican of California, for further increases in the minimum farm-labor wage to $1.45 an hour in 1969 and to $1.60 in 1970.

The bill's floor manager, Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, Democrat of Texas, said he saw "much merit" in the proposal. He noted, however, that it had been rejected in committee so that Congress would have an opportunity to review the impact of agricultural coverage before raising the minimum wage of farm workers to the level of others.

Senator Yarborough expressed confidence that Congress would act in the meantime to increase the agricultural minimum further.

As the Senate recessed tonight, Administration leaders expressed confidence that all major challenges to the bill in the floor battle had been countered. They looked for passage tomorrow by a one-sided vote.

Roll-Call in the Senate On Wage Amendment

WASHINGTON, Aug 25 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate rejected today an amendment to delay from Feb. 1, 1968, to Feb. 1, 1969, the effective date for a new $1.60 an hour minimum wage:

FOR THE AMENDMENT—40

Democrats—19

Byrd (Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Church (Idaho)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Ellender (La.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Russell (Ga.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Harris (Okla.)	Sparkman (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Jordan (N. C.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Lausche (Ohio)	

Republicans—21

Allott (Colo.)	Hruska (Neb.)
Boggs (Del.)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Tower (Tex.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Griffin (Mich.)	Young (N. D.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—42

Democrats—35

Anderson (N. M.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Bible (Nev.)	Montoya (N. M.)
Brewster (Md.)	Morse (Ore.)
Burdick (N. D.)	Moss (Utah)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Muskie (Me.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Clark (Pa.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Pell (R. I.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Hart (Mich.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Russell (S. C.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Tydings (Md.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Williams (N. J.)
Kennedy (N. Y.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Magnuson (Wash.)	Young (Ohio)
McGee (Wyo.)	

Republicans—7

Aiken (Vt.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N. J.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Me.)
Javits (N. Y.)	

Not voting but paired for the amendment (Senators used pairs to show positions when one or both are absent): Democrats—Mansfield (Mont.); Republicans—Jordan (Idaho), Simpson (Wyo.), Murphy (Calif.), Bennett (Utah).

Not voting but paired against the bill: Democrats—Bartlet (Alaska), Long (La.), Symington (Mo.), Randolph (W. Va.); Republicans—Scott (Pa.)

Not voting or paired but announced as against the amendment: Democrats—Bass (Tenn.), Gruening (Alaska), Hartke (Ind.), Long (Mo.), McCarthy (Minn.)

$1.60 Minimum Pay Is Voted by Senate

LEGISLATION

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 26—The Senate passed tonight the high-priority Administration bill to raise the minimum wage to $1.60 an hour and to broaden coverage. The vote was 57 to 17.

The bill was the first major pro-labor measure to clear the Senate in the present Congress. Democratic strategists hoped it would improve the standing of the party and the Johnson Administration with organized labor.

Passage followed three days of debate in which Administration forces staved off all major weakening amendments with one exception.

With wide Democratic backing, Republicans won a battle this afternoon to reduce the number of workers to be

Continued on Page 15, Column 4

$1.60 WAGE IN '68 VOTED BY SENATE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

brought under the minimum wage from 7.2 million to 7 million.

The amendment, which would liberalize exemptions for small business, was adopted by a vote of 41 to 38.

The final text of the bill is to be worked out in a Senate-House conference committee, which will have the task of reconciling it with a companion measure passed May 26 by the Houe.

The Senate version would raise the present minmum of $1.25 an hour for the 29.6 million workers now covered to $1.40 next Feb. 1 and to $1.60 a year later.

The House had voted to postpone the second-step increase, to $1.60, until Feb. 1, 1969. Its bill also differs from the Senate's in provisions for coverage. The House bill calls for the addition of about eight million workers instead of the Senate bill's of seven million.

The small business amendment approved today was sponsored by Senator Winston L. Prouty, Republican of Vermont, with the backing of the Senate Republican leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. It drew wide support from Democrats, including some who classify themselves as liberals.

A few minutes before its adoption, Senator Dirksen saw an even broader small business amendment of his own lose on a 41 to 41 tie vote. The Dirksen proposal would have removed nearly one million workers from the bill's coverage provisions.

The Dirksen amendment would have exempted the employes of any concern with an annual volume of gross sales or other transactions below $250,000. The Prouty amendment fixed a $350,000 volume of business as the cutoff for exemptions.

Senator Dirksen enlivened a drab debate, which began two days ago, by producing sheafs of minimum wage regulations with the pages tacked end to end to form streamers.

He had page boys stretch the streamers over the desks of Senators, from one side of the chamber of the other. One of the streamers extended about two-thirds of the way across the chamber.

Mr. Dirksen estimated that printed regulations and "interpretations," with the pages end to end, would reach a height 19 feet above Niagara Falls.

A Blanket for Jayne

He said he had been informed that one set would "go around Janyne Mansfield's ample figure 65 times." He gave no figures, however, on the buxom film actress's measurements.

Like its House counterpart, the Senate bill entails major breakthroughs in minimum-wage legislation by covering farm labor and employes of many retail establishments, including hotels, motels and laundries, for the first time.

For newly covered farm workers, both measures call for a minimum of $1 an hour next Feb. 1, with increases to $1.15 following a year later and to $1.30 on Feb. 1, 1969.

For nonfarm workers brought under the law by the bill, the minimum would also be $1 next Feb. 1, $1.15 the following Feb. 1 and $1.30 on Feb. 1, 1969. Further increases of 15 cents a year are provided for these workers until Feb. 1, 1971, when the minimum would reach $1.60.

Many Top Minimum Now

Of the 29.6 million workers now covered by the minimum wage law, the Labor Department estimates that 5.9 million would benefit by having their pay increased. The others already earn at least $1.60 an hour.

Of the newly covered workers, about 900 million are now paid less than $1 an hour and would benefit immediately.

The bill would extend coverage to about 390,000 laborers on farms with as many as seven full-time employes.

It would also bring under the act about 1.5 million workers in retail trade establishments, 1.5 million in hospitals and related facilities, 500,000 in laundries, 425,000 in restaurants and 275,000 in hotels and motels.

About 960,000 Federal jobs would be covered, although all but 161,000 of the job holders already are paid at least $1 an hour.

Other workers who would be brought under the law include employes of construction concerns, transit systems, taxicab concern, agricultural processing plants, cotton gins and logging establishments.

Among amendments rejected in the final day of voting was one by Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, for sharp restrictions on the use of child labor on farms. The vote was 51 to 31.

Senator Javits won approval by voice vote of another amendment to make it illegal for employers to discriminate against persons over 45 in hiring and other personnel practices.

LEGISLATION

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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MEMO: No.92
Sept.5, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Civil Rights Act of 1966
The New Minimum Wage Bill
Home Rule for D.C.

SENATE SET TO START CIVIL RIGHTS DEBATE SEPTEMBER 6

For the Civil Rights Act of 1966, the next and crucial phase starts on Tuesday, September 6. That's when the Senators, coming back from their Labor Day weekend are scheduled to start debate on the bill.

Democratic Majority Leader Mike Mansfield will most likely summon up the House-passed measure (H.R.14765). He has kept it on the Senate calendar in an effort to keep it out of the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee, particularly the hands of its Chairman, James Eastland of Mississippi.

A subcommittee of Judiciary has been working on a perfected version of the House bill. But though they have reported it to the full committee and though there is a liberal majority on that 16-member body, it does not look as if Judiciary will do anything with it.

A Filibuster Looms Ahead

The floor manager for the bill will be Senator Philip A. Hart, the Michigan Democrat, whose commitment to a good civil rights bill is beyond question. A lot depends on the kind of support he gets from us.

There is no doubt that the Civil Rights Act of 1966, like the 1964 and 1965 measures will be met by a Senate filibuster. Once again the first effort will be an attempt to limit the debate.

With summer over we ask all our organizations and friends to ask themselves a few questions. Have you written to your Senators yet? Have your urged them to stay on the Senate floor throughout the debate? To vote for cloture in order to break a filibuster? To vote against all weakening amendments?

A new effort faces us. We hope the questions will all be answered with a resounding YES.

A GOOD MINIMUM WAGE BILL COMES OUT OF CONFERENCE

The minimum wage bill that emerged last Thursday from the conference between Senate and House offers important improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act. Conferees took good features from both bills and knocked out several limiting and dangerous ones.

Here are some of the highlights:

. The conferees kept the Senate schedule for the increases. The minimum wage that now covers some 29.6 million workers would be raised from the present $1.25 an hour to $1.40 on February 1, 1967 and to $1.60 by February 1, 1968. The House wanted to postpone the second increase to February 1, 1969.

. The conferees held on to the House test for covering business enterprises. Retail stores, motels, restaurants, etc. with an annual sales volume of $250,000 would be subject to the Act. The Senate sought to raise that to $350,000, thus cutting out some 200,000 employees.

. For the first time, farm workers, about 400,000 of them would be brought under the Fair Labor Standards Act. The conferees improved this section by knocking out a dangerous Senate provision that would have provided an average wage system for agricultural workers.

. The conferees restored to the bill a House provision that would extend the law to about 900,000 non-teaching employees of elementary and secondary schools.

. They also reached a compromise on nursing home employees. The Senate wanted to exempt them from overtime provisions. The conferees agreed they were to get overtime after 48 hours.

Altogether, about 8 million workers were added to the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Increases for the Newly-Covered

For newly-covered workers, the minimum wage would start at $1 an hour. Automatic increases for farm workers would stop when they reached $1.30 an hour on February 1, 1969. For non-farm workers the series of increases would continue until the $1.60 an hour level was reached in 1971.

What We Need To Do

First the House and then the Senate will receive the Conference report sometime this week. Critics of the bill will attack it. In the House the major attack will center on the proposal to reach $1.60 an hour in 1968 instead of 1969. In the Senate, conservatives will attack the improvements in the provisions covering farm workers.

We can help keep the conference improvements by wiring Senators and Congressmen at once, urging them to vote for the conference report and help millions already deprived of their rights to move closer to their right to a decent wage.

HELP WASHINGTON GET HOME RULE!

Nearly 1 million disfranchised Americans, the residents of the nation's capital, will get another chance this session to try and win self-government.

Although the President has given Home Rule for the District a high priority on his legislative list, any attempt to work out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill has bogged down. In one final effort to break this stalemate, Senator Wayne Morse (D.,Ore.) is proposing to add a modified version of the Senate bill as a rider to a bill for higher education.

The Senator's proposal, like the bill the Senate passed, would give District residents, voteless and voiceless for nearly one hundred years, a chance to elect their own mayor and city council. Then, as the Washington Post points out in the editorial we enclose with this MEMO, the proposal tries to meet the objections of House critics of Home Rule. "It changes the automatic federal appropriation from a formula based on unpaid taxes to a percentage of the District budget. It provides for nonpartisan elections and for an elected school board limited in its fiscal authority. It gives the President emergency authority to take over the police department."

Humphrey Urges "Revitalized" Drive

This new campaign to win home rule in the final weeks of the 89th Congress received a push forward from Vice President Hubert Humphrey in a telegram he sent to Senator Morse prior to a meeting of home rule backers. "Please be assured," he declared, "that under President Johnson's leadership I shall continue to work with you so as to enable all the citizens of this great city to enjoy their fullest rights as Americans..."

Please Write Your Senators

Senator Morse proposes to offer his rider shortly after the Senate finishes work on the Civil Rights Act. If the Senate endorses his proposal, it will then be sent to the House which will have its own opportunity to vote home rule up or down.

You can help by writing Senate members now, urging them to vote for the Morse rider.

Major Fight on Rights Bill To Resume After Holiday

LEGISLATION

AC 9/5/66

By ART PINE

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Senate will return from its Labor Day holiday to fight the last major battle over the 1966 civil rights bill.

The controversial measure, passed by the House just four weeks ago, is sure to receive strong opposition from a coalition of Southerners and Republicans.

Almost as soon as the five-part bill is brought up for consideration, it will be faced by a Southern filibuster designed to suffocate it on the Senate floor.

At the head of the filibuster effort will be Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell, the leader of the Southern bloc on civil rights matters and an acknowledged expert on parliamentary procedure.

With him will be 18 other senators from the South, including Georgia's Herman E. Talmadge, himself a veteran of four previous major struggles over civil rights measures.

TWO GOALS

There are two things the Southerners hope to accomplish by the filibuster.

First, they want to prolong debate on the bill until the Senate leadership decides the fight isn't worth continuing—a course that could tie up Congress for weeks.

Russell marshaled the longest filibuster in Senate history in 1964 by holding out for 83 days.

Second, the Southerners want to use the filibuster time to clarify exactly what the bill would do — or, more important, what it would not do—so that if it passed there will be a "legislative history" that would serve to narrow any future court interpretation.

With that in mind, Senate staffers have been busy for weeks gathering material and writing speeches to be used in the filibuster.

Ironically, however, whether the 1966 civil rights bill passes does not depend upon the carefully prepared filibuster effort, or upon the Southerners who mount it.

As everyone from Russell and Talmadge to liberal Republican Sen. Jacob Javits of New York is saying, it all depends upon Everett Dirksen.

The only thing that can stop the Southern filibuster is a successful motion to invoke cloture, a parliamentary device that would limit the time the Senate could spend in debate.

CLOTURE EFFECTED

Once cloture was effected, the bill would have to be brought up for a vote, and in practical terms this would pretty well ensure its passage.

And Dirksen, the Illinois Republican who is Senate minority leader, has the wherewithal to sway the critical GOP votes which could pass or defeat a cloture motion.

The Illinoisan has already said he would not support a cloture motion unless the controversial open-housing provision were stricken from the bill.

But Dirksen said much the same thing about the public accommodations section of the 1964 civil rights bill and later changed his mind, and the Southerners are conspicuously afraid he will reverse course again.

LEGISLATION

Lack of Quorum in Senate Aids Dixie Rights Bill Fight

(same day as Atlanta riots)

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7—The Senate marked time for 62 minutes Wednesday before it could round up enough members to keep it in session so that it could proceed with consideration of the administration's civil rights bill.

It was the second straight day that poor attendance aided the cause of Southern senators who are seeking to kill the measure. All they had to do was sit back and watch the leadership fret.

A quorum call started two minutes after the Senate convened, and 33 minutes later Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., asked for the sergeant at arms to go and bring in absentees.

One by one, members straggled in. Twenty-nine minutes after the sergeant-at-arms went to work, the 51st senator showed up. That made a quorum.

THAT SENATOR was Sen. Ernest Gruening, D.-Alaska, one of the most elderly members.

Once again, as on Tuesday, the Dixie bloc could not really be accused of trying to keep the Senate from operating. Twelve of the 19 members of the Southern caucus answered the quorum call.

But at least one Southerner, Sen. Sam J. Ervin, D-NC, seemed to pull a disappearing act. He was seen in the Capitol shortly before the quorum call, but he did not answer it.

Both of Georgia's senators were present. Numerous Republicans were absent. There seemed still to be no plot to delay the civil rights bill exactly, but the effect was the same, plot or not.

Majority Leader Mansfield, naturally a long faced man, was particularly long-faced Wednesday about chances for passage of the civil rights bill.

"I think the prospects are not good," he said. "It's a matter of votes — you can add them and subtract them."

What they added up to was a combination of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans not big enough to defeat the bill perhaps, but big enough to keep it from ever coming to a vote.

The only way to get it to a vote in the Senate, where debate is unlimited, is to impose cloture, which limits debate. That requires a two-thirds vote. Passage of a bill takes just a simple majority — one more than half.

The Senate opened debate on the House-passed measure Tuesday, although technically the bill hadn't even been called up. Senate rules abound with technicalities, some of which sometimes obscure what's really going on.

For instance, Sen. Ervin technically blocked proponent's efforts three times to get on with the bill:

1. When Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich., asked unanimous consent to call up the measure, Sen. Ervin objected. One objection is all that's needed to block a unanimous consent request.

2. When Sen. Hart later asked Sen. Ervin to yield the floor so he could make a motion to call up the bill, Sen. Ervin refused. That was that.

3. When Sen. Ervin got through with his speech against calling up the bill, he noted the absence of a quorum. It was noticeable, all right. Almost nobody was there. For almost an hour the roll was called, and just 40 senators answered. It takes 51 to make a quorum. Sen. Hart consulted Sen. Mansfield and then asked for a recess until Wednesday. The Senate can't do business without a quorum.

THE MAIN reason a quorum couldn't be obtained was that many senators aren't in town. They left for a long Labor Day weekend and just hadn't come back.

All this maneuvering Tuesday made the Southerners look good and the proponents of the civil rights bill look sad. But it is all part of the way they play the game in the Senate, and the fact was that, technicalities or not, the debate was under way.

In fact, Sen. Hart, Sen. Ervin, Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., and Chairman James O. Eastland, D-Miss., of the Senate Judiciary Committee made speeches pro and con.

Sen. Ervin introduced 53 amendments. Sen. Eastland introduced 48 more. Sen. Hart offered some, too, mainly to meet objections of some federal judges to the bill's jury selection provisions.

SEN. RICHARD B. Russell, D-Ga., leader of the Southern bloc, was on hand Tuesday, but didn't enter into the debate. He consulted from time to time with Sen. Ervin on strategy.

The early recess Tuesday because of a lack of a quorum was an unexpected bonus for the Southerners.

The fact that it wasn't a premeditated delaying device is evidenced by 10 Southerners answering the quorum call. Sen. Russell and Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., were among them.

If the Dixie bloc had been deliberately trying to force Senate adjournment for lack of a quorum, more of its members would have made themselves scarce.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NEW TEETH ARRIVES— HE'S JUST 74

MANZANARES, Spain, Sept. 7 (UPI)—Angel Novillo Torres is reported to have received a novel present for his 74th birthday—a bright, new molar that broke through his toothless gums.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Nondenomination Campus Group Is Formed

CHICAGO (AP)—A new religious national campus organization which lists Protestant, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox students as members was formed here Tuesday night.

Delegates to the annual meeting of the Protestant-oriented National Student Christian Federation voted their organization out of existence. They joined leaders of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox national campus organizations in forming the University Christian Movement.

Catholic organizations joining the new group were the National Federation of Catholic College Students, representing lay students at Catholic colleges and universities; and the National Newman Student Federation, representing Catholic students on secular campuses.

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York

DAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1966

DEBATE ON RIGHTS IS DELAYED AGAIN; MANSFIELD ANGRY

LEGISLATION

Quorum Lacking for 2d Day —Senate Leader Terms Conduct 'Disgraceful'

9/8/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 — For the second consecutive day the Senate failed today to muster enough members to begin conducting business on the Administration's civil rights and the majority leader, Mike Mansfield, termed its conduct "disgraceful."

The Montana Democrat said the Senate's inactivity "takes away from its dignity and decorum," adding:

"I think it's a disgraceful exhibition of doing nothing."

Mr. Mansfield, clearly gloomy over the bill's prospects, addressed himself to a small group of newsmen in his office after the Senate had finally recessed in mid-afternoon for lack of a quorum.

He refused to place the resposibility for the Senate's slow start entirely on Republican and Southern opponents of the measure.

Election Race Noted

"There's enough blame to go around on both sides," he said, noting that the desire to return home to campaign for the November elections had kept members on both sides of the aisle from performing their Senate duties.

Earlier in the day, it had appeared likely that the Senate might come to grips with the bill. A bare quorum of 51 members—the minimum needed to do business—was mustered an hour and a quarter after the opening bell rang at noon. At 2 P.M., Senator Philip A. Hart, Michigan Democrat who is floor manager of the bill, was able to make a formal motion to call up the measure for Senate consideration.

This motion in itself was vulnerable to endless debate, and both John G. Tower, Texas Republican, and Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the minority leader, had speeches ready. Both oppose the bill.

The Senate immediately turned to other matters, most of them routine except for the House-Senate conference report on the $3.5-billion foreign aid bill. The bill passed by a 35-to-25 margin, indicating that 58 members were present.

At this point, however, the quorum began to disintegrate as if in anticipation of a debate over Mr. Hart's motion. The Southerners who had been present for the foreign aid vote left in droves and Mr. Tower asked for a new quorum call.

Endless roll-calls and frantic attempts by the sergeant-at-arms to find missing members failed to produce more than 47 —four short of a quorum. Mr. Hart gave up and moved to recess until tomorrow.

Mr. Dirksen, who waited

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DEBATE ON RIGHTS IS DELAYED AGAIN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

slightly more than an hour while the search went on, was asked to explain the elusiveness of his colleagues.

"A cyclonic enthusiasm for something other than this bill," he replied.

Mr. Dirksen is regarded by the Administration, Mr. Mansfield and nearly everyone else as the key to the bill's success or failure. BBut he gave no indication today that he had wavered in his apparently unalterable opposition to Title IV of the bill.

This section, which Mr. Dirksen has denounced as unconstitutional would bar discrimination in the sale or rental of units in large apartments as well as new housing, but would exempt individual homeowners, boarding houses and apartments of four units or fewer.

These exemptions, written into the original Administration proposal by the House, would leave nearly 60 per cent of the nation's existing housing uncovered by the antidiscrimination provisions. The orginal proposal would have banned discrimination in all housing.

Democratic leaders have frankly admitted that without Mr. Dirksen's help it will be imposisble to impose closure—that is, shut off an expected Southern filibuster.

At present, opponents of the bill pan to filibuster against it in two separate stages. First, they plan to talk against Mr. Hart's motion to call up the measure for discussion. If this filibuster is broken—which requires the votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting —then they will begin another round of talks aimed at delaying a vote on the bill itself.

However, as Mr. Manfield acknowledged unhappily, neither tactic is necessary as long as the Senate cannot muster a quorum, simply because no substantive business can be transacted without enough members on the floor. In effect, therefore, the absence of a quorum is just as useful to opponents as a filibuster—perhaps more so, since they need not wear out their legs and lungs by standing and talking.

The ultimate objective of this maneuvering is to keep the Senate in session so long that the bill's proponents finally grow weary and drop the measure to be able to get back home in time to campaign for the November elections.

There is always the chance, however, that the Democratic leadership will call a post-election session of Congress to deal with unfinished business. Mr. Mansfield raised this prospect when talking with newsmen this morning.

"I'm going to try and adjourn by the 15th of October," he said, "and stay out the rest of the year." However, he added, he might be forced to call members back after the Nov. 8 elections.

"It's a possibility," he said. "But I hope it does not become necessary."

The bill that Mr. Hart is trying to bring before the Senate was passed by the House Aug. 9. In addition to the housing section, it would also bar discrimination in the selection of state and Federal court juries.

Peking Says Crops Increase

HONG KONG, Thursday, Sept. 8 (Reuters)—Communist China has gathered increased harvest of rice, wheat, corn and millet this summer, the Peking radio said today.

DEBATE ON RIGHTS BEGINS IN SENATE

LEGISLATION

Southerners Open Filibuster After Delay Over Lack of Quorum Is Ended

9/9/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8—The Senate finally mustered enough members today to begin debate on the civil rights bill of 1966. A Southern filibuster, postponed twice by parliamentary procedures, then began in earnest.

The South's opening gun was fired by Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, who denounced the measure as "one of the most vicious, vindictive, politically inspired" bills ever brought before Congress.

Meanwhile, liberal advocates of the bill outside Congress served notice that they would not accept a measure that did not include Title IV, the controversial section barring discrimination in some types of housing.

Oppose Weakening Bill

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an affiliation of more than 100 civil rights, labor, religious and civic groups, sent telegrams to Senate supporters of the bill asking them to fight for the full bill and oppose "weakening amendments."

"A bill without the existing housing provisions would be totally unacceptable to the civil rights movement," the telegrams said in part. "We strongly oppose purchasing closure by

Continued on Page 27, Column 3

Rights Debate Opens in Senate; Southern Filibuster Is Mounted

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

deleting or weakening the housing provisions."

The telegrams were signed by Clarence Mitchell, legislative chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Joseph L. Rauh Jr., a Washington lawyer, on behalf of the conference.

Conference officials indicated that a meeting had been held, and the telegram sent, in response to "rumors" that some Democrats were prepared to agree to a weakened version of the bill in order to shut off what is expected to be a vigorous filibuster by the measure's opponents.

The conference's fears are not entirely baseless. Although the measure's floor manager, Senator Philip A. Hart, Democrat of Michigan, has said that he would resist any attempt to weaken the bill, some liberals are said to feel that the Senate must produce some sort of civil rights measure even if it means deleting the housing provision.

Their reasoning is based, in part, on the belief that, even without the housing section, the bill would represent a respectable contribution to the history of civil rights legislation, especially Titles I, II, and V.

The first two sections would bar discrimination in the selection of Federal and state court juries. Title V would strengthen existing laws against intimidation of Negroes and civil rights workers engaged in constitutionally protected activities.

Any agreement among the Democrats to permit such a weakening of the bill would represent a victory for Senato Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader. Mr. Dirksen has said he is adamantly opposed to the housing section and will not support closure as long as that section is part of the bill.

For their part, Democratic leaders have acknowledged that without Mr. Dirksen's help it will be impossible to impose closure — that is, shut off the filibuster.

It will take the votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to shut off debate. The Democratic leadership estimates that it now has 53 to 57 votes, including several Republicans who would vote for closure regardless of what Mr. Dirksen did.

Mr. Dirksen, therefore, is seen as the key to obtaining the rest. Proponents of the bill would need 67 votes if all 100 senators were present.

Technically, the filibuster that began today with Mr. Thurmond's speech was directed not against the bill itself but against a motion made by Mr. Hart yesterday to make the bill the pending business before the Senate. Under Senate rules, a motion to call up a particular measure for debate is itself subject to endless discussion.

However, the mere fact that discussion on the Hart motion began represented a marginal triumph for the Democratic leadership. Twice before this week the Senate was forced to quit when not enough Senators responded to quorum calls to fill out the necessary majority of 51 members and permit debate to begin.

Even today it was not an easy matter to find the required members. The first quorum call took 55 minutes and the second a little over an hour. The absentees included not only Southern Democrats but also a few Northern liberals who have traditionally been among the first to appear when a civil rights issue is at stake.

Both New York Senators, Jacob K Javits, a Republican, and Robert F. Kennedy, a Democrat, were absent. However, both were attending important political conventions in their own state and had been given full permission by the leadership to leave town.

Mr. Thurmond was the opposition's only speaker. After he began, the chamber emptied quickly. A former Democrat turned Republican in 1964, Mr. Thurmond holds the Senate filibuster record, 24 hours 18 minutes, with a speech delivered in 1957.

Today he spoke for only an hour, attacking the bill as "a frontal assault on the Constitution."

Rights Bill Slips Closer to Grave

LEGISLATION

AC 9/10/66

By ART PINE

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Southern senators opposed to the 1966 Civil Rights Bill agreed not to demand another time-wasting quorum call Friday, but their charity was foiled by an irate Yankee.

As a result, the Senate spent two and a quarter hours trying to round up a quorum, failed for the fourth day in a row, and adjourned early, leaving the Civil Rights Bill that much closer to the grave.

The Southerners, anxious to begin making speeches after almost a week of quorum calls, had made a gentlemen's agreement with the House Leadership Friday not to use the parliamentary device.

REQUESTS CALL

Louisiana Sen. Allen J. Ellender routinely requested a quorum call early Friday afternoon, but only to give Sen. James O. Eastland D-Miss., time to get to the chamber to make a speech.

Ellender fully intended to ask the Senate to rescind his motion after Eastland made it to the floor — a frequent practice in such a situation.

But when he did, Delaware Republican John R. Williams objected, forcing the leadership to go ahead with the quorum call.

At 2:55 p.m., after only 48 senators showed up, the Senate adjourned. Fifty-one are needed to fill a quorum.

ANTI INFLATION

Williams, ranking minority member of the Senate Finance Committee, reportedly was miffed because President Johnson had neglected to tip him off in advance about the anti-inflation announcement the Administration made Thursday.

In the middle of a speech attacking the Johnson proposals, Williams asked unanimous consent for more time. But Sen.

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

New Rights Bill Nudged Closer To Grave

Continued from Page 1

William Proxmire D.-Wisc., objected.

Furious, Williams later objected to Ellender's request to rescind the quorum call.

For the Southerners, who had turned out en masse to honor their agreement with the leadership, the only disappointment was that Eastland never got to make his speech against the Civil Rights Bill.

But none of them was complaining: even the proponents of the controversial measure now seem in agreement that it is near death.

A Northern senator, one of the sponsors of the bill, was asked whether it was accurate to say that the measure was, in effect, dead.

"I guess you're safe to take that tack if you want to," he said sadly.

The only optimistic note came in a statement issued by White House Press Secretary Bill Moyers. It read:

"We have received no word that the bill is dead, and we're not going to give up on the hope or the effort to get the bill passed."

Senate leaders generally have attributed the failure to satisfy quorum calls to a lack of interest in the bill.

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DIRKSEN REFUSES RIGHTS BILL SHIFT

LEGISLATION

Says Neither Johnson Nor Senate Can Change His Mind

9/14/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen declared today that neither President Johnson nor a majority of his Senate colleagues could persuade him to reverse his opposition to the Administration's civil rights bill.

"I know nobody under the canopy of the bright blue sky who can say anything to change my mind," the Illinois Republican declared.

Accordingly, the prospects for shutting off a filibuster against the bill remained bleak. So did the prospects for Senate approval of any civil rights legislation in this session of Congress.

Criticism Is Widespread

Sensing, perhaps, that the bill's death was near, each side began criticizing the other. The Democrats sought to place responsibility on Mr. Dirksen. Liberal Republicans argued that Mr. Dirksen did not speak for all Republicans, and thus any effort to tar the party was unfair.

At least one Republican Senator—Robert P. Griffin of Michigan—suggested that much of the fault rested with Mr. Johnson for failing to put more White House pressure on the Senate.

A showdown vote on the bill is scheduled for tomorrow evening. Technically, the Senate will not be voting on the merits of the measure itself. Instead, it will be asked to decide the procedural question of whether to cut off debate on a motion to make the bill the pending business before the Senate.

A Test of Sentiment

But the bill's backers have made it clear that they regard the vote as a test of sentiment on the measure itself.

It will take the votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to impose closure—that is, close off debate on the motion. If all 100 Senators were present, 67 votes would be required.

There are likely to be fewer than 100 on the floor. Senator E. L. Bartlett, Alaska Democrat, has been ill, and several Senators have been traveling in Europe. Therefore a vote in the range of 64 to 66 might be enough.

However, Democratic leaders have long acknowledged that

effort to tar the party was unfair.

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However, Democratic leaders have long acknowledged that without Mr. Dirksen's help they can get no more than 55 to 60 votes, and even these estimates are regarded in some quarters as excessively optimistic.

Housing Section Opposed

Mr. Dirsken's strongest opposition is to Title IV of the bill, which would ban discrimination in new housing developments and large apartments, but would specifically exempt about 60 per cent of the nation's housing, including most existing private homes. He has said he believes the provision is unconstitutional.

Other major sections of the bill would ban discrimination in the selection of jurors in state and Federal courts and would broaden Federal laws against violence or intimidation directed at Negroes and civil rights workers engaged in constitutionally protected activities. Mr. Dirksen, supported by many of his colleagues and a number of judges, has also criticized the jury provisions.

The majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, has indicated that he might try for a second closure vote if proponents obtain a simple majority tomorrow. But unless there is a sizable majority, according to sources on Capitol Hill, Mr. Mansfield and his lieutenants are not likely to make anything more than a routine effort to try to round up enough votes to impose closure the second time. And at this juncture the margin appears slim.

Some liberals had hoped that a majority vote would also make Mr. Dirksen more amenable to negotiation, on the ground that he might find it difficult to persist in his opposition when a majority of his colleagues had expressed interest in continuing discussion on the bill.

But Mr. Dirksen dashed these hopes at a news conference in the Senate press gallery.

Asked Two Questions

The minority leader was asked whether he would interpret a majority vote against closure as a legitimate expression of majority sentiment for the measure itself. He was also asked whether such a vote would change his views in any way.

He replied to both questions with a firm "no." Elaborating, he suggested that some Senators who might vote to shut off debate tomorrow would not vote for the bill itself if they understood its implications.

"Some of them don't know what's in the bill," he said.

Earlier, he had been asked whether there was anything the President could do or say to change his mind.

"Exactly, precisely nothing," Mr. Dirksen replied.

The President told reporters last night that the success of the measure depended on Mr. Dirksen, adding his hope that the minority leader would change his mind.

Senator Frank J. Lausche, Ohio Democrat who opposes the bill, charged on the Senate floor today that Mr. Johnson and the Democrats were trying to scare Mr. Dirksen into changing his mind. But the colorful minority leader, who was in a good mood despite the enormous public pressure placed on him, declared that he was not easily intimidated.

"I quit scaring when I was in the trenches, with a tin derby on my head and a gas mask on my snoot," the Senator said, apparently alluding to service in World War I.

Holds Out Little Hope

Mr. Dirksen refused to declare the bill dead. "There's something so absolute about that word 'dead,'" he said. But he held out little hope for the measure, and he agreed that it would "depend on the size of the majority" tomorrow whether the leadership presses for a second closure vote or abandons the bill altogether to begin work on other pending legislation.

The Illinois Republican said he did not think his stand was impairing the election chances of Republican candidates.

"It ain't hurting," he said.

LEGISLATION

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

No, No, 1,000 Times No, Dirksen Says of Housing Bill

AC 9/14/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senate minority leader Everett McKinley Dirksen sat on a small wooden table in the Senate press gallery Tuesday afternoon and sang, "No, No, a Thousand Times No."

Sen. Dirksen

It was a rather throaty, near-monotone performance, but it got the point across:

In spite of the criticism from President Lyndon B. Johnson Monday night, the Illinois Republican still has not changed his tune about opposing the 1966 civil rights bill.

Dirksen's position will be crucial Wednesday afternoon when the bill faces its first real test—a vote on a motion to invoke cloture and limit the Southern filibuster.

According to Senate rules, it will take the affirmative vote of two thirds of the senators present Wednesday to cut off debate on a motion to bring the bill to the floor.

CAN BLOCK CLOTURE

But Dirksen, speaking for those senators opposed to the civil rights bill, said simply: "We have the votes (to block cloture)."

The Republican leader, who first opposed the civil rights bill of 1964 and then reversed his position, said there was no chance that he would switch his stand again this year.

"There was a lot more work done on the 1964 bill," Dirksen said, noting that the Southern filibuster this year barely had time to get started.

Nor would the minority leader simply sign the House-passed bill on condition that it would be changed later in a Senate-House conference committee.

HUMPHREY NAMED

Dirksen pointed out that Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, as presiding officer of the Senate, would have the authority to appoint the Senate members of the conference committee if he wanted.

If that happened, Dirksen said, "there would be fuss and feathers galore and you would smell burning feathers from here to Alexandria, Va."

While Dirksen exchanged witicisms with reporters, south- said. "The day cloture can be invoked so cavalierly upon a minority by a majority will be the day we turn our backs on extended debate, our greatest bulwark against legislative tyranny."

Senate majority leader, Sen. Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., has said he will shelve the bill, probably by the end of the week, if sponsors cannot muster at least a majority for cloture.

Meanwhile, Sen. Phillip A. Hart, D-Mich., is still predicting he will be able to produce a two-thirds vote for cloture.

Hart is one of 17 Northern and midwestern senators who signed a petition to invoke cloture Monday, automatically requiring the Wednesday vote. Another four senators added their names later.

So far, the filibuster has been an easy one for a bloc of 18 Southerners opposed to the measure, led by Georgia Sen. Richard B. Russell.

Russell and Georgia Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, who worked weeks in preparation for the filibuster effort, spent most of last week behind the scenes while sponsors of the bill looked for enough senators to satisfy continual Southern demands for a quorum.

RIGHTS BILL DIES AS CLOSURE FAILS

LEGISLATION

Second Senate Move to End Filibuster Loses, 52 to 41 —Housing Key Issue

9/20/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 — The Senate killed today all hopes for fair-housing legislation in this session of Congress when it refused, for the second time in less than a week, to shut off debate on the Administration's civil-rights bill.

The votes was 52 to 41—10 short of the two-thirds majority required to end a filibuster. The first attempt to end debate last Wednesday fell short by the same margin.

[Civil rights leaders were critical of the Senate's failure to enact the measure. They described the action as a surrender to wrong, a blow to American Negroes and an incitement to racial trouble.]

Following the vote, and after some complex parliamentary maneuvering, the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, finally withdrew the measure from Senate consideration.

Will Automatically Die

This means that the bill will automatically die when Congress adjourns, even though it was passed by the House last month. It also means that if President Johnson wants a bill he will have to submit it again next year and be prepared to go through the entire legislative process in both houses of Congress.

Each side of the issue promptly tried to affix blame for the measure's defeat on the other. But in an eloquent and conciliatory speech following the vote, Mr. Mansfield declared:

"Whatever blame there is attaches to us all."

However, Mr. Mansfield singled out for special attention "demagogues" on both sides of

Continued on Page 35, Column 3

RIGHTS BILL DIES AS CLOSURE FAILS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

the civil rights struggle. He sugsested that by their actions and attitudes they not only had "contributed nothing to the nation's most agonizing ier difficulties" but also had "stimulated situations which have made it difficult for legislature to be considered on an impartial and unemotional basis."

In an apparent reference to Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, an outspoken advocate of "black power," Mr. Mansfield condemned "those who, in the name of racial equality or perhaps more accurately in the name of a new racial superiority, have not advocated further civil rights legislation, but, in fact, have actively spoken and fought against measures such as the Administration has been trying to have enacted."

Opposition Made Public

Mr. Carmichael has publicly announced his opposition to the civil rights bill. He has said that he believes it is too weak and too limited to insure Negroes decent housing.

The bill, as passed by the House, would have barred discrimination in the sale or rental of units in large apartment buildings and new housing developments. The Administration originally intended to outlaw discrimination in all housing, but, as amended by the House, the measure would specifically exempt about 60 per cent of the nation's housing, including nearly all private homes, apartments with four units or fewer and boarding houses.

Other major provisions of the bill would have prevented discrimination in the selection of juries in Federal and state courts, and broadened existing Federal laws against the intimidation, harrassment or personal injury to civil rights workers engaged in constitutionally protected activities.

Mr. Mansfield's address was as much a warning as an appeal for peace and reason in racial matters. He said that if the prospects for passage of a civil rights bill next year "are to be improved, the question of rioting, marches, shootings and inflammatory statements which have characterized this simmering summer of 1966 in urban areas of the nation will have to be faced frankly and bluntly."

Extremists Are Warned

White extremists, the Senator went on, have no more "patience with the processes of the law" than black extremists. He accused them of "vicious demagoguery, and rioting, and violence against minorities," and urged them to remember that even though the 1966 bill had failed there were plenty of "civil rights bills on the books," that must be obeyed.

"They will stay there," he said. "They will not be withdrawn. They will not be reconsidered. They will not be ignored. The law is the law."

There was no immediate indication from the White House whether Mr. Johnson would send up a similar bill next year, but the assumption generally shared here was that he would. The bill's floor manager, Philip A. Hart, Michigan Democrat who fought long and hard for what appeared from the beginning to be a futile enterprise, promised another attempt. He said that a majority of the Senate clearly favored it.

"I interpret the 54 votes for closure as a vote for the 1966 Civil Rights bills," Mr. Hart said.

Last Wednesday's vote for closure was 54 to 42, also 10 votes short of the two-thirds required. Today's 52-to-41 margin resulted from a slightly different alignment of absentees.

The chief Republican proponent, Jacob K. Javits of New York, echoed Mr. Hart's sentiment.

"The civil rights advocates may have lost a battle, but I am deeply determined, and I think all of us are, that we will win the war."

Lackluster Oratory

The vote ended a two-week filibuster distinguished mainly by lackluster Southern oratory against the bill and Senate apathy that on occasion, made the oratory unnecessary. Four times during the debate the chamber was forced to adjourn or recess for lack of quorum—that is, there were not enough members on hand to conduct business. This meant that foes of the bill were able to achieve delay without a rigorous filibuster.

The vote also ended a long series of legislative successes for civil rights advocates dating to the civil rights bill of 1957.

Many reasons have been put forth for the defeat of this year's bill, and all were resurrected after today's climatic roll-call. One immediate target was Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican minority leader who made his opposition to the open occupancy section of the bill clear early and stuck to his position despite appeals from some fellow Republicans and the White House.

Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and who helped shepherd the bill through the House, said the failure was "the responsibility of the Republican leadership."

However, Mr. Javits and Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania Republican, insisted that neither Mr. Dirksen nor the Republicans should shoulder the blame. And Mr. Mansfield declared that the minority leader had "acted from conscience" and might not have been able to swing enough votes for closure even if he had changed his mind and agreed to support the bill.

Forty-two Democrats and 10 Republicans backed today's closure petition. Twenty-one Democrats and 20 Republicans opposed it. Those who hold Mr. Dirksen responsible believe that he controlled enough votes to make closure possible had he decided to use them.

Reaction Here Critical

The executive directors of the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reacted sharply yesterday to the death of the civil rights bill, and warned that its fate would heighten racial tension.

Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P., in a statement issued here, said:

"The Government is going to have to decide either to enact an open housing policy or to endorse by its inaction the unconscionable deprivation and the explosive threat of the racial slums."

Whitney M. Young Jr. of the Urban League said:

"It is tragic that Congress has not responded favorably to the desperately needed civil rights bill. Negro citizens continue to be hurt by flagrant discriminatory practices and violation of their rights as human beings. Today's action can only serve to worsen an already serious racial crisis."

Tear Gas Used to Disperse Rioting Students in Panama

PANAMA CITY, Sept. 19 (UPI) — National Guardsmen fired a tear gas barrage today to break up a riotous street demonstration by 1,000 rock-throwing high school students.

The demonstration was held to protest alleged Government repressive measures and to seek the release from jail of a dozen student leaders and better schools and educational materials.

The demonstration was called in defiance of a Government ban and the students marched through downtown Panama City to the Education Ministry when a small mob started shouting "to the firing wall" for President Marco A. Robles and the head of the national guard, the riot squads went into action.

RIGHTS LEADERS REACT BITTERLY

LEGISLATION

Denounce Vote in Senate as Incitement to Turmoil

9/20/66 NYT

Civil rights leaders denounced yesterday the Senate's failure to pass the 1966 civil rights bill as a surrender to wrong, a blow to American Negroes and an incitement to racial turmoil.

It "can only serve to worsen an already serious racial crisis," said Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

"It is tragic that Congress has not responded favorably to this desperately needed civil rights bill," Mr. Young said.

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the outcome showed a "trend of the Congress as well as the Administration to sell black Americans down the river of political expediency."

He criticized President Johnson, contending that he had failed "to supply strong and dynamic leadership" for the bill.

He said this, and the failure to muster enough votes for closure, indicates "the climate of racism prevailing in this country at this time."

The bill died for lack of votes to cut off a filibuster

Dr. King is Critical

"It surely heralds darker days for this social era of discontent," said the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., of Atlanta.

"The executioners of the 1966 civil rights bill have given valuable assistance to those forces in the Negro communities who counsel violence.

"Although I will continue to preach with all my might the moral rightness of nonviolence, my words now are bound to fall on more deaf ears."

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Associa-

9/20/66 NYT

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"Although I will continue to preach with all my might the moral rightness of nonviolence, my words now are bound to fall on more deaf ears."

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, "led the axmen who killed" the bill, but had help from others in both parties.

"The problem is not going away," he said. "The Negro is not going away.

"The Government of the United States is going to have to decide either to enact an open housing policy or to endorse by its inaction the unconscionable deprivation and the explosive threat of the racial slums."

"Ducking quorums, staging filibusters and intoning opinions on constitutionality will not lay the Ghost of the grievous wrongs."

The Rev. Samuel B. Williams, president of the Atlanta chapter of the N.A.A.C.P., said open housing "is basic to the whole question of human rights," but the Senate has dodged responsibility on the issue, he said.

Should 'Lead the Nation'

He said legislators should "lead the nation before some violent outburst would disgrace us and then we would be forced to take action which in good conscience we already should have done," and added:

"Right cannot capitulate to wrong but I think the United States has capitulated. I had hoped that Mr. Dirksen would have gone to the mourners bench and become converted but this has not happened."

Dr. King also criticized Mr. Dirksen, noting that the Senator fought for civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965, but the new act "would have affected him in his own Northern backyard and this was indeed too close to home."

"More succinctly, Senator Dirksen has engaged in sheer hypocrisy," he said.

Besides the housing section, he said, Mr. Dirksen and his colleagues also killed the section that would bar discrimination on Federal and state juries.

"This will serve to deepen the frustrations and despair of Southern Negroes who over the years have been victimized by whites," Dr. King said.

Mr. Wilkins said the Government still must decide "whether it will remove racialism from jury selection and protect those who, as in Grenada, Miss., seek to exercise their citizenship rights."

"We will be back in this or another Congress," Mr. Wilkins said, "because the issues will still be there, although some of the men may not."

He obviously referred to the coming Congressional elections.

LEGISLATION

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

September 21, 1966

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

HOW THE SENATE VOTED ON CIVIL RIGHTS CLOTURE AND MINIMUM WAGE

Minimum Wage

Rollcall Vote in Senate On Minimum Wage Bill

The Senate on Sept. 14 approved the conference report on minimum wage improvements, thus clearing the bill for the President's signature.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the bill and urged all Senators to vote to approve the conference report. The vote for approval was 55-38.

FOR APPROVAL

Democrats 45

Anderson (N.M.)	Hart (Mich)	Morse (Oreg.)
Bass (Tenn.)	Hartke (Ind.)	Moss (Utah)
Bayh (Ind.)	Inouye (Hawaii)	Muskie (Maine)
Bible (Nev.)	Jackson (Wash.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Brewster (Md.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Neuberger (Oreg.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Kennedy (N.Y.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Long (Mo.)	Pell (R.I.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mansfield (Mont.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Church (Idaho)	McCarthy (Minn.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Clark (Pa.)	McGovern (S.D.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Dodd (Conn.)	McIntyre (N.H.)	Symington (Mo.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Metcalf (Mont.)	Tydings (Md.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Mondale (Minn.)	Williams (N.J.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Monroney (Okla.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Harris (Okla.)	Montoya (N.M.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans 10

Boggs (Del.)	Fong (Hawaii)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N.J.)	Griffin (Mich.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Javits (N.Y.)	Scott (Pa.)
		Smith (Maine)

AGAINST APPROVAL

Republicans 23

Aiken (Vt.)	Fannin (Ariz.)	Pearson (Kans.)
Allott (Colo.)	Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Prouty (Vt.)
Bennett (Utah)	Hruska (Neb.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Carlson (Kans.)	Jordan (Idaho)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Miller (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Morton (Ky.)	Williams (Del.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Mundt (S.D.)	Young (N.D.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Murphy (Calif.)	

Democrats 15

Byrd (Va.)	Hill (Ala.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Holland (Fla.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Ellender (La.)	Jordan (N.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Lausche (Ohio)	Stennis (Miss.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	McClellan (Ark.)	Talmadge (Ga.)

Paired For: McGee (D-Wyo.), Magnuson (D-Wash.)
Paired Against: Russell, (D-Ga.), Russell (D-S.C.)
Announced For: Bartlett (D-Alaska), Long (D-La.)
Absent and Not Announced: Hayden (D-Ariz.)

First Cloture Vote

Sept. 14

How Senate Voted On Applying Cloture

Associated Press

Following is the vote by which supporters failed yesterday to muster the two-thirds majority required to apply the cloture rule to limit debate on the Civil Rights Bill.

FOR CLOTURE: 54

Democrats for: 42

Anderson (N.M.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Brewster (Md.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (S.D.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N.M.)
Clark (Pa.)	Morse (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Moss (Utah)
Douglas (Ill.)	Muskie (Maine)
Gore (Tenn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Harris (Okla.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pell (R.I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Tydings (Md.)
Long (Mo.)	Williams (N.J.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans for: 12

Aiken (Vt.)	Griffin (Mich.)
Allott (Colo.)	Javitts (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N.J.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Maine)

AGAINST CLOTURE :42

Democrats Against: 21

Bible (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Russell (S.C.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Jordan (N.C.)	

Republicans Against: 21

Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Hruska ((Neb.)	Tower (Tex.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Williams (Del.)
	Young (N.D.)

Second Cloture Vote

Sept. 19

Roll-Call Vote in Senate On Rights Bill Closure

WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which supporters failed today to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to invoke closure to limit debate and force Senate action on the House-passed civil rights bill.

FOR CLOSURE—52

Democrats—42

Bartlett (Alaska)	McGovern (S. D.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Brewster (Md.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Monroe (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N. M.)
Clark (Pa.)	Morse (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Moss (Utah)
Douglas (Ill.)	Muskie (Me.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pell (R. I.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (N. Y.)	Symington (Mo.)
Long (Mo.)	Tydings (Md.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Williams (N. J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McGee (Wyo.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—10

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N. J.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Scott (Pa.)
Griffin (Mich.)	Smith (Me.)

AGAINST CLOSURE—41

Democrats—21

Bible (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	McClellan (Ark)
Cannon (Nev.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Russell (S. C.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Jordan (N. C.)	

Republicans—20

Bennett (Utah)	Morton (Ky.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Tower (Tex.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Williams (Del.)
Miller (Iowa)	Young (N. D.)

Not voting, but announced as paired: Harris (D-Okla.) and Magnuson (D-Wash.) for, and Hayden (D-Ariz.) against; Allott (R-Colo.) and Dominick (R-Colo.) for, and Cooper (R-Ky.) against. (Pairs denote Senators' positions when one or more of them are absent. In this case, two had to be paired against one because of the two-thirds

Not voting or paired, but announced as favoring closure: Anderson (D-N. M.).

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
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MEMO: No. 93
Sept.22, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL STOPPED IN SENATE - BUT MINIMUM WAGE WINS APPROVAL

In the short space of an hour, the Senate last week, in two separate acts, dashed hopes for civil rights legislation this year and raised the hope of economic betterment for millions of Americans.

The occasion was two consecutive votes on the evening of September 14, the first on the adoption of the conference report on minimum wage, the second an attempt to break the filibuster and take up the Civil Rights Act of 1966. The minimum wage report was readily adopted. But the vote on cloture failed. And it failed again five days later. We attach the votes on cloture and minimum wage to this MEMO to show what is readily evident, that the same Senators who support civil rights tend also to support programs for economic and social advancement.

A Grave Defeat

The failure to impose cloture was grievous. It demonstrated once again the tragic inability of the United States Senate to surmount its own rules and let a majority express its will. Enough votes for final passage of the Act were clearly there. But the hope of passage was strangled by the requirement of Rule 22 that two-thirds of those present and voting must agree to limit debate. On September 14, cloture failed by a vote of 54 to 42; on September 19, by a vote of 52 to 41. Faced with the prospect of unlimited debate and a heavy calendar of legislation to dispose of by October 15, its target quitting date, the Senate gave up. In a speech immediately following the second unsuccessful cloture attempt, majority leader Mike Mansfield declared that "Whatever blame there is attaches to us all." While that is true to some extent, the unmistakeable truth is that the one person most responsible is Senator Everett M. Dirksen, the minority leader, who used all of his influence to defeat the bill.

When cloture was needed to break a civil rights filibuster in the two previous years, Senator Dirksen was able to marshal enough votes to supply a margin of victory. This time he brushed aside all efforts at accommodation and the legislation failed.

A Minimum Wage Victory

In spite of Senator Dirksen's bitter opposition, the Senate did approve the conference report on changes in federal minimum wage standards. The law will raise the minimum wage to $1.60 an hour by 1968 for workers already covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and extend coverage to about 8 million new workers including some 390,000 farm workers. This must be counted a victory for the labor, civil rights and religious forces that worked for passage of the law.

It should be noted that the minimum wage report was approved by a vote of 55-to-38 and if Senator Dirksen had chosen to filibuster that, he could have blocked its passage, too.

Leadership Conference Urges Fight to Continue

Like Senator Mansfield, the Leadership Conference was also ready with a statement following the cloture vote. In our reaction to what happened we said:

"The Senate's failure today to vote cloture compels those of us who recognize the crucial importance of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 to the country's welfare to consider other ways of giving Congress a chance to vote on this bill.

"Although there is no question that Senator Dirksen's intransigence and subtle appeals to race prejudice have stopped the bill thus far, little is to be gained from recrimination. We believe the fight for this legislation should go on between now and the November elections and that, if necessary, the President should call Congress back after election in order to keep the issue alive and give the Senate another opportunity to vote.

"The disgraceful performance of delay and equivocation in the Senate demands that the first order of business next year should be a change in Rule 22, the cloture rule, so that a majority, rather than two-thirds, shall be enough to end a filibuster.

"The cloture votes last week and today show what we have always known: that a majority of the Senate is ready to join a majority of the House and pass the Civil Rights Act of 1966. That majority must not be thwarted. The present impasse will only cause millions of Americans to lose faith in the legislative process as the way of obtaining their constitutional rights."

THE LAST REMAINING CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE: HOME RULE FOR D.C.

Congress still has a chance in these final weeks to make a contribution to civil rights. It can vote Home Rule for the District of Columbia and extend the franchise to nearly one million residents of the nation's capital.

Sometime in the next week or so, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon will offer, as a rider to the higher education bill, a proposal for a mayor-city council form of government, similar to the plan the Senate approved earlier this session only to have it stopped in the House.

Senator Morse's proposal will not block the higher education bill. And if it succeeds, it will give Washingtonians the same right to choose their representatives that the rest of the country enjoys.

Please Write Now

Your organization can help the District win its freedom by having your members write or wire their Senators at once, urging them to vote for the Morse Home Rule Rider.

CONGRESS FACING 2 TESTS ON RIGHTS AS BILLS PILE UP

LEGISLATION

Key to Adjournment Tied to Votes on D.C. Home Rule and Model Cities Plan

10/10/66

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 9—The racial issue is likely to flare anew as Congress struggles this week to break up a huge logjam of pending legislation.

The key to adjournment is likely to rest on the outcome of two tests, both involving measures caught up in the growing Congressional unrest over civil rights.

The first test comes tomorrow when the Senate decides whether to go through with a last-ditch effort of providing home rule for the District of Columbia, long the goal of civil rights leaders.

The second test comes later this week when the House acts on President Johnson's top-priority blueprint for upgrading city slums.

This demonstration cities bill, already passed by the Senate, faces real trouble in the House. Some of its backers say gloomily that the Administration does not have the votes to save it.

Ally for Southeners

Lined up in opposition are two formidable blocs, fiscal conservatives seeking to knock out all new domestic programs and segregationists who fear that the new program might speed up integration.

Southerners have found a vocal ally in Representative Paul A. Fino, Republican of the Bronx, who has charged repeatedly in recent weeks that the metropolitan planning section of the demonstration cities bill could be used to force busing of pupils to change racial balances in schools.

The Congressional mood of late has reflected a growing exasperation with racial riots and cries of "black power." Both the Senate and House have recently chipped away in moves curbing school and hospital desegregation guidelines.

Closure Petition

The Senate showdown tomorrow on home rule for the District of Columbia is certain to give some indication of whether there has been a drastic shift in sentiment on racial matters.

The Senate has passed home rule bills six times, the last time just a year ago by a vote of 63 to 29. The House turned down the Senate version last year and passed a measure that was not acceptable to either the Administration or civil rights leaders. It never became law.

Last week, seeking to revive home rule for the predominantly Negro district, Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, of Oregon, moved to attach a home rule rider to the Admin-

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

CONGRESS FACING 2 TESTS ON RIGHTS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

istration's higher education bill.

With Southerners poised to filibuster the home rule rider, Senate leaders quickly moved to cut off debate by filing a closure petition.

This vote to choke off debate will be taken tomorrow afternoon. To pass it would require a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

If the Senate refuses to impose closure, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the majority leader, has promised to move to table the home rule rider, thus killing the proposal for this session.

If, however, the Senate voted to choke off debate and accepted the home rule rider to the House-passed higher education bill, the matter would go to conference.

The Morse maneuver is designed to by-pass the House District Committee, which is hostile to home rule. Representing the House at conference would be home rule sympathizers from the House Education and Labor Committee, where the higher education bill originated.

In addition to the issuer of home rule and demonstration cities, Congress could become bogged down in numerous other issues in these waning days of the session.

House Speaker John W. McCormack of Massachusetts has predicted adjournment on Oct. 22. Senator Mansfield has said that adjournment might come Oct. 20, but he has not ruled out the possibility that Congress might have to return after the elections on Nov. 8.

"By next Saturday, I think we'll have some idea of whether we can finish up the next week," the Senator said today.

LEGISLATION

Bills on Cities, Poverty Aid Clear Senate

By FRANK ELEAZER

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Senate passage of the demonstration cities and $1.75 billon war on poverty measures, coupled with conferees' agreement on two major education bills, pushed Congress Tuesday toward adjournment this week.

Another development was the apparent postponement of action this session on legislation to raise Social Security benefits. Also jettisoned were Sen. Mike Mansfield's resolution calling for a U.S. troop reduction in Europe and various anti-riot proposals.

But a threat to easy adjournment arose when the House wrote into its final money bill a prohibition against using Export - Import Bank funds for sales to any Communist nations. An identical measure delayed the 1963 adjournment drive.

A TOP ITEM

The demonstration cities bill, a top item on President Lyndon B. Johnson's legislative agenda, was approved by the Senate, 38 to 22. The bill, aimed at converting riot-torn ghettos into model urban centers, went to the House.

The Senate, by voice vote, also passed and sent to the House a compromise version of the $1.75 billion authorization for the war on poverty.

The agreement by Senate-House negotiators on the two education measures was a giant step toward sending the lawmakers home, possibly as early as Thursday and no later than Saturday.

OKAY SCHOOL AID

They first approved a two-year, $6.1 billion aid measure for elementary and secondary schools, and later agreed on a $4 billion college aid bill for construction of classrooms, libraries and other facilities.

The two compromise education bills still have to clear both the House and Senate. Other measures requiring action were Johnson's anti-inflation tax bill and labor-welfare appropriations.

MOVE SWIFTLY

Moving swiftly on voice votes, the Senate also approved and sent to the White House Tuesday bills providing for a $145 million one-year extension of public health services aid, a $27.9 million Indiana Dunes national lakeshore park and a permanent disaster relief program.

The Social Security proposals, sponsored by both Republicans and Democrats to raise benefits 8 to 10 per cent on Jan. 1, was one of several measures that went into limbo in the drive for adjournment.

LEGISLATION

JAVITS DEFEATED IN HOUSING FIGHT

Yields in Bid for Time Limit on Rights Bill Discussion

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 3 — Senator Jacob K. Javits yielded to overwhelming opposition today and gave up his effort to place a time limit on committee consideration of the Administration's civil rights bill.

In announcing his decision on the Senate floor, the New York Republican said President Johnson had made a "great mistake" by including open housing legislation in the bill when almost the same result could have been achieved by executive order.

"It must be made crystal clear," Senator Javits said, "that the Administration is inviting a bitter civil rights fight which could have been avoided if it had open extend antidiscrimination to 80 per cent of housing."

Having chosen the legislative [illegible] the Administration "will have to deliver" or be subject to charges of insincerity.

Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Senate minority leader, has joined Southern Democrats in branding the housing legislation unconstitutional. In the past, the Illinois Republican has supported the Administration in achieving passage of important civil rights measures.

Senator Javits said he could not agree with Senator Dirksen's contention that the sale and rental of housing had no connection with the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution.

"Housing is an interstate industry," Mr. Javits said. But he added that the constitutional question could have been avoided had the Administration extended an executive order issued by President Kennedy in 1962.

That order applies only to housing built under Government guaranteed loans. Civil rights groups have for some time asked that it be extended to housing financed by conventional loans. The Administration has said this would raise serious legal problems and would not be so effective as a law covering the sale or rental of all housing.

Hearings Open Today

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., chairman of a Judiciary subcommittee that will consider the bill, indicated that he would be in no hurry to report it out. In the absence of the time limit sought by Senator Javits, the Senate is expected to await House action and then, if necessary, bypass the Judiciary Committee.

Senator Mike Mansfield, the majority leader, who had joined Mr. Dirksen in opposing the time limit, said that when a bill was received from the House "all parliamentary options will be held open."

The House Judiciary Committee headed by Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, will open hearings on the bill tomorrow. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach is scheduled to be the first witness.

In addition to the housing provision, the Civil Rights Act of 1966 would ban racial discrimination on state and Federal juries, strengthen Federal laws against intimidating or harming persons engaged in the exercise of their constitutional rights and permit the Attorney General to file lawsuits against school segregation without having received a complaint.

These provisions are appliable primarily in the South and are expected to win approval in both houses. But today's preliminary debate in the Senate pointed up the extreme difficulty facing the section on housing.

Senator Ervin reviewed his unswerving opposition to civil rights legislation and added:

"My sadness is not quite as deep this time because we now have a civil rights bill that will have an effect somewhere except on poor sinful Southerners. It will be interesting to see how others act when their ox is being gored."

LEGISLATION

Dixie Congressmen Ignore Rights Bill for Time Being

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Southern members of the House of Representatives have decided to ignore the 1966 Civil Rights Bill for the time being, hoping it will go away.

The stategy, formulated at a meeting of congressmen from the South, is the reason behind the absence of southern protest during hearings on the bill before a House Jusdiciary Subcommittee.

Southern Congressmen in the past have flocked to the hearings to voice vigorous opposition to civil rights legislation.

Only one southern lawmaker testified against this year's bill submitted to Congress by President Lyndon B. Johnson. He did so with approval of the others.

Rep. Howard W. Smith D-Va., chairman of the Rules Committee, served as leader of the southern meeting to plan stategy against the civil rights bill, congressmen reported.

Southern congressmen usually do not form into a tightly knit group to oppose a civil rights bill since a filibuster is not allowed in the House.

However, reports are that the southern group in the House this year has taken on a resemblance to the Senate block — headed by Sen. Richard B. Russell—on civil rights legislation.

Congressmen, who admitted there was a southern meeting, did not say how many of the 115 lawmakers from 11 states in the South attended, but a consensus was reached on ignoring the bill during the subcommittee hearing.

Some southern congressmen, who said they did not attend the meeting, reported a consensus was reached not to oppose the bill at the hearing.

The idea was to prevent southern opposition from becoming the dominant force against this year's bill.

The congressmen feared if they raised the usual cry against the bill, proponents might use them as a "whipping boy" to build support for the legislation.

The southerners also hope that some other groups, particularly in the housing field, would put up strong opposition to the proposed legislation on open occupancy in housing, jury selection, civil rights crimes, and school desegregation.

Some leaders in the housing business did oppose the bill at the hearings, but others supported the open occupancy section.

The southerners, holding their criticism of the bill all through the subcommittee hearing this week, hope that the legislation can be bottled in the House Judiciary Committee.

STATEMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE SUPPORTING THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL AND THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights gives its wholehearted endorsement to S.2388, the Economic Opportunity Act, as reported by the Senate Labor Committee, and particular endorsement to the Clark-Javits amendment establishing the Emergency Employment Act of 1967.

These proposals, together, would bring us significantly closer to the goal of the Conference, "an integrated, democratic, plural society in which every individual is accorded equal rights, equal opportunities and equal justice..." In our statement of purpose we recognize that civil rights cannot be considered in any narrow sense but must also mean "the realization of social and economic conditions in which alone the fulfillment of these rights is possible." The proposals that will be before the Senate shortly will help create the necessary conditions.

One of the most pressing concerns of our urban and rural poor is decent jobs. Without them, the rights that the Leadership Conference has fought to advance for nearly two decades can be virtually meaningless. President John F. Kennedy put it vividly when he said, "No one gains by being admitted to a lunch counter if he has no money to spend...No one thinks much of the right to own a good home and to sleep in a good hotel or go to a theater if he has no money and no work..."

In his Poverty Message to Congress this year, President Johnson observed that while many Americans have found employment during the three years of the War on Poverty, "economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not reached thousands of men and women who live in the nation's slums."

The Clark-Javits Emergency Employment Act with its immediate promise of 200,000 new jobs the first year and 300,000 jobs the year after that, would begin to move thousands of the unemployed and unskilled poor into a position where they can become functioning members of American society, able to enjoy their constitutional rights.

The battle cry of the Civil Rights Movement in the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, was "Jobs and Freedom." The 112 national civil rights, religious, labor and civic organizations in the Conference believe we can help make that cry a reality by urging all members of Congress to vote for the Economic Opportunity Act in the form in which it is now before the Senate of the United States.

xxxxxxxx

adopted by Washington Representatives
September 15, 1967

agency file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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AN EMERGENCY NOTE

MEMO NO. 18-67
September 22, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MAIL CAN HELP PASS A GOOD ANTI-POVERTY BILL

The Senate may already be debating the Anti-Poverty Bill (S.2388) as you read this MEMO. However, actual voting on its various sections is not scheduled to start until at least September 26th, and may continue for several days.

That gives us some time in which to act.

We urge all of our organizations and individual supporters to redouble their efforts. Let Senators hear from you. This is another moment in which a flood of messages can make the difference between half-hearted legislation and a meaningful bill.

What To Say

In all messages, we suggest Senators should be urged to do three things:

1. Support the Clark-Javits Emergency Employment Act - Title II of S.2388. As we reported last week, this would create emergency public service jobs for the hardcore unemployed - 200,000 the first year; 300,000 the second. It would be a significant step toward finding work for those who need it most.

2. Fund the anti-poverty program at $2.26 billion, the figure approved by the Senate Labor Committee. Attempts to cut back on this should be resisted. In spite of all the talk of a tax increase and the need to cut Federal expenditures, the War on Poverty is certainly not the place to start economizing.

3. Keep OEO, the Office of Economic Opportunity, as the central antipoverty agency. S.2388 does this. Attempts at a "spin-off" the transfer of OEO functions to other agencies, should be voted down.

* * *

Please Remember: If mail, resolutions, statements are to have any effect they must be sent at once. Washington representatives to the Conference, at an emergency meeting on September 15, passed the statement we enclose with this MEMO. You are welcome to use it any way you wish, circulating it to your members, adding your own personal endorsement and sending it to your Senators, or getting local publicity for it. But Please Act Today.

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"

Enclosure

LITIGATION (new file?)

Riot Act Doesn't Inhibit, State Replies

AC 10/19/66

Briefs on file in federal court here Tuesday declare that "Georgia's riot act does not inhibit free expression" and "riot is the antithesis of free expression."

Georgia Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton filed the briefs in support of arguments made at a recent three-day federal hearing at which Stokely Carmichael and other officials of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) sought to have the state enjoined from prosecuting Carmichael in connection with a Sept. 6 riot here.

Bolton's brief contends that to suggest that Carmichael will "suffer a substantial loss or impairment of freedom by virtue of being charged with certain violent acts, i.e. riot, is to make a mockery of what is considered the right of free speech."

"Under no stretch of the imagination can . . . (the state) see how a violent act can be construed in any manner as free expression," the brief adds.

"It can be said with absolute certainty that there was, in fact, a violent disturbance in Atlanta on Sept. 6, 1966, and it can also be said with absolute certainty that those under indictment for riot were, in fact, at the scene of the riot and contributed to this disorder, for even that much was established by a viewing of the films" shown at the hearing.

If they did not participate in the riot, state trials would give them ample opportunity to prove that, Bolton argued.

Balton contends that no action or harassment by the city or state has been shown, and that all action against Carmichael and the others came after the riot and as a direct result of their actions at that time.

There are two causes for federal intervention in a state criminal proceeding according to U.S. Supreme Court decisions written by Justice Byron White: planned prosecutorial misuses of a statute regulating freedom of expression and a vagueness attack on such a statute, Bolton asserted.

LITIGATION

Vote Code Challenged In Court

AC 10/19/66

By BILL SHIPP

The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit in federal district court Tuesday asking that state officials be restrained from enforcing 15 sections of the Georgia Election Code.

The petition charges that the state's election laws deprive write-in voters and illiterates "of their right to cast a ballot in absolute secrecy." It contends the election code is in violation of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965.

If successful, the suit would allow stickers with candidate's names on them to be placed on

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

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Part of Vote Code Challenged in Suit

Continued from Page 1

ballots as write-in votes. The code now prohibits this.

The ACLU suit, asking a hearing by a panel of three federal judges, was filed shortly after a 12-man committee from the Write-In Arnall campaign headquarters appeared at Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office to ask for "clarification" of the Georgia Election Code.

After the meeting with Fortson, Joseph Jacobs, an attorney for the write-in group, said he was contemplating legal action against enforcement of parts of the election code. In a prepared statement, Jacobs and nine other attorneys charged that "the new election provisions of Georgia are so confusing, contradictory and vague, that it is impossible to determine how voters desiring to write-in the name of Ellis Arnall may lawfully and legally do so."

There apparently was no connection between the write-in group's activities and the ACLU suit.

The court action was brought on behalf of the Rev. John Morris of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, Mrs. Florence Robin, director of the Georgia ACLU, and two other persons who "are unable to spell the names" of possible write-in candidates.

The petition names as defendants Fortson and members of the Georgia Election Board.

The suit contends that to require a voter to write out the name of a write-in candidate is, in effect, a voter literacy test and is therefore illegal.

It also charges that the Georgia law which allows a literate person to aid an illiterate person in voting is unlawful in that it deprives the illiterate of his right to cast a ballot in "absolute secrecy."

It further contends:

"These voters who desire to cast their ballots for a person other than the nominees of a political party must request material necessary thereof, thereby depriving them of their right to cast a ballot in absolute secrecy . . .

"The requirement that stickers or other devices not be utilized in casting write-in ballots constitutes a literacy test in violation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 . . .

"The failure to provide each and every voter at the polls with envelopes or other paraphernalia and the practice of placing write-in ballots in a box separate and apart from that in which other ballots are placed . . . deprives those persons desiring to cast a write-in ballot of their equal rights to vote" in secrecy.

The suit was filed by Morris Brown, head of the Georgia ACLU lawyers' committee, and Charles Morgan Jr., Southern regional director of the ACLU.

LOUISIANA AJ 3/9/66

New Orleans Teachers Polish Plans for Walkout

NEW ORLEANS, March 9 (AP)—In its first Deep South test of strength, the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, polished final plans today for a strike.

The union said the "work stoppage," to start Friday morning, would shut down the New Orleans public school system. School officials disagreed.

Carl W. Dolce, school superintendent, said he doubts if the union has enough teacher support to seriously disrupt the schools and that classrooms would remain open.

The strike call backs demands for a collective bargaining election among the 3,600 teachers in the public schools.

"From all indications, it seems a majority of the teachers will join the work stoppage," said C. H. Hursey, a union national representative.

Local 527 claims 1,400 members, about 80 per cent of them Negro. Hursey said, however, that the union had gathered the signatures of 2,200 teachers on a petition for a bargaining agent election.

Donald Burton, assistant research director for the union, told a news conference Tuesday that, "race is not a significant factor. We seek to improve the lot of all teachers, black and white."

In a summary of teacher complaints, Burton said New Orleans ranks last among the nation's 20 largest cities in teacher salaries, fringe benefits and working conditions.

The New Orleans Schools Board agrees with many of the complaints. It has called a special election for May 3 to add one cent to the three-cent sales tax to raise money for schools.

The board rejected a bid by the city administration for a share in the increased sales tax,

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LOUISIANA

McKeithen's Star Rises

4/14/66 WP

Polls Show Louisiana's Popular Governor Could Beat Ellender in Race for Senate

By William Lynch
Special to The Washington Post

Campaign '66

BATON ROUGE, La., April 13 — Gov. John McKeithen of Louisiana is a potent threat to end Sen. Allen J. Ellender's 29-year Senate career this fall.

The popular Governor repeatedly has disavowed any plans to run against Ellender, despite polls that show he would win in a head-to-head clash with the 75-year-old Senator.

Two major factors hold McKeithen back:

1. He wants to be Governor again, provided the people approve a constitutional amendment at the general election in November to permit Governors to succeed themselves for a second term.

2. He does not want to be the State's junior Senator playing second fiddle to Sen. Russell B. Long.

McKeithen's political ambitions stretch all the way to the vice presidency. He has nurtured a friendship with Vice President Hubert Humphrey and is eyeing the 1972 nominations.

If he can hold onto the Governor's office for a second term, McKeithen, who became Governor in 1964, would just be going out of office in 1972. The Louisiana mansion would provide him a base of power up to that point.

As junior Senator from Louisiana, McKeithen would have his base of support diminished considerably. And it is known that Sen. Long also has ambitons for higher office.

Camille Gravel, former Democratic national committeeman from Louisiana, an Alexandria, La., attorney, now is Ellender's chief opponent. Although he has not formally announced, Gravel is handing out cards proclaiming his candidacy in the Democratic primaries this summer.

Gravel is not expected to topple Ellender, even though he does expect to win a heavy Negro and labor vote.

There are some reports that Gravel is a stand-in for McKeithen, and that his candidacy is aimed at keeping Ellender off balance until the Governor makes his move.

Although polls show McKeithen's conduct of his office winning 70 per cent support, his two-term proposal is largely untested.

The Louisiana Legislature opens its regular 60-day session on May 9. Any major setback for the Governor could also bring down his amendment.

McKeithen came to power on a shelf of support from the remnants of the Huey Long-Earl Long State power structure.

Ellender, a former leader for Huey Long in the Legislature, was elected to the Senate in 1936 and has built a strong following among conservatives for his opposition to foreign aid and liberal legislation.

VOTE IN LOUISIANA INVOKES THE PAST

Kennedy and Huey Long Are Factors in Senate Bids

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

BATON ROUGE, La., April 24 — John F. Kennedy and Huey P. Long are among the major influences in this year's Senate race in Louisiana.

One advantage of Senator Allen J. Ellender, 75 years old, as he seeks a sixth term is his reputation among the voters as one of the original "Long Men."

In addition to being a personal friend of Mr. Long, Mr. Ellender was his legislative floor leader and Speaker of the State House of Representatives. He was presiding over a House session when Senator Long was assassinated in a statehouse corridor Sept. 8, 1935.

Challenging Senator Ellender in the Democratic primary on Aug. 13 is Camille Gravel, 50, of Alexandria, a lawyer and former Democratic national committeeman.

Mr. Gravel was a friend of President Kennedy. The friendship hurt Mr. Gravel politically while President Kennedy was alive and promoting civil rights for Negroes. But that has changed.

A poll taken this spring by John F. Kraft, Inc., of New York, showed that 69 per cent of the white voters of Louisiana look back with favor at Mr. Kennedy.

Attitude on Johnson

The same poll showed that 41 per cent like President Johnson. The voters' comments indicated that they approved of Mr. Johnson's Vietnam policy but disliked his stand on civil rights.

Mr. Gravel has freely identified himself with Mr. Kennedy in his campaign but as said nothing about Mr. Johnson.

No poll is necessary to determine how Louisianians feel about Huey Long. He is considered a martyr. Even though 67 per cent of the state's registered voters today are 49 year old or younger—meaning they were either unborn or too young to vote when he was alive—Mr. Long is still a force in the state's politics.

Mr. Gravel was too young to have been one of his cronies, but he still can refer to himself as a "Long Man." He was a friend of Huey's younger brother, Earl K. Long, whom many consider to have been the political superior of the two.

Mr. Gravel and "Uncle Earl" became enemies during the late nineteen-fifties, but Mr. Gravel says they were reconciled before Earl died in 1960.

Liberal Candidate

Mr. Gravel is a liberal, and his campaign will be aimed mainly at working people, Negroes and intellectuals. Among other things, he opposes "right-to-work" laws which forbid union membership being made the basis for holding a job. He also favors Federal aid for cities and education.

Liberalism can be safely espoused in Louisiana only by calling to it as the doctrine of Huey Long for he made "share-the-wealth" progressivism, with emphasis on welfare and public education, politically respectable.

Mr. Gravel has accused Senator Ellender of turning his back on the principles of Huey Long.

"Ellender has become the tool and the pawn of the ultraconservative political interests," Mr. Gravel told 200 labor leaders in New Orleans on Thursday night.

But although Huey Long's memory is important, time has changed some things in this state.

The top political figure in Louisiana this year is not named Long, for the first time since 1928. It is Gov. John J. McKeithen.

The Kraft poll showed that 86 per cent of the white voters liked Mr. McKeithen while 68 per cent liked Senator Russell Long, Huey's son.

Urban Shift in Politics

Both Huey and Earl used to run against the city of New Orleans, as many Southern politicians habitually run against the Negro. That has changed as the urban populations have increased.

Governor McKeithen spends more time and makes more speeches in New Orleans than anywhere else. His popularity, gauged by another recent poll, is higher there than anywhere else in the state.

Mr. Gravel, who is said to be receiving quiet support from the Governor, is following a similar pattern. He expects to do most of his campaigning in the cities.

His main areas of potential strength are in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Alexandria, Lake Charles and Lafayette—all in southern and central Louisiana, roughly the French-Catholic or Cajun country.

Mr. Gravel is a Catholic and a Cajun. One of his tasks will be to make sure the voters of south Louisiana know that Senator Ellender is a Presbyterian and not, as is widely believed, a Catholic. The Senator's home is at Houma in the heart of the Cajun country.

Another issue confronting Louisiana voters this year is Governor McKeithen's proposed constitutional amendment to permit a Governor to succeed himself in office. The state Constitution now limits a Governor to one four-year term.

Polls show the amendment is favored by a large majority, but some newspaper reporters and politicians believe that may change by November, when the general election will be held.

Among those fighting it are former Gov. Jimmie H. Davis and former United States Representative Gillis Long, both of whom are preparing to run for Governor in 1967.

Mr. Long, a distant cousin of Huey and Earl, recently moved his home from Washington to Alexandria prepare for the race.

Rivals in Louisiana Senatorial Race

Senator Allen J. Ellender

Associated Press

Camille Gravel

LOUISIANA

CORE Official Charged in Murder Try

5/15/66 AC

BOGALUSA, La., May 14 (AP)—Police Saturday arrested three Negro men, including a ranking civil rights official, on charges of attempted murder here.

The men were accused of shoooting into a downtown cafe occupied by three white women.

Charged and held in the Washington Parish jail at nearby Franklin were Fletcher Anderson, 27; Layton Griffin Jr., 27, and Bruce Baines, 24 identified as state field secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality.

According to a statement which police said Baines gave to them the three men entered the Acme Cafe early Friday and placed their orders.

Anderson went outside to get something. The other two heard a commotion rushed out and found Anderson bleeding.

The placed Anderson in their car and Griffin drew his pistol fired twice into the ground and once in the direction of the cafe.

Commissioner of Public Safety Arnold Spiers said the three were charged with the attempted murder of Beulah Crockett and Ruby Lumpkin two waitresses and Patricia Wallace a customer.

The cause of the bleeding was not disclosed. The statement did not explain why the shots were fired toward the cafe.

Spiers said one bullet pierced the wall of the cafe. Judge Jim Warren Richardson set bond at $25,000 each for the men.

LBJ May Be Off Louisiana Ballot

LOUISIANA

AC 6/12/66

By M. GENE MEARNS

BATON ROUGE (UPI)—Unless things change between now and 1968, President Johnson will face Alabama Gov. George Wallace in a Louisiana party primary vote to see which one wears the Democratic label on the 1968 general election ballot for president.

Plenty of things could happen. Johnson could fail to win renomination, Wallace could decide not to run as independent or the Democratic State Central Committee could revise the decision it has made.

The committee, which meets every two years, voted 54-39 to adopt a resolution by Leander Perez, the segregationist political boss of Plaquemine Parish (County). It provides for slates of electors in the 1968 congressional primary for candidates of the national party and for any number of independent candidates up to 10.

THERE was some question as to whether or not any electors for Johnson or Vice President Hubert Humphrey could even get on the November ballot if they were defeated in a primary.

At one point in his address to the delegates, Perez said, "This would effectively control the election and once a man is defeated in a primary there is no way he could get on the ballot."

A number of delegates questioned if this were so, then Republican and independent voters could not vote for or against Johnson in the primary and would have no choice in November either.

At that point in the debate, Perez said all that was necessary was that 1,000 signatures be gotten "and any other slate could be run in the November ballot."

Later, Secretary of State Wade O. Martin Jr. agreed that 1,000 signatures and the filing of proper papers could put any set of electors on the ballot.

PEREZ was the only one to take the floor in backing his resolution and Sen. J. D. DeBlieux of Baton Rouge was the only one to speak from the rostrum against it.

Perez, a powerful orator, rolled into an eloquent tirade against the federal government.

"Our courts have been stripped of their jurisdiction, the powers have been taken away from our local police and by this we can show we resent what is being done to our people.

"Wouldn't it be a wonderful thing," Perez said, "for Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey to come to Louisiana and account for their stewardship, explaining the voting rights act and how they have put FBI agents and secret police in every precinct?"

Associated Press Wirephoto

ND OF REGISTRATION MARCH: Voter registration marchers entering Franklinton, a., after their trek from Bogalusa. The two-day, 22-mile hike was free of incidents.

NEGROES FINISH LOUISIANA MARCH

Rally in Franklinton After Vote Registration Drive

FRANKLINTON, La., July 11 (AP)—Slowed by the sun and miles of marching, 242 Negroes tramped up to the courthouse here today in the climax to a voter registration march that has been termed a publicity stunt by Louisiana's Governor.

The two-day, 22-mile trek from Bogalusa was free of incidents. But it was an ordeal for the marchers—and their police escorts—with the heat in the high 90's.

The marchers disbanded after a rally on the courthouse grounds where the crowds, numbering more than 300 and including five or six whites, heard Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, say:

"Black power is on the march in New York, Chicago, Louisiana and Mississippi. And we won't stop until we get to the Pacific. We will not stop until we can walk straight and tall and free."

Six Negroes Register

Then six Negroes entered Washington Parish's (County) modern brick courthouse and registerd to vote.

The marchers left in cars to vote.

Gov. John J. McKeithen held a news conference, meanwhile, and said that "purposeless marches" such as this one are "as disgusting to Negroes as to whites."

He said A. Z. Young, president of the Bogalusa Voters League, which organized the march, could name no grievance and obviously was trying to prod authorities into mistreating the marchers.

Publicity on tear-gassing or some such mistreatment, he said, could be used by the Negro leaders "so they could continue to raise hell in Bogalusa."

The nearest thing to an incident on the march came last night when the police chased away four young men in a car cruising near the marchers' campsite in a pinetree-wooded roadside park.

"Get out of here right now and don't let us catch you around here any more," officers told the youths, ranging in age from 18 to 22, after confiscating a pistol, billy clubs and chains from their auto.

Another potential incident was averted by Thomas D. Burbank, the state public safety director, who commanded the state police assigned to the march. Mr. Burbank said he did not have authority to prevent the Negroes from camping in a roadside park.

The marchers walked 17 miles down a hot highway from Bogalusa yesterday, accompanied by 16 state troopers and sheriff's deputies on horseback.

They started walking the remaining three miles to the Franklinton city limits at midmorning. Earlier in the day a small group went into Franklinton, the parish seat, and failed in efforts to test cafe and restaurant segregation policies. The group said all the cafes they tried to enter were closed.

The theme of talks by speakers at the courthouse was that the march had put an end to fears of the Negroes in Washington Parish.

It broke up after the Rev. Bernie Davis, a Negro pastor from Bogalusa, prayed:

"Lord, we are tired, we need your help."

8/1/66 NYT

RACE ISSUE DENIED IN BOGALUSA DEATH

LOUISIANA

BOGALUSA, La., July 31 (UPI)—Police Chief Claxton Knight said today that the slaying last night of Clarence Triggs,a Negro, was "definitely not" a racial murder and said he expected an arrest in the case "within 48 hours."

Chief Knight withheld further information on the investigation of the death of Mr. Triggs, a 24-year-old unemployed bricklayer. His body was found yesterday beside a wrecked car. The automobile was registered to a Bogalusa white woman.

But civil rights leaders in this racially tense East Louisiana town criticized what they called a "police blackout" on information of the slaying. Robert Hicks, vice president of the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League, said Negroes would hold night marches this week unless the Triggs slaying was cleared up.

He said Mr. Triggs's widow had not been allowed to identify her husband's body. He said the Voters League had hired an attorney for her.

Lincoln Lynch, associate director of the Congress of Racial Equality, announced plans to address a rally.

As far as local Negro leaders knew, Mr. Triggs was seldom seen in civil rights demonstrations. He had attended a few rallies in Bogalusa since his discharge from the armed services and was present at the start of a 26-mile protest march earlier this month.

NYT 8/13/66

K

LOUISIANA VOTERS GO TO POLLS TODAY

Klan Issue and Court Ruling on Negroes Mark Primary

Special to The New York Times

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 12 — Louisiana voters go to the polls tomorrow to nominate party candidates for the United States Senate, eight seats in the House of Representatives, plus numerous candidates for posts as judges, district attorney and school board members.

Interest in the primary election has been increased by a controversy involving the Ku Klux Klan, a Federal Court decision ordering that 13,000 voters—most of them Negroes—be allowed to vote, and the scheduled presence of Federal observers at the polls.

Major interest is attached to Democratic races in which two long-time members of the House of Representatives, James H. Morrison of the Sixth District and Edwin E. Willis of the Third, face strong challenges.

The Ku Klux Klan controversy is the major issue in the Sixth District race, and Mr. Willis's health is foremost in the Third District.

Another heated battle has developed in the Eighth District, where a freshman, Speedy O. Long, has been accused of indifference in his Democratic campaign.

Opposition to the Johnson Administration is in the background, especially in the Sixth District race.

Ellender Victory Seen

In the Senate race, Allen J. Ellender appears almost certain to be nominated for his sixth term.

Mr. Ellender has two Democratic opponents, J. D. DeBlieux a liberal State Senator from Baton Rouge, and Troyce Guice of Ferriday, an automobile dealer who is a political unknown.

A third opponent, Camille Gravel, a former Democratic national committeeman withdrew some weeks ago, sayins he was unable to raise enough money for the campaign he wanted to put on. Mr. Gravel was generally regarded as a fairly formidable foe.

The hottest race has probably been waged in the Sixth District, where Mr. Morrison is seeking his 13th term. His chief opponent is a former state District Court judge, John Rarick of St. Francisville, a strong segregationist.

Mr. Rarick resigned the judgeship to oppose Mr. Morrison, who has charged Mr. Rarick with being a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Rarick has denied the charge and has filed a $500,000 libel suit against the Congressman.

There are four other candidates in the race, including another Jimmy Morrison, this one being James E. Morrison of Slidell. The others are James A. Edwards of Mount Hermon, John E. Jumonville of Plaquemine and Leslie C. Matheson of Port Allen.

2 Republicans in Race

For the first time in Louisiana's recent political history two Republicans are vying for their party's Congressional nomination in the Sixth District. They are Crayton G. Hall and John P. Cornette, both of Baton Rouge.

Two Democratic Representatives, Joe D. Waggonner Jr. of the Fourth District and Hale Boggs of the Second District, ha no opposition in the primary.

Representatives F. Edward Hebart of the First District and Edwin W. Edwards of the Seventh are opposed in the Democratic primary but have no Republican opposition. Mr. Hebert faces Alec L. Norris, a New Orleans businessman, and Mr. Edwards is opposed by Mervin J. LaBorde, of Sulphur, an automobile supply store owner.

In the FifthDistrict,Representative Otto Passman is opposed in the Democratic primary by Louis L. LaDart of Monroe, a retired grocer.

In the Third District four Democratic candidates seek the nomination. Mr. Willis, who underwent vascular surgery in Houston some months aso, is opposed by State Senator Dudley J. LeBlanc; State Representative Richard Guidry of Thibodaux and Ernest A. Kelly, a Houma lawyer. Hall M. Lyons of Lafayette, whose father waged a hard campaign for Governor two years ago, is the G. O. P. nominee.

In the Eighth District, State Representative Larry Parker contends that Mr. Long will not appear in the district.

More than 150 Federal observers have been ordered to Louisiana by the United States Justice Department.

On the voting rolls for the first time are 13,000 voters registered by Federal registers in five Louisiana parishes (counties). A three-judge Federal Court ordered that the 13,000 must be allowed to vote in the primary and ruled that illiterates among them must be helped by election commissioners.

NEW YORK TIMES, M

2 BITTER RUNOFFS LOOM IN LOUISIANA

LOUISIANA

Willis and Morrison Fail to Muster Primary Majorities

8/15/66

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 14 (AP)—Dudley Leblanc, a one-time patent medicine magnate, and John R. Rarick, an ardent segregationist who stumped as "the fighting little judge," forced two long-time Democratic Congressmen into runoff primary contest, according to unofficial returns from yesterday's election.

There was, however, cautious optimism today in the camps of the men, Representative Edwin E. Willis, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and Representative James H. Morrison, a 12-term Congressman in line to lead another House committee.

The two camps hope the official canvass of the results will give the incumbents a majority so they could avoid another five weeks of furious—and expensive—campaigning.

In the only statewide race—a Democratic contest — United States Senator Allen J. Ellender, 75 years old, forced to campaign for the first time in 18 years, triumphantl ydefeated two younger opponents. Senator Ellender got 489,653 votes, topping by 50,000 the record for a contested first primary set by the late Earl K. Long in the Governor's race 10 years ago.

He was opposed by State Senator J. D. Deblieux, of Baton Rouge, and Troyce Guice, a businessman from Ferriday.

Mr. Leblanc would face Representative Willis in a runoff contest for the 3d District Democratic nomination. Mr. Rarick will oppose Representative Morrison in the 6th District.

Mr. Willis, 61, who suffered what he describes as a "little stroke" last winter, polled 41,464 votes in his district, which is situated in the heart of the state's Cajun country. Cajuns are persons of Acadian French descent.

Mr. Willis was 4,448 votes short of a majority and renomination.

Representative Morrison, 57, due to head the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee if he returns to Washington in January, was 2,210 short of a first primary victory.

Mr. Leblanc, the Cajun, entrepeneur who once parlayed the tonic Hadacol into fame and fortune, received 22,561 votes in his third challenge to Representative Willis. The combined tally of the other two candidates pushed the 71-year-old Leblanc into his first runoff battle with Willis.

Representative Morrison and Mr. Rarick had waged one of the fiercest campaigns seen in a state where rough politics is commonplace.

Mr. Rarick, 42, called the incumbent "an LBJ rubberstamp" and "the black power candidate." Representative Morrison said a vote for him (Morrison) was a "vote against the Klan and a vote to destroy the Klan."

The 6th District, the state's most populous, includes industrialized Baton Rouge, plus Bogalusa — one of Louisiana's racial troublespots — and rural areas where the feelings of white residents are bitter against the Federal Government because of civil rights legislation.

John P. Doar, Assistant United States Attorney General, led a crew of 150 Federal observers who watched voting in six parishes—including two in the 6th district.

The eventual Democratic winners in both Congressional districts will face Republican foes in the fall.

The Republicans even held their first House primary in the 6th District, with Crayton G. Hall of Baton Rouge winning the nomination.

THEY BUILT THE FIRES LOUISIANA

Perez and His Style Are Fading Away

By REESE CLEGHORN AC 8/15/66

IT IS HOT, hot these days in Plaquemines Parish, La., an oil-rich little finger of sandy soil that straddles the Mississippi River where it flows into the Gulf of Mexico just south of New Orleans.

This is a unique place in America. It comes very close to being an oil sheikdom, where millions of dollars ooze out of the earth and the sheik rules with absolute power.

The sheik is Leander H. Perez Sr., 76, a stubby, dynamite stick of a little man with steel-gray hair and dark swatches of eyebrow that leap up and down as he speaks with perpetual animation. Just a few days ago "Judge" Perez was back in court battling an old enemy, the government of the United States. He is losing now, and that is history.

The matter before the court was desegregation of schools in the parish (county); Perez had just reaffirmed his intention to "fight to the last ditch." This time as he sounded his usual irrelevant insults a federal judge (another native of Louisiana) warned him that he was "close to contempt" and could talk himself into jail.

In Plaquemines school desegregation will end an extraordinary era in which every aspect of the old system of segregation has held fast. Plaquemines' success is a good example of why we now have federal guidelines.

Long after passage of a public accommodations law, public accommodations in Plaquemines remained rigidly segregated. Long after passage of two voting rights laws, Negro college graduates could not vote, though white illiterates did. Twelve years after the Supreme Court ruling, schools were still separate and unequal.

THE VIOLENT TONGUE

Plaquemines (with a population including "Creoles," "Cajuns" and Dalmatian Slavs) and Perez (who became a multi-multi-millionaire during four decades of political power) are in many respects very untypical of the Deep South, though in another way they do typify the set of official mind and the set of public affairs that predominated in our region for decades.

And what has that old set been? It frequently has been the violence of political tongues (while violence of other kinds took place in the bushes). Perez not long ago took to a statewide broadcasting hookup to call the President of the United States a "scavenger" and a "renegade" who was now carrying out "the Communist plan of registration of all Negroes in the Black Belt regardless of qualification." The ignorant say amen; after all, "the Judge" said it.

Perez in past years was a hero of the white supremacist speaking circuit. He was in Georgia, back before his approach came to be regarded as too vulgar and slicker tactics were devised.

He came to support the causes of our own breast-beating white supremacists such as Marvin Griffin, Roy Harris, James Gray, Peter Zack Geer, and, later, Lester Maddox, in fighting the courts and attempting to stop the law at the state line. He helped draw the crowds and raise the money.

There was a whole phalanx, across the South, of this kind of leadership in that not-so-dim past (not dim at all, for instance, in Alabama). They built the fires behind others of somewhat less extremism who fought the same battles in Washington and from the state capitols.

NOW, A CHANGE

In his own parish, Perez harangued the angry crowds, including the one that stopped the desegregation of a Catholic school there. Bombings at the school provided the background music.

This posture was accepted, in those days. (It was even accepted in Georgia when Peter Zack Geer commended the members of the mob who rioted when the University of Georgia was integrated.)

But there has been a change. The Perez approach has gone out of style, though not his uses of phony legal and constitutional arguments that any good constitutional lawyer recognizes as absurdity.

What is it that he represented?

In New Orleans not long ago, a lawyer gave his opinion. "He represents the logical extension of the views of the gentle people of prejudice," he said. "And so he has become a great embarrassment to them."

The Perez style has come to seem vulgar to most middle-class Louisianans, and so he has lost influence to others who know how to say the same things in subtler ways — how to codify people's prejudices in ways that sound more respectable. The style has changed in Georgia, too. (Why do we now hear about guidelines, instead of about "the niggers"?)

So the picture that came over the wires the other day of "Judge" Perez leaving the courtroom puffing his cigar and still looking as defiant as an angry bulldog seemed, in a way, forlorn. His phalanx across the South has broken. The Perez style now seems vulgar. A slicker political style has taken its place.

Reprinted from yesterday's late editions.

BOGALUSA NEGROES WIN SCHOOLS PLEA

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 15 (AP)—A Federal judge Monday changed the school desegregation plan for Bogalusa, La., to the free-choice system and ordered teachers hired "without regard to race or color."

Amendments to the desegregation plan approved by Bogalusa last year were accepted by Judge Frederick J. R. Heebe at the request of Negro plaintiffs.

The original system was the so-called transfer plan, whereby a Negro pupil could apply to be moved to another school. Under the freee-choice plan, all pupils must make a choice annually.

Judge Heebe's order also said that bus routes must serve all pupils, so far as possible, and that remedial education programs must be conducted in an effort to overcome past inadequacies in Negro education.

In another case, Federal Judge Herbert W. Christenberry delayed his ruling but said he was bound by law to order Plaquemines Parish (County), a segregation stronghold, to integrate its public schools. He heard closing arguments in the case and gave both sides until Friday to file additional briefs.

Leander Perez, a segregationist and the parish political leader for decades, was warned that his arguments in the case were close to contempt of court. The judge told him he had better stop implying that all evidence in the case would not be considered before a ruling was made. Mr. Perez apologized.

LOUISIANA

NYT 8/17/66

NEGRO PUPILS SIGN IN PEREZ'S PARISH

LOUISIANA

White School Registers Five in Plaquemines, La.

NYT 9/1/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 31—Five Negroes registered today at a formerly all-white school at Woodlawn, south of New Orleans.

Thus school desegregation came to Plaquemines Parish (County), the domain of Leander H. Perez Sr.

Other Negroes are expected to enter all-white schools elsewhere in the parish, despite Mr. Perez's contention that no Negroes in the parish want to go to white schools.

The Negroes may register any time before Monday. Then school officials will have until Sept. 12 to assign them formally to schools.

As integration came to one of the last segregationist strongholds, whites responded with bitter withdrawal. White students boycotted the schools at Woodlawn and Belle Chasse. Attendance was slack at three other white schools where Negroes are expected to enroll.

Pickets March

Thirty white parents marched in front of the Belle Chasse school this morning. Each carried a picket sign lettered with a single word: "Don't."

White pickets also marched in front of the Woodlawn school. No white pupils appeared there. Only 124 of 2,000 white pupils showed up at the Belle Chasse school.

The five Negroes who registered at Woodlawn were not molested. They did not attend school today.

Parish officials, who have been ordered to desegregate the schools by a Federal court, will not reveal their plans, but there is speculation that integration of all the white schools will mean a total boycott by whites.

Mr. Perez hinted today that the whites of Plaquemines were ready to abandon the public school system and turn to private schools. He suggested that state money might be available to individual pupils to be spent on education as they saw fit. Such tuition grants have been tried in several states. They are now under attack in Federal courts.

The 76-year-old "white-maned warrior," as some call him here, dropped a note of pessimism. When a reported asked if he would be able to avoid integration in Plaquemines, he replied with uncharacteristic gloom.

NYT 8/31/62

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'Second Reconstruction'

"It took 30 years to throw off the first Reconstruction," he said. "Now we're in the second Reconstruction, and it's even worse."

Asked if that meant the Plaquemines schools would be integrated quietly, he regained his customary defiance.

"I didn't say a damned thing of the kind," he thundered.

Mr. Perez was close-mouthed about his strategy.

"Self-preservation is the first law of nature," he said with a grin. "Our people are resourceful and courageous."

Plaquemines Parish, a rich trough of land that funnels the Mississippi River from New Orleans to the sea, probably has less racial integration than any place in America that has a Negro population. That is due almost solely to the craft and will of Mr. Perez, the undisputed ruler of the parish for the last 40 years.

Pressed by U. S.

But now the Federal Government is pressing him. Last year, he was forced to let Federal examiners register Negroes to vote. This year, Federal observers went into his domain and, over his angry fulminations, watched closely as Negroes and whites went to the polls and voted.

Then last week, the Federal Government, in the person of Federal District Judge Herbert W. Christenberry of New Orleans, ordered the Plaquemines schools desegregated.

Mr. Perez and his lawyers appeared before Judge Christenberry this morning, asking for a delay.

"All deliberate speed does not mean two days," argued Sidney W. Provensal, Mr. Perez's New Orleans attorney.

Louisiana NYT 9/3/64

PRIVATE SCHOOL SET IN PEREZ'S EX-HOME

POINT A LA HACHE, La., Sept. 2 (AP)—A leader of the Plaquemines Parish school boycott said today a private school for whites would be set up in Leander H. Perez's former home.

Ben Chauppete said the two-story home, now owned by Mr. Perez's daughter, was 2½ miles north of Woodlawn School, where five Negro boys registered Wednesday under a Federal court order.

Mr. Perez, parish council president and bitter opponent of school desegregation, said he had no knowledge of a move to convert the home into a private school. "If my daughter is letting the home for this purpose," he added, "more power to her."

Woodlawn's 250 white pupils have boycotted the school since the Negroes appeared. The school's 13 teachers were on duty today, but they had no one to teach, since the five Negroes have not been transferred formally to the school yet.

Enrollment at other white schools in the oil-rich parish below New Orleans remained far below normal. Belle Chasse had 10 pupils out of an enrollment of 1,800.

Times-Picayune
9/9/66

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130th YEAR, No. 229 F

STRONG PRIVATE SYSTEM SOUGHT IN PLAQUEMINES

LOUISIANA

Public School Setup Appears Crumbling

While events were seemingly moving to crumble the public school system of Plaquemines Parish Thursday, an apparently strong private system was in the making.

Warren J. Barrois, chairman of the Citizens' Information Committee, announced that the School Investment Corp. has been set up to raise nearly $2 million to finance a private school setup.

Every teacher at Woodlawn School resigned. The principal, Miss Lois Watson, was the only Woodlawn staff member not to resign, and she has been ill.

Meanwhile, the superintendent of the public schools and his lone assistant resigned and a suit filed in a district court seeks to stop the parish Commission Council's financial contributions to the public schools.

Woodlawn had been completely boycotted by white students since it and other Plaquemines Parish schools were ordered to desegregate by Federal Judge Herbert W. Christenberry.

31 ASSIGNED

Thirty-one Negro students have been assigned to Woodlawn.

Sidney W. Provensal, special counsel to the school board, said the teachers at Woodlawn had notified the board they wouldn't teach at an integrated school and tendered their resignations en masse this week.

He added that he believes there will be enough teachers to teach all white and Negro students on the west bank of the parish.

Besides the 31 Negroes assigned to Woodlawn, 78 have been assigned to Boothville-

Cont. in Sec. 1, Page 14, Col. 4

PLAQUEMINES

Continued from Page 1

Venice, 34 to Port Sulphur, 13 to Buras and 18 to Belle Chasse.

Frank J. Patti resigned as acting superintendent Wednesday. He had taken over the job from Sam A. Moncla, who retired last week. Patti said "I sincerely believed at the time that I could keep the school system going, but the more I thought about it, the more I decided I couldn't."

AIDE ALSO RESIGNS

Patti's decision came in the wake of a move by the United States Justice Department to question 50 teachers, principals and school officials on the development of a private school system in the parish. Alba Guidroz, Patti's assistant, also tendered his resignation.

Barrois said the School Investment Corp. will provide independent school facilities for children in every area of the parish.

A. E. Zeverly is president, Gustave Bouzon is vice-president and Charles Brown is secretary-treasurer.

"An active campaign will get under way immediately to raise the nearly $2 million which will be necessary to complete the school facilities throughout the parish," Barrois said. "All funds will be raised from private sources—no public funds will be involved."

"School sites have been secured for virtually all of the schools. Agreements have already been made for the construction of buildings on most of these sites.

"The roofing and sides of the buildings will be constructed of material similar to that of the Ludwig or Butler type buildings, which are used extensively for school buildings by private and parochial schools.

"Construction has already begun on the school sites in the Buras and Belle Chasse areas. A full school year of 180 days is guaranteed to all students.

'ALREADY COMMITTED'

"The corporation has authorized capital stock of $2 million and the corporation has already received commitments for a substantial portion of its stock.

"In order to acquire the property, build and complete these buildings, stock in this corporation for a par value of $100 per share is being offered to residents and friends of Plaquemines Parish living in Louisiana to invest in the children of Plaquemines Parish.

"An office is being set up at

—Photo by The Times-Picayune.
FRANK J. PATTI
Resigns his post.

—Photo by The Times-Picayune.
MRS. JUNE WILLIAMS
Teacher praises school system.

—Photo by The Times-Picayune.
MRS. GLADYS GRESSETT
Teacher gives deposition.

"wait and see."

Provensal said all three teachers were asked if they had been pressured by anyone, including

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"An office is being set up at Port Sulphur. For further information about this corporation or stock, please contact the corporation at Port Sulphur. Branch offices will be set up in other areas of the parish in the near future.

"The shareholders may choose the school area in which they desire their investment to be used. School facilities will be ready for every area of the parish during the first week of November.

"West side schools will be ready in November; those on the East Bank will begin school Sept. 16."

Sept. 16 is also the date on which the parish council must show cause before District Judge Eugene E. Leon Jr., why it should not cease financial support of the public schools.

Wayne B. Vinson, a white resident of the parish, filed the suit on behalf of himself and "as a class action by other citizens and taxpayers."

The suit contends the council has violated state law by providing an estimated $750,000 a year for school operations over and above tax revenues raised for that purpose.

The legal action enjoins the council from further school contributions and demands the return of all funds and properties provided schools by the council in the past.

Government officials in Plaquemines said the loss to schools could run into millions of dollars if the suit is successful.

Plaintiffs claim state law prevents local government agencies from supporting each other without special legal authority.

Meanwhile, federal attorneys began taking depositions from some of the parish's teachers in a small room just to the left of the Buras post office.

The room was used last year by federal registrars to register voters under the Civil Rights Act of 1965.

Provensal said he feels the trend of questioning was a "waste of time." He said government attorney Hugh Fleischer was attempting to find out from the teachers if they were under contract.

DESCRIBED HESITANT

"We testified to this earlier in the court hearing, and we could have told them that," Provensal said.

He said the first three teachers to be questioned were all asked if they would teach in an integrated school, and said the teachers were hesitant and agreed they would have to "wait and see."

—Photo by The Times-Picayune.
MRS. GLADYS GRESSETT
Teacher gives deposition.

Provensal said all three teachers were asked if they had been pressured by anyone, including parish officials, to resign and they all answered no.

He quoted Mrs. June Williams, a veteran teacher who taught in California and Texas before coming to Buras nine years ago, as saying, "I had never been treated as well as I have in Plaquemines Parish."

Asked by a reporter who will sign the paychecks for the teachers now that Patti and Guidroz have resigned, Provensal replied, "The teachers know they will get paid, they're not worried."

He said that if teachers came to him as special counsel he would ask them to stay in the school system.

"I'll probably tell them that if they stay it would be appreciated, but if they choose to quit it's their perogative.

Pressed for further comment on the resignations, Provensal said, possibly half in jest, "I think we'll just have to ask Judge Christenberry to appoint a school superintendent."

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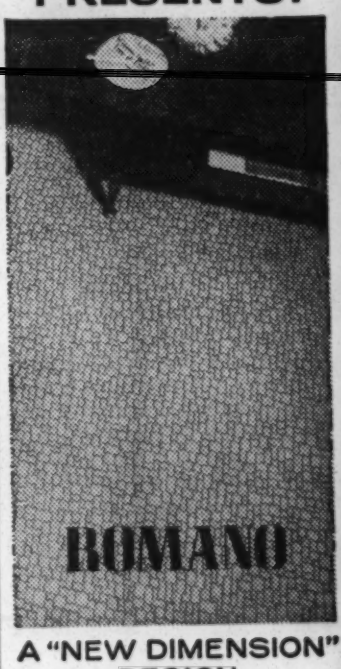

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LOUISIANA JUDGE ACCUSES SCHOOLS

Charges Plot in Plaquemines to Scuttle Integration

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 22 (AP) — A Federal District judge, Herbert W. Christenberry, has accused Plaquemines Parish county officials of trying to scuttle the desegrgated public school system.

After a two-day hearing, he signed an order yesterday regarding future operations and ordered contempt proceedings against two former public school educators.

"The officials of Plaquemines Parish, including the school board, have made pawns of the children and dupes of the teachers who have been led to abandon the public school program," he said.

The contempt proceedings were based of the board injunction Judge Christenberry issued in ordering the schools desegregated last month. It forbids interference with normal operations of the school system.

The parish straddles the Mississippi River south of New Orleans. It is rigidly segregated. Leander Perez, 76 years old, a fervent segregationist, has dominated the area politically for decades.

A Drive for Private Schools

A drive to set up a system of segregated private schools was started after the court's order opened all public schools to Negroes last month.

Judge Christenberry asked the Justice Department to bring contempt proceedings against S. E. Niles, former principal at Buras, and Allard V. Cousin, former Buras athletic coach.

He also asked the department to check whether the former Boothville - Venice principal, Raymond Shetley, should be included in the contempt proceedings.

All three men, now employed by the private school system, have been trying to recruit teachers from the public schools.

"We will now find out whether these gentlemen on the Plaquemines Parish School Board are men of integrity and courage or otherwise," the judge said.

The board, with one of the five previously all-white schools already closed, went before the court to seek permission to close Belle Chasse because the 53 teachers there quit last Monday.

Shutting down the school and transferring the pupils would be an economy move, it was argued.

"I might as well make it crystal clear right now," the judge said. "The question here is not one of money or finances. It is more important. It is the future of all these schoolchildren. This is something that the school board has apparently overlooked."

The order directed that Belle Chasse be reopened by Oct. 31 with at least 12 teachers. Because of a white pupil boycott, its normal enrollment of 1,800 is down to 134.

UPI Telephoto

PICKETS AT SCHOOL

BELLE CHASSE, La., Sept. 3—White pickets parade in front of the Belle Chasse all-white schools in Plaquemines Parish. They protested the opening of the parish school on a court-ordered desegregated basis. Less than 24 children showed up for classes at the school.

MATERIALS

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FUTURE TEACHERS OF AMERICA

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May 1966

MEMORANDUM TO: Directors of Summer Institutes and Workshops

FROM: Barbara Gladysiewicz, Program Assistant

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How to make classroom integration work is the subject of a major new publication to be released in June by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. The book, written by Gertrude Noar, is designed to assist teachers as they assume responsibilities in desegregated classrooms. It is published in the belief that teachers and administrators can and will make a significant difference in the lives of children of all races and ethnic backgrounds: Negro, white, Spanish-American, American Indian, and others.

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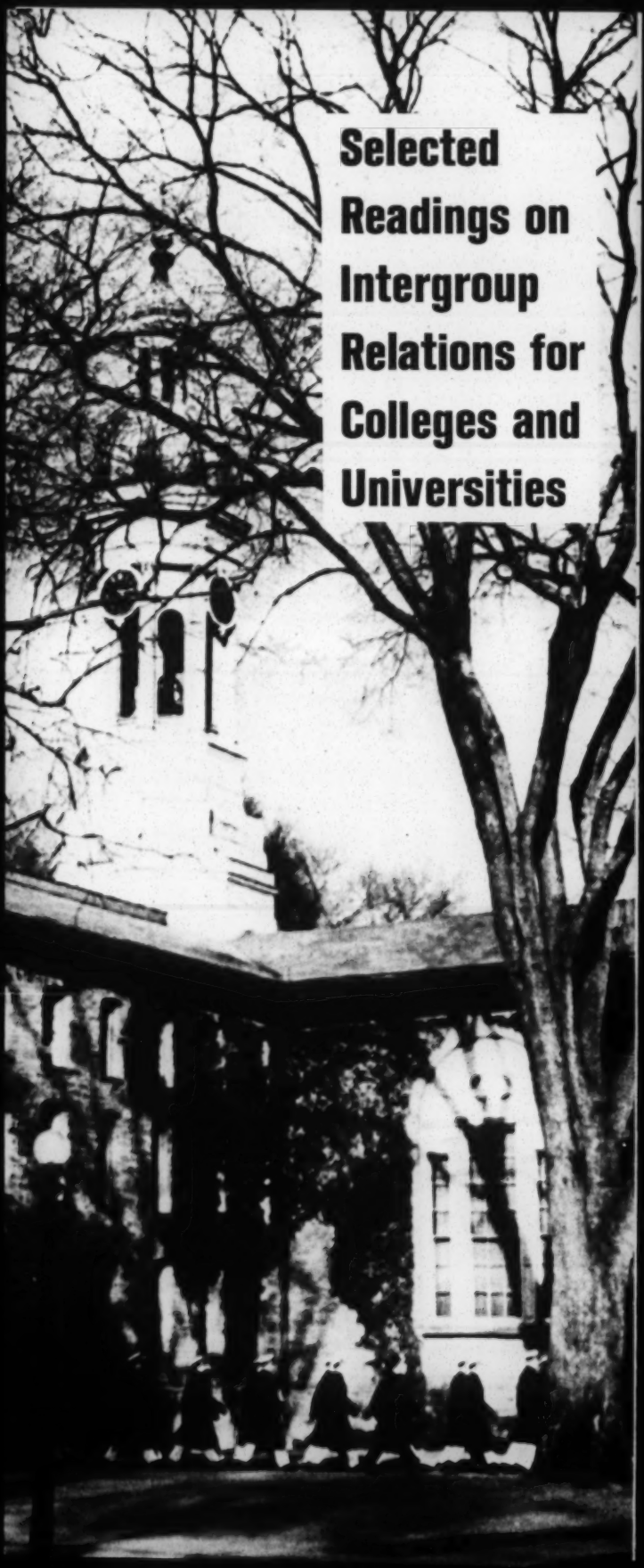

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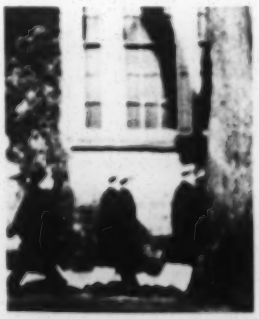

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January 31, 1966

MEMORANDUM (CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Field report on Virginia and North Carolina councils

I was in Richmond from Thursday evening, January 20, until Saturday afternoon, January 22, to attend the annual meeting of VCHR. I was a house guest of Robert Combs.

The meeting was held in Schauffler Hall at Union Theological Seminary. There were only about 130 people at the banquet on Thurdday evening, although I am sure that more people participated in some part of the program. This struck me as low attendance for a council which claims nearly 3,000 members. I was told, however, that they seldom have a large attendance--that the chapters usually send twor or three representatives apiece.

One of my strongest impressions was that VCHR has a poor sense of values concerning expenditures. As you know, they moved their office into the rear of the Friends' meeting houses--in a relatively inaccessible residential neighborhood--in order to save money on rent. When I asked why the meeting was not held in some public accommodation, Bob said, "Well, the Virginia Council is funny that way..." but he did not elaborate. I suppose they think this saves money.

There seems to be a lack of imagination about fiscal

matters generally. One of the attached sheets (yellow) indicates that the chapters contributed a total of $15,699.74 on quotas for 1965, and quotas for 1966 total $18,775.00. Both figures are considerably less than $10 per capita. But when I remarked that we hoped that the state councils would be able to underwrite their basic operation from memberships and small donations within three years, one woman (from Charlottesville) assured me that this was impossible. She explained that the chapters in the larger cities "are interested primarily in their local program, feel no need for the state council, and have little missionary zeal for the more rural areas of the state." I suspect that she is accurate. As you know, VCHR's finance chairman, from northern Virginia, ahs resigned -- and Bob tells me that she felt frustrated.

Combs seems to me to be "catching on." That is, he seems to be overcoming his ignorance of the field at a rapid pace, and he appeared to have a high level of commitment and energy -- whatever may be lacking in judgment. He seems to have a good relationship with reporters both locally and around the state. (In fact, he fumes when the council's stories get "Buried in the back pages," protesting his concern for "the organization.") He has, as you well know, a problem of competing ego on his board.

I might observe, in passing, that a great concefn in Richmond at present is city planning and integration of housing. Richmond proper is either already more han 50% Negro or is nearly so (depending on whom you talk to). And they seem unable to stabilize any neighborhoods into which Negroes move. (Someone asked me when the report on which Lloyd Elliott was working would be ready.)

**********'

Enroute back to Atlanta I stopped overnight in Raleigh to attend the annual banquet of the NCCHR, which was held

in the student union at North Carolina State University. Since it consisted of a banquet, brief business meeting, and after-dinner speech (after which everyone scattered because the weather was bad), I had little opportunity to talk to T. Franklin Williams or other leaders.

The attendance was surprisingly good, considering the weather. There must have been about 200 people there. This was more than they expected and they had to set up an extra table.

The address by Dr. Mahlon T. Puryear of the Urban League was a lot of hocum. Unfortunately the crowd seemed to appreciate it.

As in Virginia, I came away from the meeting rather depressed. An audit report indicated that only $5,858.07 had been raised from membership fees and individual contributions during the year, with an additional $1,500.00 from organizations within the state. Yet the crowd attending seemed even better-off than the human relations council membership in other states.

Incoming

March 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony PA

To send to our Executive Committee in early April, may I have a report from you of no more than one page, double spaced, of your work during the period January 1-March 31.

There may be little, if any, opportunity at the Executive Committee Meeting of April 18 for individual staff members to report on their work, but I am anxious that the Committee be brought up-to-date on the work of each of our professional staff and each of the departments.

Please mark April 18 on your calendar and plan to be here for the meeting.

March 28, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Louisiana School Desegregation Conference

About 750 people attended the school desegregation conference in Alexandria on March 26. All parishes except three were represented. Most participants were Negroes, but there were a few school officials, besides the usual white liberals.

Interest was high, evidenced by the fact that few wandered away from six hours of speeches and workshops--and 350-400 remained for an additional two hours on the techniques of organization for desegregation.

Sam Simmons and the rest of the Civil Rights Commission delegation (who worked hard and enthusiastically) were disappointed with the contribution of the E.F.O. people from the Office of Education. There were no top officials--not even the compliance officer for Louisiana. Most of those who came left early to catch a 3:30 plane. And they seemed confused and ill-briefed. The man who was to be chief spokesman for the O. of E. did not realize that this was expected of him until he arrived.

Thanks to the AFSC crowd and the C.R. Commission, however, it was a good conference and I think we shall see some results despite the disarray of rights forces in Louisiana.

Incidentally, we paid out $765.00 in travel money. This was not too much, but was not really necessary. They had agreed to pay six cents a mile on this one. We may be too late to kill a similar arrangement for Virginia, but will cut way down for the others.

Helen Mervis was there. She assured me that Jack Sisson shared her feeling that the Louisiana Council was boring. However, the New Orleans C.R.C. did vote to affiliate. I fear that this means little. Helen proceeded to tell me that the director of the New Orleans Community Action Agency was talking to her about staffing C.R.C. with O.E.O. funds--on the theory that their "public meetings" serve an important function of informing and educating in the community. Helen sees this as a way of obtaining "the professional direction that we must have to carry out the ambitious program that I think is necessary in New Orleans."

March 31, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Speaking engagement with the Charleston Council on human relations. 3/30/66

This meeting held in the public library, was not well attended. About 25-30 people were present. Mr. Cabaniss blamed a conflict with inter-faith Lenten Services in Charleston and a Democratic Party affair in Columbia.

I attempted, in reviewing new SRC projects and available aid to local program, to stress increased interest of foundations in problems of social change--together with the necessity of having a strong broadly-based basic organization to take advantage of project funds available.

Incidentally, I was told later that two members of the John Birch Society were present and taking notes!

Although I enjoyed this engagement, I felt a need for a longer stay. It might be better stewardship of our funds to plan, in connection with these local speeches, at least one day of knocking around--the offices of community action agencies, civil rights groups, MDTA programs--almost anything to help me get the feel of the situation. I let my schedule get scrambled this week.

April 4, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: NEGRO CANDIDATES IN ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, MAY 3, 1966

FROM: J. GREENBERG, DIRECTOR-COUNSEL, NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
V. JORDAN, DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Attached you will find (1) a form that is to be filled in in the places left blank and (2) a sample sheet showing how the form is to be filled in.

The purpose of these sheets is to aid you in notifying your County Executive Committee of your intention to have considered persons of your choosing to act as election officials. We hope that there will be no dishonesty in the tabulating of the vote in the Primary on May 3, 1966; but we cannot reasonably expect that there will be none. Accordingly, it will be to your advantage to have persons of your choosing act as election officials or at least attempt to have such persons nominated as election officials.

Election officials are these: Three inspectors, two clerks, and a returning officer. These six election officials will operate each of the polling places in your County. The persons you nominate for these six offices at each of the voting places within the precincts of your county must be qualified electors. The persons you select can serve as voting officials only at the polling places where they vote. (Ala. Code, Tit.17 SS120 and 349).

The County Executive Committee does not have to accept the people you suggest. However, the candidates have a right to suggest who should be voting officials and can be certain they will have no friendly voting officials unless names of individuals are submitted according to procedures set forth in this memorandum to you.

If you do not know the boundaries of the election districts within the precincts in your County, you can obtain a description of the boundaries of those election districts and an alphabetical list of qualified electors within each of those election districts from the office of the Judge of Probate of your County. Code of Ala. Tit. 17-584 requires that a description of the boundaries of a precinct or district, the names of places designated for voting, and an alphabetical list of electors divided according to election place be filed with the Judge of Probate and that these same details be posted on the courthouse door.

Please make a copy of each form you submit to the Executive Committee of your County and return the copy to:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

PLEASE REMEMBER THAT THE FORM MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BY APRIL 7, 1966, IF IT IS TO BE CONSIDERED.

SAMPLE FORM

TO THE COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF
Dallas COUNTY,
ALABAMA

I, John Doe, residing at 110 Peach Street Selma, Alabama, and being a candidate for nomination by the Democratic Party for the office of Tax Assessor in Dallas County at the primary election to be held in Dallas County on May 3, 1966, do hereby present to the County Executive Committee for the Democratic Party of Dallas County in accordance with Code of Ala., Tit. 17 §349 the attached list of persons to be considered by the Committee as potential nominees to the positions of election officers for the primary election to be held on May 3, 1966.

Signature John Doe

Date April 6, 1966

TO THE COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
OF _____ COUNTY,
ALABAMA

I, _____ _____, residing at

_____, _____, Alabama,

and being a candidate for nomination by the Democratic Party

for the office of _____ in _____

_____ at the primary election to be held in

_____ on May 3, 1966, do hereby present

to the County Executive Committee for the Democratic Party of

_____ County in accordance with Code of Ala.,

Tit. 17 §349 the attached list of persons to be considered by

the Committee as potential nominees to the positions of election

officers for the primary election to be held on May 3, 1966.

Signature _____

Date _____

ELECTION DISTRICT NO. _____ of PRECINCT NO. _____

of _____ COUNTY

1) Name _____ 2) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

3) Name _____ 4) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

5) Name _____ 6) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

ELECTION DISTRICT NO. _____ of PRECINCT NO. _____

of _____ COUNTY

1) Name _____ 2) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

3) Name _____ 4) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

5) Name _____ 6) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

Signature _____

Date _____

April 5, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Lest I forget to mention it--Jean Fairfax wondered if we could appropriate some money for a small version of the school desegregation conferences for northern Florida.

I said yes. It appears that we are to have a surplus to return anyway. I agree that northern Florida needs such a conference, and it is surely in keeping with the purpose of the grant.

Do I need to clear this with Vernon Eagle?

SEA FOAM BOND

April 5, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: Ed Stanfield
RE: School Desegregation Conference for South Carolina in Columbia, April 2.

There were about 600 people in attendance at the main meeting sponsored by the Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission at Dreher High School. This was not as many as Sam Simmons had anticipated. There were more white persons who appeared to be school officials than there were at the Louisiana Conference.

About 200 remained for the organization session, which was held at the Masonic Lodge. Interest was sustained through this meeting, lagging only during the final speech by Benjamin Mack of SCLC, which was too long. Courtney included a very nice free dinner for this meeting.

As you know, Penn Community paid for travel, etc., for this conference with a separate grant; no expenditure from SRC's special grant.

Representation from the government agencies seemed much stronger at this one. Pete Libassi was there. So was Stanley Kruger, Director of the EEOP program for this district. And the Justice Department was represented by Terrell L. Glenn, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of South Carolina. (See attached programs.)

When we finally got around to listening to the people the comments were interesting:

> "I've never been able to see how freedom-of-choice makes sense as long as it makes it possible for a child with a school next door to 'choose' to ride a bust 22 miles twice a day because his parents must have a job."--a school principle from Kershaw County.

> "Freedom-of-choice was designed to create as much problem as possible for the Negro...The only solution is a 100% transfers--every Negro child in the county changing to white schools...I'm tired of this gradualism.--a man from Georgetown County.

"The problem is fear...We have to get workers from outside the county because local folks are afraid... In my county, which is one of the poorest, there are 4000 Negro students and about a third as many white students. But only 30 Negroes are in the white schools." --from Lee County.

"There is no desegregation in my county. The parents are afraid to even talk about it." --from Florence County.

SEATOAMBO

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Trip to Columbia, Aiken - May 4 and 5

As you know, Alice thought up a luncheon in Columbia on Wednesday, May 4, because I was to be in Aiken on May 5. She sent out invitations on the preceding Friday. Actually the number of people in attendance was surprising, but I got some reaction both in Columbia and in Aiken to the disorganized way of doing things of which this was considered one example. Both groups received well my speech on the need for shifting gears and increasing recruitment and financial support, but at least two persons realize that my appearances were not part of any orderly approach to the problem.

Alice seated me in the Wade Hampton immediately after the luncheon and talked at me for <u>three solid hours</u>! (2:30-5:30) Among other things she made it clear to me (eventually) that programs like "Speed-Up" designed for and with the Negro masses "who have the requisite sense of urgency and for whom the need is primary and immediate and not secondary and academic" have top priority on her agenda. She put it this way: "Ed you can be a big help to me on this fund-raising--which is something the white members of the council can and perhaps will do." I had the distinct impression that what she meant was: "If you want this done, you will have to do it, because I have more urgent business."

Memos - Incoming

July 8, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony PA

It would be highly desirable to have from you a six months report of Field Activities by July 15th. This must be submitted to the Ford Foundation and we may share it with a number of foundations and with our Members. A major portion of your report would be, I think, the reporting of all grants made to the state Councils and what is coming of it. For instance, new staff hired, Louisiana Council being reorganized, etc. A narrative report covering this should be nor more than several pages long, unless you have a strong urge to write more. Then the attachments for financial breakdowns and capsule descriptions of the relevance with the state Councils should be included.

Memos - Incoming

August 3, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Pat Watters
Bob Anderson
Vernon Jordan
Emory Via
Al Ulmer
Ed Stanfield
Moreland Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, long time associate of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and one of the prime founders of the Southern Regional Council will be here during the week of August 8. I hope you will have an opportunity to meet her during that time.

Edith Barksdale, and perhaps others, of the Research Staff of the Civil Rights Commission will be here August 9, 10 and 11 to determine what we are doing that is overlapping, what we can do that will help each other, etc. I hope it will be possible for you to be available during that period also.

PA/km

memos - incoming

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM August 5, 1966

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

FROM: PAUL ANTHONY

Enclosed are program reports prepared by the directors of the major departments and projects of SRC reflecting our programs and interests during the first six months of the year. It was necessary to prepare some of this as reports to our donors and we felt you might be interested. (There will, of course, be the Director's Report at the end of the year.)

One major project has not been reported on here. This is our project in Prison Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation. It has been difficult to find the proper director for this. However, we have been very fortunate to secure Mr. John O. Boone who joined the staff in mid-July. Mr. Boone has been employed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons for the past fourteen years and is uniquely qualified for this responsibility.

By SRC standards, we now have a very large staff. We have yet a great deal to accomplish in getting these highly specialized programs going well, and especially in having the various programs and projects properly coordinated for maximum results. But as a beginning, I can report to you with confidence that we have assembled here a remarkable group of people with a rare combination of professional skills and dedication to the purposes of the Council.

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Inauguration of the expanded grants-in-aid program for state councils, made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation, has been the chief activity and achievement of SRC's Department of Field Activities during the first half of 1966. It has entailed staff changes in Arkansas and North Carolina; expansion of staff in Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia; and the beginning of staffed operation in Louisiana. Staff expansion is pending in Florida. Important new programs have been the result in Houston and Mississippi. (A copy of the grant schedule for the first year is attached.)

A grant to the Alabama Council made possible retention of Mr. Robert S. Valder as Associate Director on a permanent basis, upon completion of his year of internship with the Alabama organization. It also permitted filling the position of Executive Director with a very able man, Mr. Jerry Roden, who is a former Editor of the Auburn University alumni magazine and a Ph.D. candidate at the University. This simultaneous strengthening and expansion of a state council staff is the sort of result we have been working for in administration of the expanded grant program.

The grant to the Arkansas Council permitted significant improvement of the salary scale for the Director and Associate Director, as well as the clerical staff. It was greatly needed and past due. Unfortunately, the Arkansas Council has been plagued with problems. Their plan was to retire Mr. Nat Griswold as Executive Director, replace him with his long-time associate Ozell Sutton, and employ a new Associate Director. First, an

able young minister who had agreed to accept the position as Associate Director felt obliged to accept, instead, a position dealing with race relations within his denominational structure. Then, while they were searching for another likely candidate, Mr. Sutton resigned to accept a position with the Community Relations Service. This is merely a coincidental series of setbacks and, under the vigorous leadership of their President, Father Walter Clancy, the Arkansas Council is moving quickly to remedy the situation.

Our increased aid to the Florida Council was designed primarily to stablize their operation. It has done so. They do plan, however, to employ an Assistant to the Director soon, on the schedule stipulated in the grant conditions. The Board and membership seem to be responding well to the call for membership recruitment and increased local support.

With their grant the Georgia Council has employed the Reverend Eddie Smith, a Southern Baptist clergyman, who will begin work August 1. He will concentrate on developing new chapters of the Council. (He probably will also take an interest in SRC's special project in prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. Mr. Smith is the author of a book on capital punishment.)

The Louisiana Council has employed an Executive Director for the first time since 1957. She is Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a former business woman who has recently earned a master's degree in counselling at Southern University. The Council is in the process of setting up an office in Baton Rouge.

The Mississippi Council's grant is being used primarily for work with students and on the campuses of the state. Mr. William Silver, who was employed to do this work last September, resigned in June to become Director of the Young Democrats of Mississippi. The Council provided a dozen work scholarships for students to assist in this work during the second semester of the last school year, and they will do so again during the next semester.

North Carolina's grant was intended to stabilize their operation, and it has enabled them to employ a uniquely qualified Executive Director. Mr. William C. Allred, formerly with the Pilot Life Insurance Company of Greensboro, received this spring a M.A. degree in history from Emory University. His thesis was, "A History of the Southern Regional Council: 1943-1961." Allred began work July 1 and already shows promise of vigorous leadership.

The South Carolina Council grant has been used thus far to employ three student assistants, all of whom are interested in careers in the field of human relations. It is anticipated that a full-time assistant to the director will be employed in September.

The Tennessee Council combined their grant with good fortune to secure the services of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wiersema, a youthful husband-wife team, as Assistants to the Director. Both come to the Council after extensive experience as volunteers in the civil rights movement and as employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The Houston Council used a modest sum to secure the services of eight VISTA volunteers to work in slum areas of Houston.

Through our grant conditions and through emphasis in meetings and conversation we have stressed development of chapter organizations and programs, increased membership, and increased local financial support for all state councils. It is our intention that the resources provided by the Ford grant for this purpose shall be used to develop organizational strength and effectiveness, as well as to meet program needs.

Definite steps have been taken to upgrade the state council staffs, which was a second purpose of the Ford grant. Whereas it was previously impossible to bring state council staffs together more than once or twice each year, we have had two such conferences in this first half and plan two others. In addition to these, all of the Executive Directors except one will participate in a week-long Community Leadership Laboratory at Emory University, July 24-31. They were able to take advantage of this training opportunity because of the stipulation that the expanded-aid grants were to be used, in small part, for attendance at such "professionally edifying" conferences.

One of the most promising among other achievements of this first half of the year, was the staffing of Rural Advancement Projects in Alabama and Florida. (A similar project was begun in Georgia last fall, and one has been in South Carolina for several years.) Mr. Lewis Black has been employed by the Alabama Council

and Mr. LaVert Taylor by the Florida Council. The work is carried out in cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. In addition to administering grants which make it possible, SRC assists the Rural Advancement Projects through the work of Mr. Al Ulmer, Director of our Community Organization Project.

One interesting and helpful innovation was a meeting of the Presidents of the State Councils held on June 17 and 18 in Atlanta. This was the first time the Presidents had been brought together for discussions of the philosophy, purpose, and problems of State Councils -- and they asked that this be done annually.

Under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly a significant meeting was held in Atlanta on March 24 at which time heads of 14 major national women's organizations came together to plan a joint program of encouraging court reform and related needs. Statewide meetings are planned with the objective of creating in most southern communities vigorous groups of women who will look intensively at the local law enforcement and court practices and seek means of improving them. We feel this program could have a considerable impact on the region.

Another major activity of the Field Director has been in connection with a series of conferences on school desegregation held in nine states this spring. Funds administered through SRC's Field Department brought community leaders from throughout each state to the conferences and an extra session on community organization for effective desegregation. The conferences were

sponsored by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Sessions were planned and carried out jointly with other agencies.

Still another Field Activities program was our Paperback Books Project. Just gathering momentum in May and June, the project will distribute about 40,000 paperback books throughout the South in an experiment to determine ways of encouraging book use and library services, as well as book ownership, among those who have not had much access to books.

There have been, of course, many other continuing and incidental tasks for the Director of Field Activities. Three meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference, which we serve as its Secretariat, were held during the period covered by this report. The Field Director participated as a consultant in a meeting of the Personnel Directors from the largest Post Offices in the South, sponsored by the Civil Rights Compliance Office of the Department's Personnel Bureau. Many meetings of State Council boards were attended, both to be of assistance where possible, and to learn more about each Council, its personalities, and its problems. And there were special events such as the Poverty Conference in Mississippi, a conference for local council officers and committee chairmen in Florida, and the White House Conference in Washington on June 1 and 2.

Plans for the remainder of the year include preparation of a manual for fund-raising, assistance with fund-raising and membership recruitment drives, and -- hopefully -- preparation of a program of education on race and race relations aimed at the moderate

and indifferent white people of the South.

SCHEDULE OF REGULAR GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATE COUNCILS
1966

Alabama	$ 5,500
Arkansas	4,600
Florida	4,600
Georgia	4,600
Louisiana	3,200
Mississippi	4,800
North Carolina	4,800
South Carolina	4,600
Tennessee	4,600
Virginia	4.600
Houston	1,800
Contingency	2,000
George S. Mitchell Award	1,000
TOTAL	$50,700

* * *

EXPANDED GRANTS-IN-AID PROGRAM FOR 1966
TO
STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS*

Alabama	$ 9,000
Arkansas	8,000
Florida	7,000
Georgia	9,000
Louisiana	10,000

Mississippi	$ 16,750
North Carolina	8,000
South Carolina	9,000
Tennessee	11,000
Virginia	8,250
Houston (Tex.)	4,000
TOTAL	$100,000

*Made possible by a three-year Ford Foundation grant. Grants to state councils iill be revised for the second year, and again for the third, in the light of their progress toward attaining both substantially increased membership and financial support from the membership of the several state councils.

Edwin Standfield
Director of Field Activities

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION

1. Voter Book -- Most of the time of the Director of Information has been spent in the major part of researching and writing in collaboration with Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal on current political effects and the long-range implications of the entrance of Negro voters in full into the South's democracy. This is the book which SRC contracted with Harcourt, Brace & World to produce. It had originally been scheduled for publication in October, 1966. A recent decision has been to postpone this until February or March, 1967, in order to include a final chapter on the outcome of the fall elections this year. While not a history of VEP as such, the book draws heavily on the first VEP research, as well as other research materials of SRC.

2. New South -- The revamping of New South in its new quarterly format has been a major concern. The first two issues contained articles of substance by such writers as Leslie Dunbar, James Silver, Margaret Long, Robert Coles, August Meier, Finley Campbell and Vincent Harding. A news round-up section contains summaries of developments in each of the eleven states, a compilation not available elsewhere, and a permanent record of value to research. Efforts are made to find for each issue material close to the reality of what is happening in the South. A proposal for radical innovations in community planning in Mississippi and a report of a day in the life of a southern city ghetto resident are examples. The need for research-grounded, yet pertinent articles, is great; several, including a report on a study of the Negro family in Birmingham, are in the works. The summer issue, in preparation, will include coverage of the Meredith Mississippi march and discussion of black power. Many of the Council's information and research interests are reflected in the articles published and commissioned, and special distribution is given to issues of the magazine or to reprints from it.

3. Other publications have included a warning on the pitfalls of co-ops and credit unions by Al Ulmer, addressing himself to grass roots leaders looking for cure-alls; "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," by Moreland Smith, setting out how community organization can save a neighborhood from block-busting and develop racial balance; another study by Mr. Ulmer, a pioneering how-to approach on the all-important

subject of community organization in southern Negro slums, based on his experience in Vine City; "The Continuing Crisis," a joint publication with the American Jewish Committee describing the range of racial and poverty problems in the South, and warning of the possibility of disruptions in the South similar to those in the northern ghettos; a handbook on appropriate actions to improve southern justice developed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly for use with women's groups throughout the South.

A press release has been issued urging compliance with new school desegregation guidelines. The Voter Education Project has issued press releases on the election results in Alabama and South Carolina, on voting effort violence as a commentary on the shooting of James Meredith, and an analysis of the effectiveness of federal registrars.

New South Managing Editor, Robert Anderson, processed the above reports editorially. He also contributed to the editing of the first new New South and development of the second, as did Margaret Long.

4. In preparation -- Dr. Robert Coles will develop a report on conditions in Negro communities where past major civil rights demonstrations have occurred. Wilson Minor is preparing a report on the Citizens Council, past and present, and Robert Sherrill is developing a report on other white hate groups, including the Klan. These are a part of a study, again jointly with the American Jewish Committee, of forces competing for the attention of the South. Also part of this study is a survey by Anthony Whitfield, an SRC summer intern, of intergroup relations organizations

regarding their efforts to influence white Southerners. Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College is developing a series of studies on voter registration in selected Georgia counties, contrasting the situation today with that of 1956 when he did a similar survey. Other projects include a study of the South's portion of the 100 poorest counties in the nation (which is most of them); a study of welfare expenditures in the South; a plan for state government action in the various social problems of the South; a study of the mechanics of housing desegregation in Atlanta, a set of instructions for low-income families on how to buy a house or rent an apartment; a study of 1966 (including fall) school desegregation developments, and various other projects.

Samuel Adams, Director of Research

Pat Watters, Director of Information

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

Most of the work of the Labor Project falls into three broad categories: labor education, consultation and liaison, and employment problems. This report will attempt to summarize the activities which have taken place in each of these areas without detailing the on-going process of administration, preparation, informal materials development, and the interaction with the continuing programs of the Council.

Labor Education -- The Project's involvement in education activities has varied from participations of one day to one month in duration, and from an intense exploration of civil rights problems

confronting southern unions to a rather tangential handling of such problems as they relate to the day-to-day concerns of a union.

In January the Director spent one month heading the National Institute of Labor Education's Southern Union Staff Institute. This Institute was held at the University of Georgia in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. It was a useful and intensive educational experience providing tool courses, courses in social and economic understanding, and a fairly concentrated dose of subjects related to racial relations and civil rights.

The Virginia AFL-CIO conducted a weekend education conference in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Education Department. The Director of the Labor Project taught four classes and made one general presentation to the entire group. The Tri-State School, sponsored by the state AFL-CIO's in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina in cooperation with the national AFL-CIO Education Department, provided another opportunity for teaching a class and holding a general session on the changing South.

The Labor Project participated in two conferences sponsored by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. One of these was held in Atlanta for the Union's regional organizing staff and the other at Daytona Beach for local union leadership from throughout the region.

Two further weekend institutes were worked out cooperatively with the Labor Project and the Education Department of the United Steelworkers of America and their District 36-G (Gulf Coast) Education

Coordinator. One conference was held in Tampa, Florida, and the other in New Orleans. In each case the Project provided approximately one-half of the instruction.

The Director also taught in a one-week summer school for members of the United Rubber Workers of America who held a regional program at the Blue Ridge Assembly grounds at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

The Project participated in a one-day regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta.

The Director has taken several opportunities to explore with institutions of higher learning the possibility of their developing some continuing interest in the area of labor education. This activity has been confined primarily to two states to date. Two Georgia institutions have been approached through members of the faculty and administration who were interested in such possibilities. These moves have been made in consultation with appropriate persons within the labor movement. This effort must be recognized as little more than an attempt to stimulate a beginning interest. Potentially, it is a useful way to expand labor education opportunities within the region.

Consultation and Liaison -- On a number of items which might be included under this heading the Labor Project has worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Such items include assistance with a proposed program for the installation of the regional Equal Employment Opportunities Commission Director, a conference sponsored by the Southern Student

Organizing Committee held in Durham on "Students and Labor" in which both the Labor Project Director and the head of the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department participated. Assistance was offered in settling problems which had arisen between a local civil rights group and a union engaged in an organizing campaign. An assessment was made in Alabama of the impact of the primary election on the Alabama labor movement in regards to racial relations. Both of these latter two activities were in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

During the period of this report the Labor Project has had an opportunity to work with several Councils on Human Relations on a variety of problems. This activity has included work with state councils in Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, and local councils in Atlanta and Palm Beach. Somewhat similar work has been done in cooperation with the Urban League, the NAACP, Operation Breadbasket, and the American Friends Service Committee.

The Director spoke to a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference in Atlanta, to an American Friends Service Committee staff and advisory group, to the Daytona Beach Forum, and to the orientation conference for "Operation Speed-Up," sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The Director was asked to serve on the Task Force on Economic Security for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." This entailed several task force meetings in Washington and ultimately meant that the Director was involved

as the spokesman for a panel appearing before four workshops at the White House Conference itself.

A few days were profitably spent in mediating between the union staff involved in organizing migrant laborers and an agency with which SRC has frequently cooperated, over differences that had arisen regarding approaches to migrant labor problems. This was an interesting and informative interlude. The outcome at this point seems to be a healthy one.

A few days were spent in Detroit attending conferences of the University Labor Education Association, the AFL-CIO Labor Educators, and Local 189 (Workers Education Local) of the American Federation of Teachers. This time was largely devoted to promotion and contact work and has led to further programs.

A regional conference sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor, in cooperation with SRC and a few other agencies, involved the Labor Project directly. This conference was aimed at reaching civil rights and other groups who have contact with disadvantaged persons in terms of the program offerings of the Department of Labor. It was an effort on the Department's part to bridge the gap between their program proposals and policies and actually reaching the people who should be affected by those programs.

Employment Problems -- Although the Labor Project is not specifically committed to working in the area of employment discrimination, it is difficult, and unwise, to side-step these problems altogether. During the course of the past few months we have participated in a national apprenticeship study (our part was

limited to the metropolitan Atlanta area) and have worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in exploring and promoting the idea of an apprenticeship information center. Similarly, with the Civil Rights Department, we have been able to give some assistance in a study which they are doing cooperatively with other organizations regarding discriminatory practices in employment services. Both of our programs have worked cooperatively with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations in their interest to report the difficulties encountered in getting reliable information about apprenticeship and other training programs in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

From time to time employment requests come to the Council and are channelled through the Labor Project. These range from individuals seeking employment to companies seeking individuals in a variety of classifications. In some cases, we are able to handle such requests fairly directly, but usually they are referred to other agencies such as the National Urban League, Operation Breadbasket, or one of the vocational schools. The Labor Project has involved the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office in discussions with persons working with the Vine City Council in Atlanta regarding employment and training opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

The Director was asked to participate in a training program of Post Office Department personnel staff from throughout the region to discuss the problems of minority groups as they

relate to employment both outside and inside the federal service.

The Project has been concerned with developing some of the background materials and locating outside staff for the conduct of an unemployment study. Unfortunately, this project has not been brought to fulfillment.

In Conclusion -- It is envisioned that the main lines of the Labor Project's work will continue to be in the three areas outlined above. Increasingly, the formal program will involve labor education activities. Some of these will be developed at the Labor Project's initiative and others will continue to be those developed by the labor movement with the Project being simply a participant. The Liaison and consultation work will continue and is a natural outgrowth of the Project's contact with unions and governmental and private agencies. Our concern with employment opportunities will not diminish but is likely to find expression largely in stimulating interest in public policy and in making referrals to those groups most actively involved in this work. At this point it seems fair to say that the activities of the Labor Project continue to grow and the prospects for the immediate future are good that its services will not only be needed but sought after.

Emory F. Via, Director

Labor Education Project

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

Consultation Trip (Washington, D.C.) -- The primary purpose of this trip was to talk with Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Department of Housing and Urban Development. A previous trip to Washington in February had prepared the way for this conference. The meeting allowed the Urban Planning Project Director to explain to Dr. Weaver the purposes and plans of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project and to ask him how SRC might work with HUD in an informal manner to further equal opportunity in housing and equal treatment in and access to urban facilities. Our discussion was cordial and, I believe, meaningful. Afterwards, I spoke with others at HUD and was impressed with their interest in and openness toward our project.

While in Washington I contacted other groups such as Urban America, Inc., the American Institute of Planners, the American Institute of Architects, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, which have programs related to our own. I spoke with the directors of organizations which have successfully stablized integrated or integrating neighborhoods. Each of these groups represents a different type of organization with individual goals and programs to realize them. It is my hope that we may draw together the experiences of Washington Neighbors, Inc., Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., and West Mt. Airy Neighbors, Philadelphia, and publish their stories in three separate pamphlets which could be distributed together. Mr. Robert Anderson, editor of New South, asked Mr. Edward Holmgren of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., to write an

article on housing in Baltimore for inclusion in an issue of New South.

Urban Planning Analysis (Charlotte, North Carolina) -- In March I talked with the Mayor and City Manager in Charlotte about urban renewal plans for their city and the problems engendered by rapid growth. I suggested that I could assess their plans as an impartial third party and give my opinion as to whether or not Charlotte was planning for an open city. Such analysis might be of value to them were they to apply for additional federal funds.

Urban Renewal and Confrontation (Fort Lauderdale, Florida) -- In February James Hibben, Executive Director, Urban Renewal Agency, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, consulted me about the problems of housing segregation and slums in Fort Lauderdale. Mr. Hibben appeared to want to improve the housing situation for Fort Lauderdale Negroes, but he did not believe that many changes were possible without pressure on the present city government power structure. He hoped for SRC's advice, but he particularly hoped to use us as intermediary between his office and the Negro community to inform the Negro community of the two urban renewal plans under consideration. By this means he expected to elicit an expression of opinions and desires from Fort Lauderdale Negroes, believing that if he had pressure from them he would be able to arouse support for at least some urban renewal by the city government.

The Urban Planning Project made this contact. At the invitation of the Fort Lauderdale NAACP I discussed with their

Board the two urban renewal plans under consideration by the city. We talked with candor about the pros and cons of the plans and about the possibility of the city's carrying through on any urban renewal at all. I told them at that time they should make a careful documentation through newspaper clips, photographs, letters and records of phone calls first of the conditions in the Negro section as proof of the need for action, and second of the fight to persuade the city government to undertake rehabilitation and renewal in the present Negro section. This documentation, if the effort is successful, could serve as guide and encouragement to other cities which have similarly conservative leadership. If the pressure for urban renewal is unsuccessful, the documentation would be part of our contention to the federal government that the matter of housing for non-whites, especially low income non-whites, cannot be left in the hands of local officials or implemented according to the whim of local city government in the South.

Both Mr. Hibben and the Fort Lauderdale NAACP have kept the Urban Planning Project constantly informed of the progress and difficulties of the urban renewal proposal as viewed from their separate positions. Fort Lauderdale will be a test case for SRC-UPP involvement in a specific way with local urban planning projects.

Atlanta Study -- As part of a four-city study prepared for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing the Southern Regional Council was asked to undertake a survey of the availability of sales and rental housing in predominately white areas of Atlanta.

The purpose of the NCDH study was to establish the need, housing availability and climate for acceptance for integrated housing in American cities in general and in the four study cities of Rochester, Denver, Providence and Atlanta in particular. Mr. Samuel Adams, Director of Research, compiled statistics and composed the report on availability in Atlanta for SRC's part of the coordinated report.

PROGRAMS UNDER CONSIDERATION:

Urban Planning Advisors -- request a group of top men from different academic disciplines and business and professional areas to serve as advisors for consultation in various urban problems in the South. With this in mind, I will meet with Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, internationally renowned urban planner from Athens, Greece, in Aspen, Colorado, the last of July. Dr. Doxiadis will be in Aspen to receive the Aspen Award for achievement in the humanities.

Southern Demonstration Cities -- select carefully four southern cities to approach as "demonstration cities" with the hope of working with the city governments and minority groups for open housing and for involvement of the disadvantaged in planning similar to the Fort Lauderdale Project.

Federal Funds and Housing Segregation -- document the ways communities are using federal funds to buttress segregated housing with the idea of influencing future legislation.

PUBLICATIONS:

"Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program" -- a pamphlet prepared by the Urban Planning Project and distributed to certain SRC mailing

categories as well as to those communities which request such information.

In process is a pamphlet on buying a house with particular emphiasis on the problems encountered by Negroes buying in "white" neighborhoods. In addition, we hope to publish a trilogy of experience papers on housing in integrated neighborhoods in Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia.

Education -- We are engaged in probing discussions with members of departments of planning in colleges and universities regarding a new orientation for the indoctrination of planners so that they would be planning with the high ethical concept of responsibility to the total community.

Resource Function -- There have been a number of inquiries about the problems of housing in Southern communities generally and about specific problems in certain cities such as Virginia Beach, Virginia, and Jacksonville, Florida.

A particularly exiiting and unexpected aspect of the Urban Planning Project has been the response of young planners and architects around the country. I am continuing a dialogue with several of these young men about basic philosophy in urban planning. Such interest could be the basis for a summer project utilizing these young men and their training either for survey and analysis of particular cities or for creating bold and innovative schemes to establish equal opportunity in housing in the South.

It will soon be necessary to evaluate our gains and successes and to analyze our failures and difficulties in some depth. An

informal conference on urban problems in the South for SRC staff and others who share our interests might be the most economical and effective way to confront action with reflection and theoretical solutions with actual problems.

Moreland Griffith Smith, Director
Urban Planning Project

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The Community Organization Project is primarily concerned with the efforts of people, rural and urban, in organizing themselves in self-help programs, to learn from these efforts, to determine the extent to which such efforts can attract the support and assistance of public and private agencies, and to encourage that support. On a limited basis, the project itself offers staff, consultative and financial assistance to such efforts.

The observations have, to date, led to two publications both prepared by the project director and both aimed for the rather large group of persons and agencies interested in helping the poor. These publications, both issued as SRC Special Reports, are "A City Slum -- Poor People and Problems," and "Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People."

Through the Project we have been able to support the program of the Rural Advancement Project in two additional states. This is a joint effort on the part of the National Sharecroppers Fund and the Southern Regional Council by which funds and technical assistance are provided the state Councils on Human Relations to enable them to

employ a full-time person to work in rural areas. Earlier we were able to support this effort in South Carolina and Georgia. Now we are able to do so in Florida and Alabama also. All four state councils have acquired staff and are conducting programs similar to those reflected in the remainder of this report. They are, in addition, developing a number of programs reflecting the needs and interests of the four state organizations.

Much of the concern of this Project has been in attracting the interest of other agencies and/or in encouraging cooperative efforts. For instance, the Project helped set up a self-help housing conference in Lake Worth, Florida, tri-sponsored by SRC, the Florida Migrant Mission, and the American Friends Service Committee. We acted as convener for a planning conference to discuss cooperative training and education. Major participants were the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Southern Consumers' Cooperative. SRC is co-sponsor with the Encampment for Citizenship of an Encampment program at Barbourville, Kentucky. We have assisted in planning the curriculum, recruiting students and the project director has spent one week with the group this summer.

Perhaps most important, the project has devoted substantial time in working with the staff of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., to determine the opportunities which may exist for that organization to be of help in this region. It is premature to report on the results, but at this point we are encouraged by the interest shown and excited by the possibilities of the involvement of that important agency.

The project director has consulted with officials of the Peace Corps on southern-based training programs and has been involved in training sessions with VISTA volunteers. Work has been done with oyster fishermen at Daufauski Island, South Carolina, and the Project bore the cost of travel expenses of representatives from that community for a trip to Washington to determine if the Economic Development Administration could provide a much needed boat for the community. In cooperation with Penn Community Center we have worked in Pritchardsville, South Carolina, on a self-help housing program. Assistance has been given the Vine City (Atlanta) Candle Cooperative in an application for a $1,000 loan from the United Presbyterian Church, USA.

Other technical assistance offered by the Project director and/or other consultants include:

(1) Wilcox County, Alabama -- Assistance to persons interested in establishing a credit union, a housing project, and a 600-acre cooperative farming experiment.

(2) Nottaway, Amelia and Prince Edward Counties, Virginia -- Participation in an orientation program for students who will work during the summer in these counties. The project director will spend a 10-day period during mid-summer working with this group.

(3) Pearl City, Florida -- Assistance to members of the Pearl City Civic League in preparing a community action proposal for OEO for recreation centers and civic education programs. A project grant of $150 was also made to help defray the costs of surveys needed for the proposal.

(4) Selma, Alabama (Inter-Religious Project) -- A consultant was provided to spend the summer with the Freedom Quilting Cooperative in Dallas and Wilcox Counties. Miss Lois Deslonde is attempting to improve the quality of the quilts, diversify the products of the Co-Op, and is conducting classes in Co-Op education. A project grant of $300 has been made, and an additional grant of the same amount is likely. This cooperative involved more than 125 persons.

(5) Jackson, Mississippi (Poor People's Corporation) -- For a three-month period two consultants are being provided for the areas of cooperative education and managerial skills.

(6) Sumter, Marengo and Wilcox Counties, Alabama -- A consultant has been provided to work with groups in these counties interested in organizing credit unions.

(7) Lee County, South Carolina -- The project director is working with a group in this county interested in establishing a credit union and a buying club.

Several work-scholarships have been awarded to students working during the summer under the auspices of local organizations. These scholarships, in the amount of $150 each have been awarded to:

(1) Miss Linda Baughn, a student from Fisk University, to work in a project in the Nashville slum area under the direction of the Tennessee and Nashville Councils on Human Relations.

(2) Miss Carol Edwards to work in Amelia County, Virginia in a program to establish a local newspaper which will attempt to train people to write and publish their own newspaper after the end of the summer through the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee.

(3) Miss Linda Maury to work with the East Alabama Council on Human Relations on a program concerned with Negro students who will enter the formerly white schools in September.

(4) Mr. John Reiman, a Morehouse College student, to work in Negro and white slums in Atlanta to determine if slum dwellers will respond to local self-interest issues and if so, what issues.

(5) Miss Jerrilyn McGee, a student from Clark College, is working in a slum area of Atlanta with 20 children ranging from ages 5 to 15. Purposes are to prepare a report on the life of a child in a slum area, to interest parents in seeking nursery and day-care facilities for their children.

The Project has hoped to determine ways to involve churches to the point of having them express an interest in and establishing programs with and for the poor. Thus far, the results are encouraging.

A large Negro church in Atlanta, Friendship Baptist, has developed a staffed program of work in several slum areas near the church. Work has ranged from attempting to get better recreational facilities and programs for the areas to a successful campaign to have local merchants stop the sale of glue to children. Recently, a large white church, Trinity Presbyterian, has become interested, has contributed $1,300 to the Project, and is working closely with Friendship Baptist in expanding the program.

We are convinced that the Project is showing that poor people want to help themselves, and can do so given proper guidance, technical assistance, and adequate resources.

Al Ulmer, Director

Community Organization Project

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

In the first six months of its existence, the current Voter Education Project has assisted a total of 76 different programs. The emphasis thus far has been on voter registration. However, several programs of citizenship education and leadership training have been funded.

As the state-by-state tables show, there is much to be done in the field of voter registration in the South, depsite the striking advances made in recent years. At present, barely half the Negroes of voting age in the South are registered. The white registration is nearly three-fourths.

Sizable increases still will have to be made in Negro registration if the level of democratic participation in the South is to be raised. So it is natural that local committees and citizenship organizations presently are stressing registration. But it is to be expected that emphasis will shift to citizenship education and leadership training as the registration totals move upward. The Voter Education Project will continue to take the initiative in stimulating programs of education and training.

Thus far, programs associated with the Voter Education Project have registered nearly 50,000 persons. However, there are a few projects which have not yet submitted final reports. And there are a number of projects, particularly in Georgia and Mississippi, which have not yet had time to submit reports.

Moreover, it should be noted that registration drives tend to have a snowballing effect. When one person who has never registered

goes to the courthouse and does so, he tells his relatives and neighbors. A few days later, the relatives and neighbors may go and register. So 20 or more persons eventually may register because one person was reached in a registration drive.

We know this occurs. Our reports from rural counties tell us that some plantation workers will not go register until others do. So a breakthrough produces ever-widening circles of new voters.

A study we have just completed shows the impact of organized registration drives and federal examiners on Negro registration. The figures follow a predictable pattern, but we feel that they are nevertheless interesting. Registration figures are significantly lower in counties with neither examiners nor organized drives.

Where heavy new registration occurs, the question naturally arises: Will these newly registered citizens vote?

Our study of the Alabama primary indicates that they will. We estimate that nearly three-fourths of Negro registration voted in the May 3 primary.

Much depends, of course, on circumstances and issues, and the issues in the Alabama primary were sharply drawn. All the same, we felt that the Alabama turnout was remarkably high.

It is here that citizenship education and leadership training come into the picture. Before the Alabama primary, the Lee County League of Women Voters received from us a grant of $200. With this modest sum, the League transported voting machines throughout the county so that 2,500 new voters, of whom 1,300 were illiterate, could become accustomed to using this rather imposing device before the election.

Now we are granting another small amount -- $775 - to the same organization for the purpose of producing three television programs on citizenship education for showing in Alabama and, we hope, elsewhere. The programs will be produced in cooperation with the drama departments of Tuskegee Institute and Auburn University.

Another pre-primary program of voter education was conducted in Macon County. We hope this program will be the forerunner of similar programs in other rural areas.

In the field of leadership training, a one-day institute was held in Alabama in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. A similar institute was held later in South Carolina.

These institutes schooled candidates and poll watchers in election laws and election procedures. After the Alabama primaries, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suits regarding Greene County and a legislative district in East Alabama growing out of instructions provided at the pre-election institute.

Also, we have allocated a small grant for a six-day leadership training workshop to be held later this month at Frogmore, South Carolina for Negro candidates and their campaign workers.

Another forthcoming project will be supported through the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League. It will seek to train community leaders in both urban and rural settings -- Jacksonville, Florida, and Hobson City, Alabama.

We are also working to increase student participation in programs sponsored through the Voter Education Project. VEP has been fortunate during the summer in having the services of William

R. Beardslee, a Haverford College student, who is directing our efforts in this area.

Many of our registration programs report that young people are the mainstays of such activities as door-to-door canvassing. As an example of our efforts to encourage the use of students in VEP-assisted programs, we recently made a grant to the Lynchburg, Virginia Voters League for five students and a coordinator.

We also assisted the National YWCA in a spring registration campaign conducted by 247 college students in six localities. These students registered 3,022 persons -- a figure not included in our state-by-state VEP total.

One of the better programs with which we are associated is being operated in Southside Virginia by the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. Beardslee recommends that we expand the use of students in VEP. He proposes recruitment through deans of Negro colleges and through human-relations organizations.

It should be noted that not all of our programs are limited to a single county. The Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee works in nine counties. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations operates a program in 16 counties. Another program covers 19 counties in West Tennessee.

Thus far, for all programs, we have committed a total of $125,962.30. Grants to VEP total $325,000.

Our research department answers requests for information on registration and voting from sources ranging from the New York Times

and television networks to local news media and candidates.

The research reports sent to us from VEP-assisted programs regularly provide some of the most interesting reading material available concerning the South and southern problems. Through these reports we watch directors of these programs -- for the most part, local people -- meet and conquer such oft-mentioned problems as fear, intimidation, suspicion, apathy, resignation, dissension and the hostility of white officials.

Is it worthwhile? For that answer we turn to the director of the registration program in Charleston, South Carolina. In pen-and-ink at the bottom of his final statistical report, he writes:

> "We tried as hard as we could to get as many to register as possible. We are not too happy. But 783 new registered voters would never have been if it were not for the Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project

file

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No. 91
Aug.22, 1966

TO: COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS
FROM: ARNOLD ARONSON, SECRETARY

MINIMUM WAGE BILL CLEARED FOR SENATE ACTION

The Senate may start considering by the end of this week an indispensable adjunct to the full enjoyment of civil rights: improvements in the federal minimum wage.

As unanimously reported out by the Senate Labor Committee, the bill (H.R.13712) contains one major improvement over the measure the House passed on May 26. Workers already covered by the federal minimum wage law would get the full benefits of the bill one year sooner. The present minimum of $1.25 an hour would be increased to $1.40 on February 1, 1967 and to $1.60 on February 1, 1968. The House, acting on a suggestion by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), stretched out the final step so that the $1.60 an hour increase would not be reached until February 1969.

Coverage for New Workers

An estimated 7.180 million new workers would be covered by the bill. Many of them are workers in restaurants, laundries, hotels and hospitals--employers of large numbers of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and others of the working poor. For newly-covered workers the minimum wage under both the House and Senate bills would start at $1 an hour in 1967 and move upward in a series of 15 cent increases until the $1.60 an hour minimum was reached in 1971.

For farm workers who would be covered by the bill for the first time, the automatic increases would stop when they reached $1.30 an hour in 1969.

Sheepherders and Janitors Exempt

The Committee bill would extend coverage to about 390,000 farm workers. The House bill would have covered somewhere between 370,000 and 400,000. Exempt from coverage in the version before

the Senate are about 10,000 sheepherders and other livestock range workers. But about 30,000 sugar processing workers were added.

The Senate Committee cut out of its bill about 900,000 school janitors and other blue-collar workers whom the House included.

However, the bill contains substantial improvements in wage and coverage and merits our full support. We urge our organizations now to write or wire all Senators urging them:

(1) to oppose any weakening amendments when the bill reaches the floor, and

(2) to support any efforts to broaden coverage.

"Only Half The Picture" Still Available

Copies of the Leadership Conference pamphlet, "Only Half The Picture," which discusses the civil rights implications of minimum wage, may still be obtained from this office. The price is $10 a hundred, $90 a 1,000 and the publication answers the questions of the opposition and presents the case for wage benefits that make many other rights meaningful.

DID YOUR PAPER COMMENT ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL?

The Leadership Conference is interested in collecting editorial reaction to House passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1966. If your local paper discussed the bill please send the editorial on to us. It helps give us some idea of the kind of opposition and support that exists for the bill outside of Washington.

* * * * *

file - Mimos - Incoming

PA - ds this too close to political activity? Ed L

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS

52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mighty close
PS

Date: 9/2/66

To: Negro Voters of the 2nd Congressional District

From: Hubert D. Thomas

Subject: Know How To Mark Your Ballot
On September 14, 1966

Paul Lawrence Dunbar said years ago, as he studied the plight of the Negro shortly after slavery, "The power to vote is the power to rule".

How well the Negro benefits out of the coming elections is going to depend on how much effort he puts forth to get to the polls and use his ballot on election day.

You are invited to attend a Voter Election Mass Meeting on Sunday, September 11, 1966, 4:00 p. m. at the First Baptist Church, corner of Madison and Calhoun Streets, Thomasville, Georgia.

Historical data will be presented on all candidates. From the information that you will receive at this workshop, you should know how to mark your ballot on September 14, and November 8, 1966.

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
REV. C. S. HAMILTON, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Ed. Stanfield

Memos - Incoming

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

October 12, 1966

TO: PROFESSIONAL STAFF

FROM: JOHN O. BOONE

Request that you review the attached material which will be mailed to the Advisory Committee of the Project on Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation. The Rapporteurs' Summaries will not be discussed at the Advisory Committee Meeting but hopefully, will provide the broad frame of reference that planners for a reform project need.

I would appreciate it if you would join us in a discussion of the project proposals for a short period this afternoon, before we make bold to present them to the Advisory Committee.

Thank you.

ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Examination of the functional structures of correctional systems in the United States is analogous to a trip through Europe where, in traveling relatively short distances, one may encounter many different languages, types of government, patterns of culture and artifacts. In the Southern Region one finds penal systems which range from the enlightened to the reactionary, from the progressive to the mediaeval, from the humane to the brutal. Even within a single state one may observe, on one level, trends toward a system in accordance with the most progressive correctional philosophy, while, on another level, one finds hangovers from the days of degrading stripes and chains. In the same way, law enforcement agencies and the judicial process will invoke, selectively, both primitive and modern practices, the choice of treatment reflecting, in the main, the social characteristics of the community officals and/or the economic resources of the offender.

Project on Penal Reform & Criminal Rehabilitation

It is particularly fortunate that, in an area which is almost exclusively the domain of public policy and administration, the Ford Foundation has provided an opportunity for a private agency to intervene and, perhaps, make a contribution toward advancing these crucial processes. Law enforcement agencies and correctional systems, as government agencies controlled by relatively rigid public policies, are understandably sensitive to the opinions of community groups. This tendency has often been demonstrated in the wake of exposed corruption and public disorder. As responsible arms of public policy, the systems are able to innovate only within the limits imposed by laws which govern their operations. A private agency that is not bound by official restrictions and the burden of tradition can offer assistance to correctional administrators and interested groups of citizens who desire to implement reforms, conduct pertinent research and institute programs designed to bring about constructive change in governmental systems and new approaches to dealing with crime and delinquency.

Advisory Committee

In order to develop a creditable three year program, reconciling philosophy and feasability as much as possible, we have convened a group of knowledgeable, persons broadly representative of society's institutions, who are acutely interested in the social task of coping with the problems presented by violations of societal mores.

The following propositions are submitted primarily to stimulate your thinking and give some direction to our meeting. They are not meant to imply that we are committed to carrying out any particular proposal, except for the initial survey that is already underway.

A. Southern Regional Council Special Report: The Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in the Southern Region (to be published this year.)

This will be a state-by-state survey report describing the current situation of crime prevention and corrections in the South. Dr. Vernon Fox and associates at Florida State University's Department of Criminology and Corrections and SRC staff members are assisting us in this publication. The report will describe: racial integration; philosophy of corrections; manpower utilization and needs; comparative financial resources and expenditures; physical plants and facilities, including farms and industrial operations; treatment programs, both community and institutional; classification systems; parole policies and practices; facilities for post-release assistance and community treatment centers; institutional populations and patterns of recidivism; nature of professional staffs. Similar analyses will be made of law enforcement agencies and courts, to a limited extent, to determine any new developments stemming from recent legislation and court decisions. The survey will be based on official reports and inquiries, other publications, and observations of authorities in the field.

The survey will provide both a vehicle for public education and a basis for the project's programs.

B. Research Conference: While no one can be certain that any particular research project will produce practically useful results, we would like to be sure, at least, that our projects will be pertinent to the problems of the Southern Region. One means of providing this assurance would be to bring together a small group of academicians of the region, under the leadership of a nationally known social scientist, for the purpose of presenting papers and designing research that we could practically pursue. Such a conference would have the added advantage of providing a needed forum for ideas of regional rather than national interest. Such ideas are often neglected at more broadly based meetings. Another approach would be to select research without formally weighing its value relative to regional concerns, and some suggestions are proposed in this outline.

C. Other Research:

1. A study to determine whether underdeveloped correctional systems consistently make for a higher rate of recidivism than systems considered more progressive.

2. Up-date comparative sentencing study done by SRC in 1954 - referring to both the Garfinkle and Foley studies. Each of these studies pointed to significant disparities between the nature of sentences for Negroes and white persons. Have these practices changed during the period since 1954 - the year of the Supreme Court decision relative to school desegregation?

3. A candid review of industry's attitudes toward the employment of persons with records of crime and delinquency. Is there a need for a more concerted public or private project to encourage industry to use this manpower more appropriately, somewhat in the manner of the "Hire the Handicapped" program.

4. Study how Negroes use correctional services. (Could be part of study of underdeveloped systems.)

5. Study effectiveness of the North Carolina Plan (such a study may already be underway.)

6. Demonstration Project in an urban area, focused on crime and delinquency, and utilizing multi-method techniques involving public and private agencies and graduate schools. Such a project would be accompanied by a research and evaluation instrument.

7. Report on institutional visiting (prisons, jails, training schools, etc.) by small teams of women - utilizing a modified John Howard approach.

D. Public Education:

1. Supportive work with human relations groups and The Fellowship of the Concerned, throughout the southern region, as they demonstrate interest in the administration of criminal justice.

2. Prepare legislative handbook, summarizing the codes under which corrections operates, state by state, pointing out apparent weaknesses, making use of accepted standards by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency or the American Correctional Association. The book will be distributed to public and private agencies, legislators, and interested groups.

3. Prepare booklet on the administration of criminal justice for use in public schools, in order to encourage wider acceptance of this process as a normal function of social welfare. It has been proposed that this be done in cooperation with the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower. (The approach would be to influence attitudes toward corrections as a career and as a helping agency, mainly through the creative presentation of case materials.)

E. Direct Action:

1. Consultation Service. Secure a panel of knowledgeable professional correctional workers and facilitate its use by systems in the region. Organizations and groups could secure our support through regional conferences and their own action groups. This program would provide for fees and expenses for consultants and technical advisors.

2. Technical Advice. As far as possible, the project staff would provide technical advice concerning correctional procedures, training, and new programs and policies.

3. Would a Regional Conference on Racial Integration in Prisons provide significant support for state efforts in this area? While a policy of racial integration would require the repeal of restrictive statutes in many states, a conference on the problems and processes of integration which are peculiar to correctional systems might serve to alleviate the anxiety of administrators concerning the effects of desegregation in their prisons. Would a sharing of experiences by those who have already effectuated integration be helpful? Another idea would involve an even larger conference, co-sponsored, perhaps, by such organizations as NCCD and ACA, for all interested managers without considering regional limitations.

4. Provision of resource material to public and private agencies, groups and individuals. For example, some Human Relations Councils will receive copies of Ferguson vs. Buchanan (which resulted in desegregation of the Dade County Jail). This will be used as the Councils urge officials to begin to desegregate. Also, films and other learning aids would be used in this program.

5. Cross-fertilization of ideas and programs. This program would facilitate an exchange of top-level and middle-management administrators of criminal justice in the region. Pro-

perly implemented, such a program could encourage the spread of progressive correctional principles in day-to-day operations.

6. Recruitment of Negroes for Correctional work. Studies reveal that very few Negroes are employed in correctional administration. (This could be an area for significant research). Would schools and agencies be benefited by a private recruitment service?

7. Training for correctional work. How could a private agency assist in this endeavor?

8. The procedures by which society deals with delinquent or criminal behavior are often themselves causative factors in later offenses. A study of the background and characteristics of men who have histories of Dyer Act violation (Interstate Transportation of a Stolen Motor Vehicle) should throw some light on this hypothesis.

General Observations

Preliminary observations through travel and correspondence would seem to indicate that, while there are many serious problems - including the continued commission of atrocities in some penal systems - the situation is somewhat more encouraging than anticipated.

Florida has integrated all of its institutions and has invited us to visit the system. Whether this alleged integration, however, is token or real, remains to be seen.

There has been some integration in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia (the Girls" Training School in Atlanta), and some degree of integration must be assumed in all institutions which have accepted Federal grants (including Draper Prison in Alabama.)

Personnel changes in the Arkansas Correctional System in the wake of the recent lashing publicity, while sadly belated and totally inadequate, nevertheless represents some small improvement.

Many top-level correctional administrators in the region privately reveal an unexpectedly progressive orientation. This leaves room for hope that state correctional systems will be willing to accept help and at least entertain suggestions for specific changes.

In sum, there is considerable reason to believe that this project, through the judicious extension of grants and technical assistance for specific projects; initiation and support of basic research in neglected areas; organization and encouragement of groups working for the passage of sound reform bills in state legislatures, and the wide dissemination of information about corrections and the processes of criminal law at meetings and through the mass communications media, can make a substantial contribution to the upgrading and increased humanization of all of the processes in which the criminal offender is involved, before, during and after imprisonment.

Memos - Incoming

October 21, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Professional Staff *
FROM: Emory F. Via

Mrs. Nadine Peppard, General Secretary, National Commission for Commonwealth Immigrants (England) will be in Atlanta from the evening of October 30, until some time on November 3.

She is scheduled to come by SRC on Monday October 31, at 10:00 a.m. and stay with us through lunch. She may well want to make a return visit to the office.

Among other things, she is a friend of Ben Segal, an old friend of SRC, currently working with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as head of the Liaison for State and Local Groups.

I hope that you will be able to spend some time with Mrs. Peppard while she is in town. Would you be interested in having lunch with her on Monday?

Thanks.

* Anderson, Bob
Anthony, Paul
Boone, John
Jordan, Vernon
Long, Maggie
Smith, Moreland
Stanfield, Ed
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.
Ulmer, Al
Watters, Pat

(single space) 36 copies

October 24, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Special Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

Ed Stanfield has shared with me the report on your meeting of September 27. I ~~deeply~~ regret that I was unable to attend at least a portion of that meeting. We do appreciate the time you have devoted to this matter and hope that we can ask you to continue serving on this ~~very~~ important committee. I particularly appreciate your decision to submit your recommendations to me to give us an opportunity for continued discussion and comment. I think this is a very sound approach to these deliberations and that we can hope for the greatest amount of progress at this point by following such a plan.

At the outset, let me assure you (although I hope it isn't necessary) that I have a deep commitment to the existence of the state councils and their growth. This is commitment which is shared without question by the Executive Committee and staff of SRC. I am ~~absolutely~~ certain that SRC can perform a valuable and essential service to the state councils through its regional operation. This ranges

from services to the state councils and providing programs and specialists to continued regional and national fund raising efforts on behalf of the state councils. In turn, I feel it is essential for the operation of SRC to have this out-reach into the whole region, this structure, this identity with and information from the "grass-roots." It would be the most serious mistake, in my opinion, if we did not continue the closest possible partnership, insofar as we at the Southern Regional Council are concerned. We would hope the members of the Special Committee would always consider their worth in the context of not whether or not there should be a continued close relationship but on how the partnership can be most effectively continued. Your recommendations reflect that we are of the same mind on this.

Specific comments on your recommendations follow:

1. SRC and the councils on human relationships should share a regional identity.

I quite agree with this. To a substantial measure this is already the case, but I think it is something we should be positively aware of and work toward increasing. As a part of this recommendation, I think more thought has to be given to an idea which the state council directors have discussed for several years. This is the possibility of the state councils forming at least a more formal confederation

which can on occasion speak as one voice or plan special programs for the entire region. The leadership of several of the state councils have expressed considerable enthusiasm for this idea. The leadership of several other councils have expressed some reservation about the extent to which this removes policy and program planning from the policy leadership to the state councils' staff. Since there is some remaining question about this, I think the committee should give thought to it and request that state council presidents and directors continue to think about it, preferably when they meet together. Incidentally, as a part of this regional identity I believe that the councils on human relations should consider themselves in a position to have a constant and strong voice in the planning of future SRC programs and projects. To a reasonable degree, we here consider this now the case but I think there is room for more emphasis on this. Certainly, we will be very responsive to the requests for needs, services, programs and direction from the state council leadership.

2. Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Here again we are in complete agreement. Several years ago the members of SRC at an annual meeting voted that one of the considerations to be taken into account on the election of new members was the involvement of the persons under consideration in the council on human relations from their state. This policy has been followed regularly and each

year. A majority of those persons nominated have been actively involved in the state council. This consideration will continue to be a part of the deliberations of future members of future nominating committees. It is unlikely at this point that the Executive Committee of SRC would look with favor on any proposal that would automatically give to the state councils the election of a certain number of SRC members. This procedure was deliberately abandoned in 1957 when the councils became autonomous, and at this time the Executive Committee strongly supports the concept of autonomy. There is no reason, however, while this cannot be a matter for continued consideration certainly the partnership referred to above cannot be most effective unless ways official and unofficial are continued to see that state council interests are foremost in the minds of the members of the Council and their deliberations.

3. Members of the Councils on Human Relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

4. SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of Council on Human Relations Membership as one of its objectives.

Again we are in complete agreement. For the past several years we have attempted to emphasize this and, for instance, toward that end the George Mitchell Award was instituted. (Incidentally this award with a cash value of $1,000 a year is a pretty heavy burden on SRC, but was deliberately chosen in that amount to be a real inducement.) In the future, I

would like to see us give particular emphasis to suggestions, program assistance and financial resources, which will help to maintain membership and the involvement of Council members in the programs of the several state councils.

5. To this end its field services should be built with the idea of offering trained and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and in suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

Again we are in complete agreement. There is quite frankly a limit to which we can expand the field services but certainly they are inadequate at this time. I feel that Ed Stanfield is doing a remarkable job as Field Director and particularly in assisting the state councils. Quite obviously this is a job which one man, no matter how good, cannot adequately fill. There is already a policy within SRC that although the funds are not on hand and are not budgeted that at any time we find a highly competent individual to become Stanfield's assistant, such a person will be acquired. We are, however, determined that such an individual will have the qualifications to meet the needs you suggest.

6. There should be no interruption ~~out~~ of the projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved where possible.

All of the statements made heretofore in this memorandum refer to this. They do, of course, reflect complete agreement with you again. We have not done as good a job a possible

in keeping the state councils informed about SRC projects and a real effort is underway here to improve that. Beyond that I would place more emphasis perhaps than this Committee has on the matter of involving state and local councils in SRC projects. It would be my hope that with rare exception there would be considerable involvement in SRC projects on the part of state and local councils and as mentioned before, indeed, substantial planning in them before they are initiated.

Beyond the above response to your several recommendations it might be good if you knew more of some of our thinking here as we go through what is in effect a period of significant transition for the Southern Regional Council. In the past year we have grown tremendously. (Incidentally, for the first time the rate of growth of our financial assistance to the state councils has been proportionate to the remainder of our growth.) While that opinion might well change because of the changing conditions, it is my strong opinion at this point that we have reached the "saturation point." I believe for a substantial further growth on the part of the Southern Regional Council in terms of number of staff, number of projects, or ~~a lot~~ of money available would be very questionable. We are not here interested in building an empire and the relatively modest staff and budget in comparison with the results gained over the past fifteen years gives me considerable pause before we undertake any additional substantial expansion.

Quite frankly, I would hope the trend is in the other direction. That to a gentle and gradual degree we begin to slowly cut back to a point where we are perhaps twenty percent smaller in staff and budget than we are at this time. You should know that in part I reached this opinion because in oversize fashion we share a particular problem with the state councils. Namely, we have great difficulty in finding adequate support for our general operations and we, like the state councils, must give this first priority and must be concerned that at no time do we over-extend ourselves ~~to the point of danger~~.

Further, we here at SRC are not anxious to become over-extended in field programs. There are certain functions such as our Voter Education Project which we have no choice but to undertake. These are, however, specific functions for a limited amount of time and they are not seen as a permanent part of the agency. In general, we feel state councils particularly, but other agencies as well, are in a far better position to undertake program work on the local level. Our unique function is on an entirely different level and I believe it would be a mistake not to recognize that uniqueness and the danger of considerable duplication if we become too involved in programs.

I hope it will be possible for this Committee to meet before or during the Annual Meeting and should you wish there

will certainly be an opportunity for the Committee to report to the members of the Council on your thinking and deliberation at this point.

The Council now has a number of special committees at work on future SRC policies and programs. I am certain I speak for the full Council in expressing the opinion that this Committee is one of the most important. This will be discussed with the Executive Committee of SRC. I personally hope this Committee will contine to function indefinitely and that each of you will contine to be agreeable to serve.

We look forward to seeing you on November 16.

PA/km

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Edwin Stanfield

Miss L. Frances Jordan, 2411 Stafford Avenue, Raleigh, N.C., whom I met at the Mid-Decade Conference in Washington and who works for the N.C. Extension Service, is concerned about the impact of school desegregation on families in rural areas. Specifically, she would like a reassuring pamphlet to distribute to parents on dealing with what happens to the children in integrated schools. She thinks she could get funds to have such a thing published if we or someone else could help find factual material and help with the writing. Do you think this might be worth pursuing?

Incidentally, Miss Jordan has attended annual meetings of the NCCHR and she reads New South. She like the new format.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JA 4-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

January 14, 1966

TO: Participating agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Edwin J. Stanfield, Director of Field Activities

This is to remind you once again of the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference on January 26-27. We shall begin in the SRC conference room at 2:00 p.m. on the twenty-sixth, and the conference should end by mid-afternoon on the twenty-seventh.

Enclosed is a copy of the proposed agenda.

I hope that you will have a representative here.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

March 4, 1966

TO: STATE COUNCIL DIRECTORS

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Exchange of materials

Enclosed are samples of recent materials put out by some of the state councils. I pass them along in the hope that program ideas for your own situation may be gleaned from them.

If you are not sending your stuff directly to the other state council offices, please send me 15 copies of all publications, including newsletters, and we will distribute them for you.

March 15, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Enclosed are copies of some forms devised by Roberta Blackwell of the North Carolina Council for reporting the statistical information we need (starting by April).

These appear to me to provide the data in an uncomplicated manner, and I pass them along with the thought that you might want to adapt them for your own use.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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JA 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 16, 1966

TO: Participating agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held on Tuesday and Wednesday, April 19 and 20, in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta. The meeting will begin at 2:00 P.M. on the 19th and adjourn about noon on the 20th.

Please note the change from the planned dates of April 20 and 21. This change was made, after consultation with Jean Fairfax, in order not to conflict with a National Civil Liberties Clearing House meeting in Washington beginning on the 21st.

The Steering Committee will welcome suggestions for the agenda. A copy of the agenda will be sent to you about ten days before the meeting.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Atlanta 5-3364

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 17, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

We need to schedule another meeting of state council staffs. I would like to schedule a two-day meeting this time, beginning about 10:00 A.M. on the first day and ending no later than 3:00 P.M. on the second.

Let me suggest the following combinations and ask each of you to list the ones you have free in the order of your preference.

April 4 and 5
April 5 and 6
April 26 and 27

Please indicate those dates which you could not have free at all. Please hold the ones you do have free until you get a confirmation from me.

Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

P.S. -- This time SRC will pay expenses for one staffer, normally the director, plus the four Rural Advancement Project directors.

Other staffers are welcome.

_____ & got this May 2nd!
me too! ah

SRC ROUTING SLIP

RECEPTIONIST, Luesta Knox 22

****

ADAMS, Sam, Research 33

ALBRIGHT, Montez, Research 9

ALEXANDER, Ruth, Sec.-Treas. 5

Anderson, Bob

ANTHONY, Paul, Director 26

BARTLEY, Glenda, Research 31

~~BRINSON, Albert, Mail~~ 25

BROWNING, Joan, Sec. 37

COOK, Bernice, Mail 25

FRANKLIN, Pat, Sec. 24

GIMARC, Jerry, Sec. 38

HOWARD, Ruth, Sec. 8

JOHNSON, Mildred, Sec. 36

JORDAN, Vernon, VEP 6

LEWIS, Ed, Asst. Dir. 39

LONG, Margaret, New South 0

LUMPKIN, Ester, Research 31

MANDERSON, Marge, Research 31

MORGAN, Nobbie, VEP 4

MORRISON, Bernice, Research 31

PATTERSON, Barbara, Research 31

REED, Doris, Research 31

SHORTT, Janet, Research 31

SMITH, Janet, Circulation 5

SMITH, Moreland, Urban Planning 27

STANFIELD, Ed, Field Director 28

TILLY, Mrs. M.E., Women 29

ULMER, Al, Program Specialist 35

~~VIA~~, Emory, Labor 30

WATTERS, Pat, Information Dir. 32

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JA 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 25, 1966

TO: State Council Staffs

FROM: Ed Stanfield

This is to confirm the dates April 26 and 27 for our meeting of state councils staffs. We will begin at 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday and try to conclude by mid-afternoon on Wednesday.

While this was not everyone's first choice, most seemed to find it possible to attend on these dates.

We especially urge the Rural Advancement Project directors to attend this meeting, in order to get acquainted with the SRC and state council crowd. In addition, Jac Wasserman asks that they stay an extra day, (Thursday) for a meeting with him.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 10, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Community Leadership Training Laboratory, July 24-31 1966.

I finally got in touch with Dean Charles T. Lester of Emory University to inquire about scholarship help for the training laboratory. He says that the laboratory must be operated on a largely self-sustaining basis, so that the amount of scholarship help available depends upon the paid enrollment. The result is that those who apply for scholarship aid must wait until enrollment is complete to find out whether it can be granted or not--with no assurance of attending. Also, the available scholarship aid is divided in order to get a wide variety geographical and agency representation. Thus the chances of getting a "block" of scholarships for any one agency would be slim.

For these reasons, Dean Lester agreed that the best advise we could give would be for each state director to apply without requesting scholarship aid, using the $150 offered by SRC. The Rural Advancement Project Directors could then apply for a scholarship with a reasonable hope of getting it. All applications should be sent directly to Dean Lester at the address in the brochure.

As indicated, SRC will provide $150 for each state council staff for this purpose. If you will notify me that you have applied, we will get the money to you during the week before the laboratory begins.

I also asked about the possibility of registration without room and meals. Dean Lester said that they have had several inquiries about this, but at this point they are still expecting everyone to "live in"--on the theory that this adds greatly to the "experience."

I hope that at least one person from each state council staff will be able to attend. If you need another descriptive leaflet, let me know.

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
Jackson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

May 12, 1966

TO: STATE COUNCIL DIRECTORS

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Harry DeLung has asked me to call your attention to the omission of SRC's address on the information mailed to you yesterday concerning the book distribution program. As you transmit these guides to local groups, please tell them how to send proposals to us.

Incidentally, in response to your suggestion of book lists for several subjects or categories, I am told that to prepare meaningful lists in any useful variety would be prohibitively difficult and time consuming. Hence the suggestion that books be requested by quantity and category wherever possible. However, specific titles may be requested, of course.

Memos - Outgoing

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 13, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: STATE COUNCIL DIRECTORS

FROM: ED STANFIELD

There seems to be some confusion about the membership information needed on the monthly statistical report which is required before payment of the expanded-grant-in-aid quarterly installments.

What we are interested in is the number of people who have renewed their membership or joined your council by paying dues in this membership year. How many people have paid dues in or for 1966?

Some councils have all memberships due for renewal on the same date (as January 1). Others bill members for renewal on the anniversary month of their joining the council. Either way is quite satisfactory. What counts is the cumulative total over a full year.

For the purpose of these statistics, please do not report as members persons who have let more than a year pass without renewing their membership.

****

Some were also confused by the category "New Members" which appeared on the North Carolina reporting form which I sent out as suggestive of the month-by-month and cumulative information wanted. I apologize for failing to see that this could easily be interpreted differently from what is outlined above. Actually, it is unimportant whether a member is renewing or joining for the first time. Only two membership figures matter to us: How

many renewed or joined during this month? And how many have done so to date for this membership year?

****

Please do not forget that monthly financial reports must show a breakdown of receipts into membership dues, individual contributions, corporate business contributions, SRC grants, foundation grants, and miscellaneous receipts.

****

Finally, those whose grants call for employment of additional staff as a condition of payment of the second and subsequent quarterly installments should notify us in writing when the new employee has begun work.

$500.00

YM-YWCA Scholarship Information Center

YM-YWCA, University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Research and information on scholarships available for Negro students.

Research #318

May 17, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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JA-5-2764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 18, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: STATE COUNCIL PRESIDENTS

FROM: EDWIN STANFIELD, DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

For some time we have been thinking of bringing together the chairmen of the policy boards of the state councils for a day (at SRC expense) to discuss common concerns, problems and objectives. We frequently convene the "professionals" and we think an occasional session "for lay leaders only" would be equally beneficial. The purpose of this memorandum is to explore that possibility.

Among the things I think we need to talk about are: (1) the philosophy and objectives of the human relations councils; (2) the kinds of policies, programs and procedures appropriate to our purpose and philosophy; (3) selection of effective Board members and the overall composition of state council Boards; (4) qualifications to look for when staff personnel are needed, where to look, and employment procedures; (5) the level and scale of staff salaries; (6) staff benefits, such as retirement plans, hospitalization, etc. I am sure there will be other things on your minds and topics that will grow out of the above.

First, please let me know whether you think this worth the while or not.

If it seems wanted, my feeling is that an afternoon, evening and morning would be most helpful--allowing time for an agenda, but also for informal conversation. The problem, of course, is to find days that would suit everyone. Let me suggest alternatives

and ask you to check those that are possible for you on the extra copy of this and return it to me. I have tried to suggest schedules which would suit the clergymen, the teachers and the businessmen among you without taking more than one working day from any. If you would prefer weekdays, please indicate which pairs you have available between June 12 and June 25.

_____June 17 (Fri.), 2:00 P.M., until June 18, noon. (Two chairmen happen to be on a Special Projects Advisory Committee which will be meeting in Atlanta on the morning of the 17th.)

_____June 24 (Fri.), 2:00 P.M., until June 25, noon.

_____June 12 (Sun.), about 4:00 P.M., until June 13, about 3:00 P.M.

_____June 19 (Sun.), about 4:00 P.M., until June 20 about 3:00 P.M.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 20, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Executive Directors & Presidents

FROM: Edwin Stanfield

RE: Group Insurance for State Council Staffs

We have received a number of inquiries about the possibility of including state council staffs under SRC's groups insurance plans because of the high cost of carrying adequate plans with a small staff or on an individual basis. We have investigated and find that it can be done. Let me outline very briefly (and vaguely) what the SRC program provides and then refer you to Ed Lewis, Executive Assistant to the Director, for detailed information. (I understand that the insurance company will be able to supply some literature within a short time.)

SRC has just switched from Blue Cross-Blue Shield to Mutual of New York. We have very good policies (better than under BC-BS) providing complete medical care for $18.58 per month per family, or $5.64 per month for a single person. In the same package--and it is a package deal--there is life insurance at 89¢ per thousand per month. "Senior staff persons" may take a maximum of $10,000 in life insurance; "junior staff persons" may take a maximum of $4,000.

SRC carries accidental death policies on various individual staffers, varying the coverage according to the amount of travel required. The cost of this coverage is very low. Incidentally, the life insurance which is a part of the hospitalization-medical care coverage has a double indemnity clause for accidental death.

We urge that serious consideration be given this insurance plan by your Board. Ed Lewis tells me that the cut-off date will have to be September 1, so you should get in touch with him right away about details and procedures.

****

P.S. Ed Lewis says I should make it clear that it is not necessary for all state councils to come into the plan. Any single state council can put its staff under the plan--and sooner than September 1, if desired.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Jackson 2-4764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 26, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Presidents

FROM: Ed Stanfield, Director of Field Activities

RE: Meeting in Atlanta.

It appears that June 17-18 suits more of you than any of the other suggested dates for our meeting of state council Presidents. Therefore we shall be meeting on these dates.

The meeting will be held at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel and will begin at approximately 4:00 P.M. on the 17th. (From 10:00 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. there will be a meeting of the Special Project Advisory Committee at the same hotel. You are welcome to sit in on all or any part of that meeting.) We shall have dinner together and work for a while that evening. We hope you will arrange to take a mid-to-late-afternoon plane back home on Saturday, but we'll try to have the bulk of our work completed by about 1:00 P.M.

If you cannot attend, please--please--arrange to have an appropriate member of your Board come in your place. If you happen to have a pretty good idea who the next president will be, get him to come if at all possible. But be sure, if at all possible, that we have one responsible representative of your council Board. (Send me the name and address of any proxy.)

I hope to send you , or your substitute, a few days before the meeting, a position paper which I hope you will read in preparation for this meeting.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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JAckson 2-6744

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 3, 1966

TO: Members, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

RE: June Meeting

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on Wednesday, June 22, from 9:30 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Principal subjects of concern will be the progress of school desegregation and hospital compliance under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In addition, there will be election of a Chairman and Secretariat for the next year.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-5314

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 6, 1966

TO: State Council Presidents

FROM: Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities

RE: Meeting in Atlanta, June 17-18

Our scheduled meeting, about which you have received notice previously, will begin at about 4:00 P.M. on the 17th in the Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta. If you arrive early, you will be welcome to sit in on a meeting of the SRC Special Projects Advisory Committee, also meeting at the Biltmore.

This is to let you know that we are reserving a bloc of rooms at the Biltmore for the night of the 17th. Just tell the clerk that you are attending the Southern Regional Council meeting.

We do hope that the two or three who cannot come on these dates will send another member of the Board.

Incidentally, if you would like a travel advance for your airplane ticket, drop me a note.

We are looking forward to seeing you.

(Information copies to State Council Directors)

June 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steering Committee, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

Jean Fairfax has asked that the Steering Committee meet promptly at 9:00 A.M. on June 22nd at the Southern Regional Council offices, in order to prepare a slate of nominees for Chairman and Steering Committee Members for the next year. We hope that you can attend.

The regular Southern Interagency Conference Meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. on that date.

June 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Carroll Brown called from Dallas right on schedule. Bethlehem Center, with which he has been working on various bases for ten years, is sponsored by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church. Brown says that he has resigned because the board, which he says is made up of women "between the ages of 45 and 65" and two or three Methodist preachers, will not let him do what he sees needs to be done. They want a settlement-house approach -- a youth center, baseball games, etc.

Brown apparently resigned with no other job ready. He has two job offers, however, one in Austin and one out-of-state. At least one is a very good offer, according to him, but not exactly what he wants to do. "I want to stay with the Negro community -- and others here in Dallas -- who want to do what needs to be done."

He had developed a scheme to finance a project under the city's auspices, but "Baxton vetoed that; said we would be too restricted."

He says that nothing is being done in Dallas. The NAACP chapter is weak and ineffective. There is no Urban League. A city bi-racial committee is meaningless.

Brown is 28 years old, has a wife and two children, and holds a B.D. degree from S.M.U.

He has a bit of Baxton's <u>right now</u> urgency, explainigg that he can't wait much longer and will have to take some job within a month. When I said that we simply had no uncommitted funds, he asked if I could tell him where he might find backing. I could not. Then he said something like, "If we cannot get

funds from SRC or a foundation, perhaps you could tell me how to go about raising money here in Dallas. I've been a street man all along, and don't want to spend six months cultivating liberals who have money -- I'd rather get on with the job to be done. But I guess I could do it, if I had to." This might be indicative of something.

I had the impression from talking to him that he is an intelligent, articuàate, and capable fellow. He might not be a bad choice for a first "Dallas Council" Director, although he would be a lot like Baxton. In principle, however, I would be opposed to rushing into formation of a council in order to secure any given individual, even though a council in Dallas is a good idea.

Incidentally, I have no intimation of such a thing, but I'll give you odds that Baxton will have been in touch with Les about this by the time you read this memorandum.

Memos - Organizing

PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION BY STATE COUNCIL PRESIDENTS

Atlanta, June 17-18, 1966

NOTE: The following propositions are offered solely to stimulate discussion by the Presidents of the several state councils on human relations at the meeting indicated. They are for use only in this context and are not for publication, either formal or informal. They certainly represent no organization's policy.

1. Both logic and necessity require that the state councils as presently constituted become basically independent of the Southern Regional Council, as well as autonomous. They should stand vis a vis SRC as any other allied agency does, although a common history logically means uncommonly close cooperation and mutual helpfulness. Financial dealings particularly should be on a contractual basis. The alternative is a fundamentally different concept and structure -- perhaps field divisions of SRC.

2. The cornerstone of state council financing should be a fairly large number of relatively small gifts from individuals and businesses. Without this basic foundation significant program resources from foundations will likely be impossible to obtain on a sustained basis. Without it the use of government-financed programs, one solution which has been suggested, would be dangerous to a council's purpose.

3. Similarly, the cornerstone of state council program should be enlistment and involvement of a growing number of members. Program activities should be, to the extent possible, such as will require or allow volunteer participation.

4. In relation to all government agencies, including state and local human rights commissions, councils should stand as cooperating critics and innovators. They should guard against becoming surrogate public agencies.

5. Staff personnel should ordinarily have an informally limited tenure. An organization needs a variety of talents and emphases which no one person can supply, regardless of the worth of his particular contribution. For this reason a term of three to five years, particularly for a staff director, should be considered the norm. Some understanding about this should be reached at the time of employment. For the present more emphasis should be placed on organizational-administrative skill and academic training (techniques of research, knowledge of social dynamics, social and personal psychology, etc.). The basal function of the staff is to nurture and employ the concern and abilities of members toward effecting normal social change.

6. The program, officers, and staff of the state councils should not be crisis-oriented, although they should of course respond to crises. Human relations work can be done most effectively when and where problems are not at the crisis stage.

7. The middle class appeal of the state councils should be recognized and the most should be made of it. That a large percentage of state council members are of the middle class can readily be observed. This is cause for neither pride nor apology. But it is a fact that should be taken into consideration. Research, education, negotiation are techniques of the middle class and have no mass appeal. The membership generally includes many teachers (councils tend to strength in academic communities), clergymen, and others who neither have the powers of wealth or office in the community nor are among those most victimized by the misuse of power and wealth. Human relations councils should aim deliberately to provide an instrument for the exercise of social responsibility and concern by these people. Program and methods should generally be such as middle class folks can use. Mass-meeting techniques and street demonstrations, for example, are ordinarily artificial to a human relations council. On the other hand, attempts by councils to exercise the powers of government in lieu of responsible officials--as in extensive welfare or educational programs--are likewise ill-advised. The facts diligently sought and vigorously reported and response to the facts sensitively evoked -- these are the fundamental techniques of a council on human relations.

8. The state council Board of Directors will probably reflect automatically its middle class membership. Therefore it is of great importance that persons from labor organizations, civil rights groups, the poor, and (if possible) financial and managerial interests be deliberately and actively sought either as Board members (state and local) or as members of a functioning advisory group, as well as for membership in the organization.

9. Attention needs to be given to the need of local councils for modest financial resources. State council and local council (or chapter) fund-raising should be tied together. For example, chapters should be expected to participate in a state-wide funding drive annually and the state council board should annually set a "suggested percentage division" for all donations secured through the efforts of the local organization.

file

MEMORANDUM

June 27, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: J. Edwin Stanfield

We would like to have, at your convenience, current lists of (1) names and addresses of members of your Board of Directors and (2) names and addresses of chapter presidents and/or a key leader.

We are asked occasionally to supply the name of a human relations council leader in a particular city and we sometimes are unable to do so. Your help will be appreciated.

JES/km

June 30, 1966

TO: EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, STATE COUNCILS

FROM: ED STANFIELD

Under separate cover I am sending each of you a number of copies of a bare outline of local council program ideas which you may find suggestive. This listing was prepared more than a year ago by Al Ulmer. I am sending enough copies to send one to each of your local counsels (I think). Just thought maybe you would find some use for these.

* * * * * *

Also enclosed is another copy of the brochure on the Community Leadership Laboratory at Emory University. So far as I know, Ken Dean is the only one other than myself who has actually registered. Jerry Roden, Patricia Miller, and Bob Combs have indicated a definite intention to attend. Please decide right away whether or not you will attend and let me know, in order that I may make plans about our next state counsils' staff meeting.

MEMOS - OUTGOING

July 1, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: State Council Executive Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Group Insurance

Enclosed is a booklet prepared by Mutual of New York to inform SRC staffers of their benefits under our group insurance plan. I think this will give you the exact information you need to help you and your Board decide whether you wish to participate or not. Please let us know as soon as possible. (The deadline is September 1.)

In case you have misplaced my memo of May 20, the cost of the medical care is $5.64 for a single person or $18.58 for an employee and his family -- per month. The life insurance is 89¢ per thousand. Thus the total cost would be $329.76 per year for each "senior staff person" (Executive Directors and Associate Directors) and $265.68 for each "junior staff person" (Secretaries).

(If in your situation part of the staff is covered under another plan, as would be the case when a secretary is covered under her husband's group insurance, you might wish to check the possibility of major medical insurance on an individual basis. Mutual of Omaha has a very good one, although I do not recall details of the benefits. You might just call the nearest Mutual of Omaha man and ask him what sort of policies he can give you for $300-$325.)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1966

TO: State Council Executive Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Meeting in Atlanta, August 9-10

Pursuant to the conversation which those attending the leadership laboratory had with Paul Anthony, we shall meet here in Atlanta on August 9-10. We shall start at 1:30 P.M. on the 9th and plan to adjourn about noon on the 10th.

The directors of SRC's special projects have been notified and asked to give us some time. Subject to schedule contingencies for one or two of them, they are willing to give us sufficient time to allow for give and take and a constructive ironing out of difficulties.

As agreed, we will have something on paper about the incidental aid available and the necessary limitations and conditions.

I have reserved a block of rooms at the Americana Hotel, corner of Spring Street and Carnegie Way. This was done at suggestion of some of you, who felt that such an arrangement would facilitate "group dynamics." If for any reason you will not use a room, please let me know so that I can cancel your reservation at once. When you arrive, tell the clerk that your reservaton was made by the Southern Regional Council.

Francis Pauley will have us out to her house for a cocktail hour and buffet dinner.

SRC will pay travel and expenses for directors. Other staffers are welcome at your expense.

Copies: directors, SRC special projects

Memos - Outgoing

August 3, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: PAUL ANTHONY AND VERNON JORDAN

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Ken Dean called me this afternoon about Dr. Russell Barrett of the Political Science Department at Ole Miss. I am sure that both of you know who he is.

Ken says that he discouraged Vernon from funding a proposal that Barrett sent to VEP on grounds that the man has emotional problems. On checking with Thad I note that Vernon turned him down on the legitimate ground that his was a research proposal which did not fit precisely either of the three emphases of the VEP.

Ken tells me that Barrett went ahead with his project, partly, according to Ken, on the strength of some assurance from Frank Smith that Smith would put in a good word for it. Barrett, and perhaps Smith, assumed that this would carry some weight. Anyway, he invested $600-$700, much of it in dictating or recording equipment. Ken wants to know if SRC can pull his chestnuts out of the fire, if not through VEP then perhaps through some other excuse.

Ken states that the man is doing a legitimate and worthwhile piece of research on Negro voting in Mississippi. He further states that the emotional problems about which he was concerned were more Mrs. Barrett's than Russ's.

Incidentally, Ken says Russ would be quite willing to bequeath the recording equipment to MCHR or SRC at the end of his research, -- for whatever that is worth.

Personally, I am disinclined to rescue chestnuts, but I pass this along just in case we really could use his information in some way -- and because Ken will be talking about it when he is here next week.

ES/km

Memos Oulgoney

August 4, 1966
11:45 A.M.

PA from ES

Jac Wasserman called a few minutes ago to inquire about the proposal from the farmers' group in Alabama to the Voter Education Project -- the one we hurried over at the end of last week. It was a leadership and/or citizenship education proposal.

As you know, time was of the essence on this. The ASCS election is scheduled for August 16 over there, having been moved up from November. Vernon was in the office Monday and Tuesday, but left town without taking action. I asked Thad to ~~ex~~ ask about it when Vernon called in. He called in this morning and Thad reports that he said he is considering it but will be able to take no action before next week.

Jac and Bob Valder tell me that money is needed to transport some farmers to Washington for a hearing with the Agriculture Department. As you may recall, there is a suite pending to force the ASCS officials in Alabama to move the election back to November, when it was originally scheduled. Jac says a couple hundred dollars is needed for this transportation.

I have no particular brief for this project. But we did indicate that we would consider it -- after consultation with Vernon -- and I thought Vernon understood the urgency of the case. Is there any way we can get a yes or no answer?

Sorry to write, but I have a lunch appointment.

Ed

Memo-outgoing

August 7, 1966

Memo to: Paul Anthony

From: J. Edwin Stanfield

Subject: Possible visit from Oron South

I mentioned to you the other day the possibility of getting Oron South of Vanderbilt University, a Consultant in Human Relations, to visit us during the week after Labor Day. This is to make further inquiry about that.

Mr. South was one of the more effective leaders at the leadership laboratory at Emory. He has worked extensively with church groups in Alabama, and has probably had much to do behind the scenes with what little leadership has been exercised by clergymen over there.

I am not at all sure that he could help us with our development of a project to reach white people effectively, but he is knowledgeable about what is being done in other parts of the country in the area of community leadership on human relations and other social problems. I think it would be worth our getting him in town to talk to the two of us and possibly to the special project directors on a day that would suit you.

JES:mlm

file
Memos
Antgomery

August 11, 1966

To: Steering Committee
Southern Interagency Conference

From: Secretariat

On the call of Al Kahrer, the Steering Committee of the Southern Interagency Conference, will meet in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia, on Friday, August 19, at 10:00 A. M.

The purpose of this meeting would be to plan a program and agenda for the SIC meeting scheduled September 20 and 21.

JES:mlm

Memos-Outgoing

MEMORANDUM

August 12, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Louise Cole

As I mentioned in the August 9-10th meeting in Atlanta, a group of federal agencies has asked the Southern Regional Council to help in making a directory of major southern cities and the most serious problems in race relations confronting each one. We would greatly appreciate your assistance in this matter.

First, could you simply list what you consider to be the major cities in your state. By "major" are meant those cities which you judge to be important because of their size or because they have special problems. You can base this list simply on your opinion as someone knowledgeable about your state.

Then, opposite each city, in a sentence or two, state what you feel are its most serious problems. You need not do any research on this as it is meant to be your evaluation in "capsule" form and should not take too much of your time.

We need this information as quickly as possible and hope to see your list within three weeks, if not sooner.

Thank you very much.

August 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: STATE COUNCIL EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: J. EDWIN STANFIELD

SUBJECT: RECRUITMENT OF NEGRO BOYS TO ATTEND TOP SOUTHERN PREP SCHOOLS

We have been asked to help find eighteen (18) Negro boys to integrate the top six prep schools in the South. (It happens that all of the schools, which were chosen on the basis of academic ranking only, were boys' schools.) All six have agreed to cooperate in order to break the color barrier at the same time. The program, including all necessary scholarship aid, is being financed by a wealthy individual.

The problem is to find eighteen boys who are both interested and qualified to enter the ninth grade of one of these schools in September of 1967. That means that they must be boys in the eighth grade this fall. Each must have an IQ of 115 or more and must be from the South.

The program will provide, as needed, up to full expenses -- including tuition, fees, books, room and board, laundry, and other incidental costs -- for completion of the student's secondary education at one of the prep schools. Applicants need not be from low-income families, however, and where the family is able to pay all or part of the cost complete expenses would not be offered.

Provision is also being made for two months of orientation and tutoring beginning in June of 1967.

All students recommended will be sent simple tests to be taken at home. The most promising will then be interviewed at their homes by a representative of the donor, and the choices will be made after the interviews are completed. For purposes of this procedure a good field of candidates is desired, but not a flood of candidates -- lest too many disappointments be caused. This is why we are being asked to recommend students instead of their being recruited through public announcement.

Those responsible for this program do not perceive it as primarily to help the eighteen students. It is frankly designed to help the prep schools come to terms with social change.

Could we have your first recommendations within three weeks?

Memos - Outgoing

August 18, 1966

TO: John Boone

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Mrs. Patricia Miller, Executive Director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, called me to say (among other things) that she wants to suggest Dr. A. C. Blanks of Southern University for the research on prisons and correctional institutions in Louisiana.

She says Dr. Blanks has a Ph. D. in Psychology, is Director of Special Education at the University and is on some state commission or committee on special education. She mentioned his being on a clinical team. I did not understand its nature, but apparently it took him into prisons and gave him a personal acquaintance with prison officials. She (and Dr. Ralph Dreger, whom she consulted about this) felt that his entre to the prisons is very important, because it is very difficult for anyone to get inside one of Louisiana's prisons (except as an inmate!) or to get information about them.

She assured me that Dr. Blanks would be both constructive and critical, which I guess means objective.

His address is :

Dr. A. C. Blanks
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Home telephone: (504) 775-7797
Office telephone: (504) 775-6300 (Ext. 258)

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Member Agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: The next meeting

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in Atlanta on September 20 and 21. It will be convened at 2:00 p.m. on the first day and will end at approximately 12:30 on the second. Please put these dates on your calendar.

Further details as to the exact place of the meeting and the agenda will be sent later. Tentative plans made by the steering committee include an overview of the national mood (covering black power, the riots, white back-lash, the significance of conservative strength in deep-South elections, the difficulty of the 1966 civil rights bill, etc.) We expect to have an expert analysis and a reactor panel. There will also be an analysis of primary election results and several other features.

Please, if it is impossible for you to attend this meeting, take steps to see that your agency is represented.

Mailed to each State Council Exec. Dir.

September 1, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Enclosed are a few copies of a complaint form which is available from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission - in case you didn't know.

Memos - Ostgomy

September 2, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Under separate cover I am sending you a number of copies of two pamphlets recently published by the Virginia Council in connection with their project on multi-ethnic textbooks. One is a description of their project and the other is a listing of intercultural textbooks available in the subjectaareas of English and the social studies.

You might want to send a copy of each to the appropriate person in each of your chapters. Further, you might consider a similar project at the state level. Most states have a list of approved texts prepared by the state board of education, so that the problem would need to be approached at that level as well as locally.

J$S/km

MEMORANDUM

September 6, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Miss Louise Cole

Many thanks to the directors in Mississippi, Arkansas, Virginia, Florida, and Houston for sending the lists of major cities and their most serious problems in race relations (my memo of August 12). We were gratified to get this information and will be even happier to hear from the remaining directors. So try to find a few minutes somewhere so that we can complete this brief report.

Here at last are the bibliographies that we will use for the paperback book project. I have enclosed three copies for your convenience. Applicants may either select books from these lists or order all books in specified categories. I have a supply of these lists to send to any interested group. The more the merrier!

One final piece of news--you will notice the bibliography on Negro history, culture, race relations, and African history. I have placed an order with the Atlanta News Agency to send each of you a copy of every book on this list, as you requested at the meeting in August. This should be quite a valuable set of books, and we hope that you will use it extensively to promote the paperback book project.

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of State Council Directors

As you know, our next meeting is to be September 21-22, starting at 2:00 on Wednesday and ending about noon on Thursday. We shall meet in the S. R. C. conference room.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting from 2:00 on the 20th until noon on the 21st, and you are invited to attend that meeting also. It might be of considerable interest to you. Dr. Lewis Killian of the University of Florida will speak on the first afternoon on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. Other features of that meeting will be briefings on the political situation by Vernon Jordan and on school and hospital desegregation by representatives of the regional office of H. E. W. (The latter presentation will be on Wednesday morning, so you might catch that even if you can't come on Tuesday.)

For our own meeting, following the suggestion of some of you, I have invited two men from government agencies here to talk to us about program concerns and the role of their offices. They are Bob Thompson, Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations to the Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell, Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In addition, we may have the H. E. W. representatives stay over from the S. I. C. meeting - in case some of you can't get here early.

As for expenses, let us try the following formula: S. R. C. will pay one-half of your expenses for travel, room and meals, plus all travel cost in excess of $50.00. In this way the distance some have to travel will not be an excessive burden. We can make any adjustments in this formula after trying it once.

I am going to leave it to you to get your own accommodations, so that you can order exactly the room you want. Since most seemed satisfied with the Americana Motor Hotel, let me suggest that one. Perhaps I'll arrange a dinner for us there on the evening of the 21st.

JES:mlm

cc: SRC Project Directors

Memos - Outgoing

September 12, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Helen Mervis inquires whether or not it would be worthwhile for her to prepare a request for funds to prepare and print an inventory of all do-gooding agencies and projects, public and private, in the New Orleans area. She has a young Tulane sociologist in mind to do it. (A Dr. Lloyd)

Ed

ES:mlm

We would consider a very modest grant - although I thought the CRC JND had money

PA

September 12, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Field trip to Louisiana

The occasion for this trip was a meeting of the LCHR Board on Saturday, 10 September. I flew over on Thursday in order to work with Pat Miller in New Orleans and in her office.

Pat met me in New Orleans and we visited Attorney Tureaud, Jack Sisson and Jim McGuire in the NCCIJ office, and Helen Mervis and a couple of other CRC leaders in Helen's home. I felt that Sisson and McGuire were especially helpful in suggesting contacts and program possibilities to Pat.

Friday morning: I first saw Pat's office and met here office manager, Mrs. Reynolds. The office is beautifully appointed and equipped at amazingly low cost. It is the most reputable-looking state council office I have been in. Mrs. Reynolds is about 45, white, a Presbyterian minister's wife, and - from my observation - unusually able, as well as personable.

Later that morning I visited Dean Harvey to discuss a better arrangement about check-writing and bookkeeping. Pat had been unhappy about Harvey's close run, but he was tractable and we worked it out and then got Board approval for a standard arrangement.

I lunched with Dr. Dreger at L. S. U. -- to get acquainted and obrain a knowledgeable reading of the situation. It was pleasant and I came away feeling that he will be an invaluable help with the new council.

Friday afternoon Pat and I drove to Lafayette to see Oliver and plan the Board meeting. The trip was uneventful, but we were interesting to a number of people, especially when we stopped for dinner in Apelousas. Great fun.

The Board meeting was better attended than usual. (The Board is too small and they took initial steps to enlarge it.) No one from N. O. was there, however. The more important items of business were plans for an annual membership meeting in Baton Rouge in November and a membership and finance campaign preceding it. Jim Oliver had done some homework and the meeting was harmoneous and fruitful.

Incidentally, there is a good chance they will ask you to speak at the membership meeting. I hope you can and will.

On the whole I am encouraged about the prospects for the Louisiana Council now. Pat is learning fast (although she still has a ways to go). She does provide an attention to detail and a sense of orderliness that is valuable. She is showing some imaginzation about program now, and I sensed a readiness on the part of the Board members to respond to her leadership. Dreger had remarked on Friday that he had misgivings about having a woman and a Negro as their first executive director in such a tough state (although he meant to back her fully), but I think he felt better after the meeting.

Some material from the meeting is attached.

JES;mlm

file - "Memos - Outgoing

September 12, 1966

TO: Thad Olive
FROM: Ed Stanfield

Mrs. Miller is gathering contacts in Louisiana. Could you supply her a list of VEP contacts in the state other than the two you gave me from Baton Rouge and New Orleans?

ES:mlm

file

September 12, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Helen Mervis inquires whether or not it would be worthwhile for her to prepare a request for funds to prepare and print an inventory of all do-gooding agencies and projects, public and private, in the New Orleans area. She has a young Tulane sociologist in mind to do it. (A Dr. Lloyd)

ES:mlm

Memos - Outgoing

MEMORANDUM

September 13, 1966

TO: Ruth H. Alexander

FROM: J. Edwin Stanfield

SUBJECT: Notice of employment of John A. Pecoul

John A. Pecoul has been employed on a temporary basis, effective September 6, 1966, at a salary rate of $8,000.00 per year.

Mr. Pecoul, who as a temporary employee is not to be enrolled in our retirement plan, is to receive four percent of his annual salary to apply to the plan in which he already participates. I understand that he has or will arrange remittance of this annuitie contribution in consultation with you.

We have also agreed to enroll him for our major-medical insurance and to pay premiums therefor, as though he were a permanent employee.

J. Edwin Stanfield

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM
September 13, 1966

TO: Member Agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: September 20-21 Meeting

This is to remind you that the Southern Interagency Conference will meet in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, at 2:00 P. M. on September 20. We will adjourn about noon on September 21.

The program for Tuesday afternoon will be a presentation by Dr. Lewis Killian of Florida State University on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. There will be a reactor panel following Dr. Killian's address. The panel will be made up of Randolph Blackwell of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, Ruby Hurley of the NAACP, Emory Via of Southern Regional Council, Charles Morgan, LCSU, and a representative of the Labor Movement.

We have been invited to dinner at the home of Al Kehrer. Spouses will be welcome at this part of the meeting. Vernon Jordan will brief us on the southern political situation following the meal.

The program on Wednesday morning will be a briefing on hospital and school desegregation by representatives of the Regional Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

JES:mlm

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 14, 1966

To: Directors of State Councils on Human Relations

From: Ed Stanfield and Emory Via

Listed below are three suggestions for possible State Council programs which could be run in cooperation with SRC'S Labor Program. Would you look them over and give your reactions or expressions of interest to one of us when you are in Atlanta for the Directors' meeting.

1. A project to assist in the enforcement of the newly amended minimum wage law. The coverage of the law and the benefits it guarantees will be improved. Many workers will not know that they are covered or will not know how to proceed in the enforcement of their rights. Many employers similarly will be slow in realizing the impact of the law on them. This project will have to await the final passage of the law and the preparation of a guideline for action. However, it could be of substantial benefit to low income people. It would be a direct and appreciated service. It could be a program run almost completely by volunteers and might be an excellent project for college youth looking for a beneficial project with tangible results. A briefing conference could be held with SRC arranging for the experts. Basically, such a program sould supplement federal efforts. But it could assume speedy and fair enforcement. It offers advantages in building some meaningful bridges between low income groups and human relations efforts.

2. A project to assist in ending discrimination in apprentice training. We could offer a variety of consultative services. A determination needs to be made of actual local practice and how many Negroes are involved in apprentice training. Similarly, some assessment is needed how the main institutional elements in apprentice training will respond to a project encouraging Negro entry into their programs. Remember, of course, that a good bit of law and administrative regulation is on the side of fairness. Thirdly, Negro youngsters who are qualified by age and education need to be located and motivated to participate in such training. A major part of such a program is to provide realistic, preparatory training so the youngsters (approximately 18 - 25) can score well on entry tests. A good bit of experience on this is available. Again, this is a program that can be carried out, with some expert advice, by volunteers. Not too many. They need to be qualified people. The main element in this proposal is the location-training-motivation component. The other determinations (extent of Negro participation and attitude of the institutions involved) are for background purposes. Assistance can be offered in developing that information, too.

   A specific proposal would be to convene a small working conference of people from one metropolitan area. It should include those knowledgeable in apprentice problems and training as well as persons from your organization and others who would be expected to take the lead in program execution. Emory Via would want to consult with you in detail prior to invitations being extended. SRC would provide the expert consultants for such a meeting and assist or cover the other costs for a one or two day program. We would not envision travel or room costs since the meeting would be restricted to one city.

3. An off-the-record conference between civil rights leaders and labor leaders. In some cases selected other leaders would also be involved. The format and invitees will have to be agreed on in advance between the Labor Program and the State Council. Such a conference would encourage individuals and their organizations to get acquainted on a serious level. It would uncover mutual, practical interests. It would air, constructively, the differences and misunderstandings that may have developed between civil rights advocates and the labor movement. The conference could be area or statewide. SRC would (a) advise on program, (b) work to secure labor participation, (c) provide outside expertise, and (d) underwrite much of the related costs to the meeting.

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors and Chairmen

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: 1967 Schedule of Grants-In-Aid

We shall have to prepare our 1967 schedule of grants-in-aid in the near future. At present we plan to consolidate the regular and expanded grant program so as to eliminate the awkward distinction and simplify bookkeeping.

We would like to have by October 15 any statement or information with which you wish to supplement your regular financial and membership reports and quarterly program reports as we consider this schedule. It would be particularly helpful if you would summarize and point up (1) steps taken to increase membership, number of chapters, and indigenous financial support; (2) statistics showing actual results from these efforts; and (3) any definite plans you have along this line for this fall. Any new project to which you wish to apply any portion of a grant should be included. We will, of course, take into consideration the existing and continuing program of all councils as described in regular reports.

For purposes of our report to the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council we need, either as a part of the above information or separately, comparative statistics on your membership and income from various sources for the year preceding September 30, 1965, and the year preceding September 30, 1966. We may be able to collect this information from your regular reports in most cases, but I personally would appreciate having your own reading as a check.

File

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 20, 1966

Clearcopy Onion Skin

Memo to: Messrs. Hubert Beckwith, Jr.
H. Franklin Williams
Lucius H. Pitts
Joe Hendricks
T. Franklin Williams
Mrs. Martin Harvey

From: Ed Stanfield

This is to confirm that the special committee to study the relationship between SRC and the state councils will meet on Tuesday, September 27, at 10:00 A.M., as originally suggested, at this office.

JES:mim

bcc: Paul Anthony
Vernon Jordan
Emory Via
Al Ulmer
Moreland Smith
John Boone
Bob Anderson
Pat Watters

Sat. or Sun. would be good, ordinarily.

2712 Capers Ave.
Nashville, Tenn. 37203
September 18, 1966

Dear Ed:

I am here at Vanderbilt Univ. on a year's leave of absence from Chapel Hill, and your memorandum about the proposed meeting on Sept. 27 was slow in reaching me. I don't think I can make it on the 27th; would be glad to consider some other date. Or I could discuss this matter with you by telephone now or by letter or in person if you are to be here any time soon. Or will anyone from here be coming to that committee meeting? I can't remember for sure about that. If so I could talk with them.

My telephone number here is 297-9719 (home), 254-5411, ext 6636 (Dept. of Physiology at Vanderbilt where I am working). I will be away Wednesday afternoon and Thursday of this week.

Yours sincerely,

Frank

T. Franklin Williams, M. D.

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
P. O. BOX 8233

September 15, 1966

Mr. J. E. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

This is to advise that I can plan to be in Atlanta for the day on Tuesday, September 27, arriving at 9:39 a.m. via Northwest Airlines' #701.

Please confirm the date of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

H. Franklin Williams

H. Franklin Williams
Dean

Essay - what should be the relationships?

September 2, 1966

~~C. C. Comillion~~
5 H. Franklin Williams — Miles College, Fairfield, Al.
4 Lucius H. Pitts — Mercer U., Macon, Ga.
3 Joe Hendricks -
6 T. Franklin Williams → 2712 Capers Ave. Nashville 37203
9 Mrs. Martin Harvey
11 Hubert Beckwith, Jr. — Congregational Christian Church of Fairfax County, P.O. Box 288, Annandale

You will recall that you were appointed last year, at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, to serve on a committee to study the relationship between SRC and the state councils and to make recommendations to the annual meeting this year.

Could we meet for this purpose here in Atlanta on September 27 at 10:00 A.M.? Please let me know ~~if~~ at once whether or not you can come on that date. If for any reason you cannot attend on that day, please indicate what other days in that week would suit you.

I shall confirm or change the date as soon as I have heard from each of you.

Enclosed is a copy of a ~~resolution~~ pertinent resolution passed by the state council presidents at a meeting they had in June. I send it along with the thought that it might stimulate our thinking. It will be presented to the SRC Executive Committee at their meeting on September 12, so that we may have the benefit of their observations and possible action on this overture in our consideration of the over-all relationship.

Edwin Stanfield

Mrs. Martin Harvey
Businesswoman & Chairman
Womanpower Unlimited
415 N. Farish St.
Jackson 2, Miss.

Memos - OUTGOING

MEMORANDUM

September 26, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony
John Boone
Vernon Jordan
Moreland Smith
Al Ulmer
Emory Via
Thad Olive
Marvin Wall

FROM: Ed Stanfield

The state council directors keep citing instances of their discovering only by accident that the S.R.C. is aiding a group or project within their states. They find this disconcerting because (1) people who do not understand the autonomous nature of the state councils assume that the directors have been informed by SRC and (2) the directors, stumbling across one project, suppose that there might be two or three others involving people they would like to know and be in touch with.

Could we make it standard operational procedure to inform each state council director when we are conducting a project, aiding a local group with a project, giving financial aid, etc., within his bailiwick? A carbon copy of a key letter, -- such as a letter of transmittal for a grant or a letter agreeing to a speaking engagement or the like -- marked "for information only," would be a big help. There will be times, of course, when some delicate matter will require, in your judgment, an exception to the standard procedure I am suggesting; I am sure council directors would have no objection to that.

For my part, I will ask the state council directors to remember that information concerning any such involvement of S.R.C. is only to keep them informed and, in some instances, to give them names for eventual contact and that it does not call for action on their part unless specifically requested. They will understand, I think, that in many cases (such as work with conservative labor groups or city officials) great discretion is required.

Copies to state council directors.

Memos - Outgoing

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Committee to Study the Relationship Between SRC and the State Councils -- Meeting on September 27, 1966.

The Committee to Study the Relationship Between SRC and the State Councils met in the SRC conference room on September 27, 1966. Those attending were Joe Hendricks, Franklin Williams (Florida), and The Reverend Hubert Beckwith, in addition to John Pecoul and I of the SRC staff.

To place our discussion in context, I read the statement which had been drafted by the state council directors and presented to the Executive Committee of SRC on June 3, 1965, and the action taken by the Executive Committee, including setting up the present special committee. (See attached copies.) Hendricks and Williams mentioned the meeting of state council presidents which was held in June of this year, said that some of the concerns expressed at that meeting were also pertinent to our subject, and expressed agreement that every effort must be made to put the state councils on a self-sustaining basis for their minimal general operations. Someone commented to the effect that the children should not only be weaned, but also should be set up as full partners.

The committee then proceeded to list the following objectives which they felt the relationship, whatever it might be, should be designed to pursue:

(1) A reginnal identity for the state councils and their memberships.

(2) A sizeable and representative membership body for both

the state councils and SRC.

(3) Expanded and refined programs for the state councils; more technical skills on the state council staffs or available to them.

(4) Coordination of programs within SRC and between SRC and the state councils. This would mean better communication, but also consultation on program planning. The comment was made, "Something is being said in the fact that the SRC program money for state and local councils is not being gobbled up."

(5) Representation and participation for membership, including training for members to enable them to participate effectively.

Several ideas about specific steps toward these objectives were discussed. The principal ones were an expanded field department at SRC, a department of development, and a more integral relationship between SRC and the councils on human relations.

The committee felt that the Department of Field Activities needs to be greatly expanded, whether or not the formal relationship of the organizations changes. It should include a staff of specialists in the needs of state and local councils. (I took this to mean, for example, a specialist to help local councils organize and sustain affiliated student organizations; or someone who could stay for an extended period in a city to organize a fair housing effort; etc.) The committee mentioned the need for an advisory group for the field department.

In connection with field activities, the committee was concerned about the problem suggested in point four above, i.e., that

there are many programs in the field not coordinated with "field activities." It was observed that the state councils were originally conceived as the agents for SRC's field activities; that the rapid growth and strength presupposed by this conception had not proven possible; and that, consequently, they are now -- in effect -- one of several SRC projects, all of which are field activities. It was felt that the state councils need more expert attention to enable them to attain strength to handle such needs as SRC must deal with, at present, through the special project apparatuses, although they are properly the concern of the state councils as well as SRC.

On the subject of mutual fund-raising, the committee felt the need for something like a "department of development" within SRC. It was stressed that they were not talking about a professional fund-raiser, but rather the need for one or more individuals, committed to the over-all purpose of SRC, who would develop programs as well as support for them and for the agency's general operations. "A department of development," someone summed up, "which is an integral part of the program -- not a fund raiser."

A considerable amount of time was devoted to the need for a more integral relationship between SRC and the the state councils, in order to achieve the objectives aoutlined above. One possibility would be to have each state council elect one SRC Board member each year, which would mean an eventual total of 40 out of the 100 Board members. Someone recalled a phrase Les Dunbar often used, "the SRC-human relations council movement." The committee felt that if there is indeed a movement, it needs to

be structured and given leadership. They felt that the times and circumstances call for "a movement that is large, public, and regional." "In some way SRC ought to be connected with a membership -- a large constituency."

The committee felt that their discussion tended to point up the interpretation that SRC has gone through constant evolution as re-evaluation and restructuring was required by circumstances. They felt that they were not really suggesting a new departure, but only a return -- or partial return -- to the original concept. They asked me to describe their deliberations and wanted to have placed in the context of them a set of propositions drafted by H. Franklin Williams and unanimously agreed upon:

> S. R. C. and the councils on human relations should share a regional identity.
>
> Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.
>
> Members of the councils on human relations must feel that they participate in SRC.
>
> SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of council on human relations membership as one of its objectives.
>
> To this end its field service should be built up with an eye to offering training and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and to suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.
>
> There should be no interruption in other projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved, where possible.

The committee agreed that these propositions were not to be construed as conclusions to be proposed to the SRC Executive Committee, but rather to be submitted to the Executive Director

for his response and comment. They asked that these comments be communicated to the special committee members. If it seems advisable, they will meet before or during the annual meeting to draft definite proposals.

Memos - Outgoing

October 11, 1966

TO: Pat Watters
FROM: Ed Stanfield

Pursuant to our brief conversation Monday afternoon:

It seems to me that we need to stress as an incidental part of many of our studies and publications or in a special report or -- preferrably-- in both ways the far-reaching, unfortunate implications of the emasculation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which is now taking place. I think the subject would be worthy of a special report. (You might call it "The Life and Hard Times of Title VI" or the "Rise and Fall of the Federal Resolve.")

Among the points which need to be made:

(1) Administrative procedures against de facto segregation in schools was the strongest hope, if not the only one, Negroes had of overcoming the pattern and custom of segregated schools in the South.

(2) Much of what little belief Negroes had in the civil rights determination of the federal government was riding on Title VI. The administration stands to lose (further) the confidence of Negroes.

(3) While most of the furor has been over school and hospital desegregation policies of H.E.W., the loss of Title VI means the loss of what little leverage we have to secure equal participation for Negroes in agriculture extension services, ASCS (crop allotment) elections, and other programs of the Department of Agriculture (which is notoriously white-dominated and corrupt); in O.E.O. local policy boards; in housing programs (which probably means the loss of the one slim hope of overcoming segregated housing patterns).

See the article by Herbers in the NYT of October 7 or 8 which was excerpted in the Journal-Constitution, October 9. The gist was that Congress and the administration are slowly undermining Title VI.

Sen. Russell said when the 1964 C. R. Bill was being debated that its heart was Title VI -- and that segregationist knows his oats.

We or somebody ought to be raising hell about its demise.

Memo - Outgoing

October 12, 1966

PWatters from EStanfield

Paul thought that you should know about a recent increase of KKK activity in Virginia, for a report he said you had farmed out.

Bob Combs called last Friday (11/7/66) to say that he had received a threatening phone call from a Klansman. Apparently a Negro church had been bombed near Richmond. The NAACP and others alleged that the Klan was responsible. The Virginia Council put up a $100.00 for information leading to arrest and conviction -- and it was this which prompted the call. The man said the Klan was not responsible, that some nuts were doing it, so he was not threatening -- just warning -- that Bob might get hurt if he didn't keep his mouth shut!

Bob called back Monday to say that he had nevertheless spoken at a scheduled meeting at the burned-out church on Friday evening. About thirty Klansmen showed up and made vulgar noises, but the Henrico County police did a good job of keeping order.

Combs reports an initiation of $ 1,000 Klansmen at South Hill recently. (See attached newspaper.) He says John Gunn, State Editor of the Richmond News Leader, estimates there are 2,000 members of the Klan in Virginia now and 7,000 to 10,000 "close sympathizers."

He also quotes Henry Marsh as saying that a movement for self defense, apparently something like the Deacons for Defense and Justice, is being considered among Virginia Negroes.

Combs believes that the Virginia State Patrol are trying to do a good job of keeping the Klan in line.

October 17, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Committee to Study the Relationship Between SRC and the State Councils -- Meeting on September 27, 1966.

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Several ideas about specific steps toward these objectives were discussed. The principal ones were an expanded field department at SRC, a department of development, and a more integral relationship between SRC and the councils on human relations.

The committee felt that the Department of Field Activities needs to be greatly expanded, whether or not the formal relationship of the organizations changes. It should include a staff of specialists in the needs of state and local councils. (I took this to mean, for example, a specialist to help local councils organize and sustain affiliated student organizations; or someone who could stay for an extended period in a city to organize a fair housing effort; etc.) The committee mentioned the need for an advisory group for the field department.

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there are many programs in the field not coordinated with "field activities." It was observed that the state councils were originally conceived as the agents for SRC's field activities; that the rapid growth and strength presupposed by this conception had not proven possible; and that, consequently, they are now -- in effect -- one of several SRC projects, all of which are field activities. It was felt that the state councils need more expert attention to enable them to attain strength to handle such needs as SRC must deal with, at present,through the special project apparatuses, although they are properly the concern of the state councils as well as SRC.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM

October 18, 1966

TO: H. Franklin Williams
Joe Hendricks
Hubert Beckwith
T. Franklin Williams
L. H. Pitts
Mrs. Martin L. Harvey

FROM: Ed Stanfield

The Special Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils, meeting here on September 27, asked me to prepare a memorandum summarizing its deliberations and to discuss them with Paul Anthony.

Enclosed is a draft of that summary. I apologize for the delay.

Please let Paul and me have any comments which you wish to make--particularly from those of you who were here, any corrections concerning the mind of the committee. While I have tried to do a faithful job of reporting, I am always afraid that I might have read something into or out of the conversation that does it an injustice.

If I don't hear from you in a week or ten days, we shall assume that your memories and mine are substantially in agreement and I will ask Paul to respond to the memorandum "as is."

MEMORANDUM

October 24, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: SRC's Relationship with the State Councils and the Future of the Grant-in-Aid Program

We should recommend to the SRC Executive Committee that they announce at once SRC's intention to discontinue the grant-in-aid program at the end of 1968 and to seek no more foundation grants for the general operations of state councils on human relations. Several considerations make this policy desirable and even necessary:

(1) The weightiest reason is that such a policy is the logical one and perhaps the only really viable one under the existing structural relationship of the organizations. SRC is in the position of seeking and being responsible for funds for organizations over which we have and desire no control except that of persuasion. We cannot really be responsible under this arrangement; it is very "unbusiness-like."

(2) Related to point one is the fact that the councils can and do seek direct aid from foundations. This tends to put us in competition with them for funding from the same sources. (They are, after all, other agencies.) Moreover, the largesse of a foundation, which certainly we would not oppose, has the effect of nullifying what little pressure we are able to exert to influence state council policy in directions required by our responsibility to donating foundations--as in the cases of Tennessee and South Carolina.

(3) By adopting straightforwardly such a policy, we might pave the way for any necessary changes in the structure of relationships. The state council staffs and knowledgeable members of their boards feel keenly a need for regional identity and fund-raising. They want SRC to provide these values, yet--as you have said--are reluctant to surrender any autonomy. My guess is that a forthright announcement of the kind proposed would generate serious thought and effort to effect a regional association. If at a later date we were approached to help in that, we would have clarified the issues and would be in position to come to some clear understandings.

(4) Meanwhile, the proposed announcement would give force to our campaign for local funding. We are now saying that we do not think we can find substantial funding for general operations among the foundations. This seems to be heard in the state councils as "there may be reduced help in 1969." Much more incisive would be the clear statement, "SRC will not continue its grant-in-aid program after 1968." At present, I think, they are presuming on our customary sense of responsibility. As long as we accept--or seem to accept--responsibility for the existence of the councils, there is the unconscious supposition that their survival is not their responsibility. But we can say, in effect, "We have secured for three years substantial general support for you. We think that is enough help to set the councils on their feet--a final boost, as it were. With that we have done, we think, all that we can do toward launching autonomous organizations. We consider that we have succeeded in giving the aid necessary. We are not going to fail to find support for you in 1969 and thereafter--because we are not going to try!"

(5) We could still commend the councils generally to the foundations as needed and worthwhile agencies. But the burden of evaluating them and their programs would be on the foundations--not us. Obviously the foundations do now and will continue to dislike multiple requests and proposals. The fact remains that we are not in a viable position to be the umbrella agency. It seems to me strategic to let the councils come to terms with that factt--and honest to let the foundations do so.

(6) Mississippi and Louisiana could be dealt with as special cases because they have been organized and staffed for a relatively short time and because they may not have, even after two more years, a tax-exempt certification. We could declare our intention to seek a terminal grant for two or three years for each of them, to begin in 1969.

MEMORANDUM

October 24, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Florida Council Annual Meeting

There was evidence at this meeting that the Florida Council is responding positively to our emphases on local support, increased membership, and local council programming. VandenBosche is pushing these things, as can beeseen from the prominence given them in the program and in the two mimeographed pieces attached hereto. He is backed up by Dr. Williams, of course, and by Herbert Davidson, who clearly stated to the Board--without prompting--the temporary nature of our current aid to their general operation and called for increased support from the locals.

It seems likely that donations will equal or exceed those of last year. The budget for next year calls for a 50% increase. (Also announced in Augie's report was the intention of major emphasis on forming new councils and assisting existing ones with program.)

There are no remarkable statistical results, as yet, in terms of contributions. Yet it seems to me that a solid basis is being laid--a strong Board, administrative emphasis and procedures, etc.--and the attitude of the membership is positive. Some of them are rather precious liberals, but they are involved.

Note especially the neat, orderly packaging of information in Augie's mimeographed program booklet.

One interesting incident: There was an attempt at the business meeting to block re-election to the Board of Bishop Louttit of the Episcopal church because of his attempts to get Bishop Pike tried for heresy. Dr. Williams, Caxton Doggett, and others persuaded the majority that the FCHR did not need to take up a denomination's doctrinal disputes.

Unfortunately, I had to leave to catch my plane just before Vernon spoke, but am sure it was a "save" for the meeting as far as speakers are concerned. Frank Sloan cancelled and sent DuPree Jordan instead. Jordan is a deputy director of O.E.O. He departed not one iota from the official line--strictly a canned public relations speech.

Memos - Outgoing

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM

October 27, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: A Contact at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Ben D. Segal, longtime friend of SRC, has written to Emory Via to say that he is now Director of the Office of Liaison, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and is anxious to have a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations. Mr. Segal is a labor union leader and, Emory tells me, was responsible for the funding of SRC's first Labor Project back in '57 and '58.

His letter reads, in part, as follows:

> "I would appreciate if you, for the SRC, could send them a letter saying that our Office of Liaison for federal, state, and local agencies is especially interested in working closely with the SRC chapters. You might want to tell them that we are very anxious to work with them. Feel free to indicate that we would be happy to send them speakers, literature, and work with them in any and all ways possible."

His address is:

Ben D. Segal, Director
Office of Liaison
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N. W. Room 1229
Washington, D. C. 20506

November 2, 1966

Confidential

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Field Trip to Alabama

I was in Alabama Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of last week. Primary purposes were to look into the problem with Jerry Roden and Bob Valder about which I talked to you briefly and to visit Lewis Black to check on the continuing dissatisfaction of Jac Wasserman and NSF with his work.

In Auburn I was relieved to find, first, that Bob Valder is in much better spirits about the whole thing than he was when I talked to him here. He described himself as having "re-entry problems," meaning that he was suffering from disappointment at having the office load to carry again when he had thought himself free of it, finally. Now that he knows where he stands again, he says, he has readjusted.

Second, Jerry brought up on his own initiative the subject of his being unable to fulfill to his satisfaction the obligation he had undertaken. He said he felt that the Alabama Council was "drifting." He felt that Bob had grown a great deal just in the four months that he has been working with him and that Bob's relationship with Dr. Gomillion had become one of greater mutual respect. In view of this he proposed the possibility of naming Bob Executive Director, bringing in a new Associate Director, and having himself put back on the Executive Committee with special responsibility, on a volunteer basis, for organizing new local councils. I agreed to explore the possibility tentatively with Bob and with Dr. Gomillion.

Bob thought it over for a few hours, then answered (with a good-natured demeanor) that he simply did not wish to consider or to be considered for the post of Executive Director. He commented that Jerry had discussed his idea with him already and that he thought it inappropriate that it should come from Jerry. He added that he felt little in common with executive directors of the other state councils and, also, that he would not wish to continue as Associate Director under Jerry, if Jerry does a accept the position on a permanent basis in June. He is content to fulfill his obligation under the present setup, but at this point is of a mind to seek another position starting next June.

(He suggested that he would like to consider a position with SRC, if one suitable to his abilities and interests should open.) He also commented that he is under some gentle pressure from Jan (his wife), who just wants to get closer to her "home" in Iowa.

I reported his reaction to Jerry and said that I would nevertheless put the matter before Dr. Gomillion. I felt that if Dr. Gomillion had indeed changed his mind about Bob's inclinations to the extent that he would be willing to urge Bob to consider the Director's job, Bob might be persuaded.

I talked to Dr. Gomillion on Thursday. He responded that he still was concerned, not about Bob's ability--for which he expressed admiration--but about certain individuals toward whom Bob seemed to be drawn and about his inclination toward staff-oriented program and corresponding disclination to work with local council volunteers. Under the circumstances he favored keeping the present arrangement over naming Bob Director or bringing in another Director. The only thing that might make him favor a change at this time, he said, would be an indication that Jerry did not intend to take the position permanently after completion of his graduate study.

The decision has been made, then, to let the matter rest for the time being. Jerry has promised to make some decision about his future intentions after the first of the year.

I discussed with Bob and, in Greensboro, with Lewis Black Wasserman's chronic complaints about Lewis' work, which boil down to two: (1) he does not respond to NSF's satisfaction to requests for investigation of complaints; (2) he is too involved as a leader in Hale and Perry Counties and does not work over a wide area, evoking leadership elsewhere in the state. (Jac describes what he calls "a leadership syndrome" by which there seems to be one Negro leader in each county--Lewis Black being the one in Hale County--so that it appears to be bad form to encroach on another's bailiwick without specific request or approval.)

It was apparent that Jac had not discussed these complaints with Lewis. Except for his problem about sending in written reports, Lewis was unaware that Jac had any major complaints. He was appreciably disturbed about them. (I have subsequently mentioned this to Jac. He claims that he felt obliged to work through Jerry and Bob. I tried to suggest that there is a distinction between giving directions and offering constructive advice and criticism.)

For his part, Lewis thinks that the NSF program is too complaint-oriented. If they did not have the Department of Agriculture to nag, he says, they wouldn't have a program. He has, indeed, devoted much time to trying to secure a CAP agency in Hale county, to school desegregation efforts, to a local credit union and a local cooperative supermarket. But he has done so deliberately and with forethought. He says Negroes have been disillusioned with the promises of the Civil Rights Act about their "rights." Many have been forced to revert to "the Man" out of sheer economic necessity. Unless there are long-term, substantive programs to provide a way of living other than the white man's paternalism, Lewis argues, there is no use talking to Negroes about legal "rights."

As for the "leadership syndrome," there is a large measure of truth in Jac's analysis. However, there are compensations. One is that Lewis Black is manifestly in the Black Belt to stay, and, while the process might be slower, the influence of successful leadership might very well spread more surely through his approach than through that of wide-ranging do-gooding. Besides, he claims (and Bob Valder confirms) that he does in fact get around more than he gets credit for.

I suspect that much of the difficulty lies in the fact that writing is difficult for Black and therefore he does not satisfy Jac in the matter of reports. I think that he does more than enough good to justify his salary. And the Alabama Council Board and staff are clearly more than satisfied. Consequently, I am suffesting to Jac that he give Black more time in field visitation, trying to build up a mutual confidence. Black just is not going to fit the NSF mold, but he has--of course--a profound understanding of the realities of life for Negroes in the Black Belt which could be unusually fruitful if NSF could see itself providing technical assistance to his program instead of seeing him as a leg man for theirs.

I stopped in Selma overnight and got a most interesting "Cook's Tour" from Cap Swift, the city councilman and business man whom I met there during the demonstrations. Cap pointed out the paved streets in the Negro sections of town, the new lighting, the improved sanitation service, the 35 Negro children now attending Parrish High, the fact that there are now 400 city employees compared to 200 two years ago, the fact that he and other city fathers had secured a surplus food program by putting pressure on the county commission <u>via</u> an official of Hammermill Paper Company. He pointed out <u>the</u> Negro cop that the city has hired. And I confirmed personally (what he had bragged) that the town was so booming that there were no rooms available except on weekends. (I got one of the last two left even in the ramshackle Hotel Albert.) Besides Hammermill, Dan River is building a plant nearby. And Hammermill already has on the drawingboards and expansion of the $65 million plant they have not yet finished.

Wilson Baker dropped into Cap's drug store while I was there and confirmed Cap's statement that his prospects look good. About half (more or less) of the whites in the county will vote for Baker and, they claim, virtually all of the Negroes, who now match the whites in voting strength.

I had no opportunity to talk to anyone in the Negro community, and there are a lot of questions I would like to have answered. Is it true that Hammermill is hiring on a non--discriminatory basis? At what levels are Negroes hired by the city? Are the improved services costing the town anything, or is it all federal money? It seemed to me that the improvements made thus far (and they <u>are</u> improvements) are still in the paternalistic mold and that Selma white people still little comprehend the root of the community's problem.

If it is not already in the works, I would like to suggest a "special report" on the aftermath in several cities which have been the scenes of direct action campaigns--St. Augustine, Albany, Birmingham, Selma, and perhaps others. I think I would enjoy doing Selma, Watters could do a couple of them, etc.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

November 3, 1966

TO: Members of the Special Committee on the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Enclosed is a copy of Paul Anthony's response to the ideas which came out of the meeting of the committee which was held in September. Although you have already been sent my summary of the meeting, another copy is attached for easy reference.

I would appreciate having some expression from each member of this committee about the desirability (or lack thereof) of meeting during the SRC Annual Meeting. My own thought is that you ought to get together, if for no other reason than to decide how to proceed from this point.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 3, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: State Council Presidents and Executive Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Herewith, for your information, are copies of a summary of a meeting of the Special Committee to Study the Relationship of SRC to the State Councils and Paul Anthony's response to the ideas coming out of that meeting.

I believe that the committee is to meet again during SRC's Annual Meeting to decide on next steps.

The members of the committee are:

H. Franklin Williams
T. Franklin Williams
Joe Henricks
Lucious Pitts
Hubert Beckwith
Mrs. Martin Harvey

M E M O R A N D U M

November 10, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

I called Helen Mervis between planes in New Orleans today. We discussed our proposition in reference to John Pecoul.

It is a sticky proposition for her. Not only is she on the Personnel Committee of Urban League (Chairman, in fact), but she also says that some Leaguers have accused her of using Urban League programs for CRC activities--in competition, so to speak. She is going to an Urban League meeting in New York next week and was going to discuss the situation with Whitney Young. This, she says, will make her situation even stickier. (She claims, indidentally, that the job openings for John in New Orleans are there because he had talked to her about his wish to "return" about a year ago, she had been impressed, and had spoken to the OEO director and Urban League in his behalf.)

Anyway, she tells me that you are expecting her Tuesday night and can then go into the matter, including her relationship to the state council, to Pat, to SRC, to Urban League, etc. I told her I would leave a message for her at the hotel. Perhaps the three of us could have dinner.

I had previously talked to Pat and Dr. Oliver about it. Dr. Oliver's initial reaction was that it seemed like a good idea, although he would need time to think it through. Pat seemed to have reservations about it. She claims no doubts about her ability to work with John--only about the effect on the LCHR. I had difficulty in getting her to see that the move would have benefits for the rest of the state as well as for New Orleans. She was afraid, for example, that the LaFayette area crowd would resent the hiring of staff for New Orleans after "losing" the office to Baton Rouge.

There is always the possibility, of course, that Pat still feels too insecure to take on additional staff, preferring to try to stabilize to existing operation first. That is understandable.

All things considered, I have to recommend--reluctantly, and subject to change after our talk with Helen--that we let this idea rest.

First, I don't think it could be done in time to get John without our "selling" it pretty hard. There are too many complications, hesitations, etc., to be worked through, and it would be hazardous to brush them aside or push the principals to a hasty decision.

Second, I begin to feel that Pat's instincts might be good, even if defensive. If she had sufficient experience and confidence, adding John to the staff would be superb strategy. As it is, I myself am afraid that John's presence might weaken Pat, who has a feminine tendency to lean on any strength available. So, while it might mean losing John from the SRC network temporarily, maybe it would be better to let LCHR have a longer shakedown cruise.

We certainly ought to keep this in mind as an experiment we need to try, and we should continue to incubate the idea with CRC and LCHR and Pat--hoping to get a John Pecoul and better circumstances to arrive at the same time. I definitely do think we have to plan something creative about New Orleans within 12 to 18 months, lest we lose LCHR entirely.

MEMORANDUM

November 21, 1966

TO: Joe Hendricks
Mrs. Martin Harvey
H. Franklin Williams
T. Franklin Williams
Hubert Beckwith
L. H. Pitts

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Enclosed is a copy of the resolution proposed at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council by Dr. Ralph Dreger. It was referred to the Special Committee on the Relationship of the State Councils to SRC, of which you are members.

It appears that the committee should plan another meeting sometime after the first of the year. As you failed to designate a chairman at your meeting in September, I will undertake to convene the group once more. If it will be satisfactory, I will consult Paul Anthony about the desirability of having it before the next meeting of the Executive Committee (in January).

It seems to me that you would want to aim to have some specific recommendations, in addition to this one, after your next meeting. Accordingly, let me suggest that each of you write a memorandum to me covering any recommendations the committee should make. I will undertake to pass these ideas along to other committee members. In that way, perhaps some of your thinking can be done, in the interest of time, prior to the meeting.

cc: Dr. Ralph Dreger

M E M O R A N D U M

November 21, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Trip to Birmingham, Saturday, November 19, 1966

This trip was to assist with a briefing session for local-council chairmen for the 1967 finance and membership campaign of the Alabama council.

Only the two smallest chapters (Talladega and Montgomery) were not represented. Goals were set--with consent of local council representatives--totalling $25,000 and 1600 members.

We had a careful review of the campaign plan and there was good interest and response. I think there really is a good chance of success, provided they can find an additional $3,000 to $4,000 in business or big-donor contributions.

Gomillion and I had a session with Ruden, and Jerry committed himself to accept the Executive Director's post, if offered and barring unforeseen circumstances.

In view of Valder's outstanding work on this meeting--as on so many other things--I am frustrated over being not quite able to suggest him for South Carolina or elsewhere (he does know USDA and ASCS ropes, and he does work well with a policy board). Somehow I still hope he will come around. Once during this meeting he commented about what the Huntsville Council had accomplished and remarked that it "shows how much a chapter can do with the right people--which sort of belies my theories." Maybe a down-to-the-mat conversation with him would be in order in a couple of months.

James and Kathy Wood send their regards.

M E M O R A N D U M

November 22, 1966

TO: Southern Interagency Conference Steering Committee--
Al Kehrer, Ted Freedman, John Morris, Jean Fairfax,
Jack Sisson, Bruce Hanson, Clarence Coleman, Courtney
Siceloff, Edward Brown, Oscar McCloud

FROM: Secretariat

At the call of Al Kehrer, Chairman, the Steering Committee is to meet at 10:00 A. M. Friday, December 9, 1966, in the Southern Regional Council Conference Room to plan the agenda for the January meeting of the SIC.

The January meeting was tentatively scheduled for January 17-18 (possibly January 18-19 at our last meeting.

M E M O R A N D U M

November 30, 1966

TO: H. Franklin Williams
Hubert Beckwith
Mrs. Martin Harvey
L. H. Pitts
Joe Hendricks

FROM: Ed Stanfield

As requested by T. Franklin Williams, I am sending herewith a photo copy of a letter of his expressing his response to the memoranda on our September meeting and to Dr. Dreger's resolution at the SRC Annual Meeting.

I hope to be in touch with you soon relative to another meeting.

cc: T. Franklin Williams

M E M O R A N D U M

November 30, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Conference on "People, Religion, and a Changing Virginia"

The conference was well-planned, the speakers first-rate, and the crowd large and responsive. It was as good as such a conference could be and, as Samuel Proctor remarked in his address at the concluding banquet, was the ultimate accomplishment in the realm of talkfests, short of hard work on the stubborn problems. (Proctor, incidentally, is a notably effective speaker.) The "sponsors" who met several times during the conference announced plans for area conferences throughout the state.

I suppose one never know how much or little is accomplished by such programs as this. Clearly it had educational value--and it was not, certainly, at a superficial level. Also, the Virginia Council got some good P. R. mileage out of it as the visible-but-unobtrusive originating organization.

The Board elected Mr. M. C. Martin, a Negro banker from Danville as their new president.

Bob Combs, who is exhausted from chasing klansmen and reporters, says they do need more money to print copies of their textbook publications. The Norfolk school system wants 2,000 copies for distribution to teachers. He will write.

Attached: Copy of schedule
VCHR resolution
Newsclips
Turner address

M E M O R A N D U M

December 7, 1966

TO: Moreland Smith
John Boone
Marvin Wall

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Thank you for agreeing to attend the Virginia Council's annual meeting on Saturday, January 14, 1967.

I have ordered roundtrip tickets via Eastern Flight #350, departing Atlanta 7:10 A.M., nonstop to Richmond, and United Flight #653, departing Richmond 7:20 P.M., one stop to Atlanta. Meals will be served on both flights. The tickets will be mailed on January 6.

I will ask Bob Combs to give you details on what you are to do at the meeting.

cc: Bob Combs

MEMORANDUM

December 8, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Paperback Bobks Project

The Paperback Books Project is gathering momentum rapidly. The word seems, at last, to have drifted down to community organizations and local councils, as well as to all kinds of schools with weak libraries or no libraries, and we are getting so many requests that Louise and I are afraid there will soon be a lot of disappointments.

Although it is too soon to expect evaluations of the various local projects, we ought to begin thinking about a request for renewal of the grant and, perhaps, an enlargement. I have asked Louise to give us a report on current status as soon as possible.

A lot of questions arise. Should we encourage the donor to consider the need of the many schools, public and private, which simply need to augment their libraries--without a sponsoring citizens' group? Should we consider the possibility of decentralizing the operation, with the next grant, so as to make the state councils the source of the books for local groups within their states? (This might be done either by having them develop a working arrangement with a local distributor or by standardizing the ordering procedure and having them send orders direct to Atlanta News Agency, which would also bill them direct.)

(Louise just came in. She calculates that we have ordered some 53,000 books thus far and that theyvhave billed us for only about $6,000 worth. Allowing for $4,000 backlog, it appears that the books are costing only about half as much as we expected on the basis of the rule of thumb that Elson gave us. I will try to check this more carefully.)

Memos - Outgoing

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
PHONE 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

December 8, 1966

TO: State Council Director

FROM: Ed Stanfield

I notice that the National Education Association's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities is sponsoring a conference on the treatment of minorities in American textbooks. It is to be held in Washington on February 9 and 10, 1967. I have asked them to send you an announcement of the conference and information about it, if they have not already done so.

As you know, the Virginia Council has pioneered for us along this line. It seems to me that this is a project that all of us might want to take up, studying and acting upon the conditions prevailing in each of our respective states. It would be a worthwhile endeavor, would provide opportunity for particularized service by each state council, yet would help mold a "regional identity" as a South-wide program.

In this connection, please let me know (rather soon) what you think of the idea of our convening for our next state council directors' meeting in Washington--say, on the evening of February 8th. This would provide us opportunity to draw on different brains for one or two other concerns, as well as giving our meeting a specific focus on the textbook problem. The additional cost would be nominal: we could follow our new formula of splitting the costs except that SRC would pay all travel costs in excess of $50.00. Registration costs for the conference could be paid by each individual council, I suppose, although I don't know at this point what that cost will be.

I will try to nail down this or some other date for our next meeting as soon as I hear from each of you.

Memos - Outgoing

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

December 19, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Response to the idea of having our next meeting in Washington in conjunction with the N.E.A. Conference on Treatment of Minorities in American Textbooks seems to be unanimously favorable. So mark January 8, 9, and 10 in your date books, please, and let's do it.

We do not know yet where the N.E.A. conference will be held, so we shall have to iron out details at a later date. But let's plan to convene around noon or immediately after lunch on the 8th, in order to have some time together and still participate in the conference.

Memos - OUTGOING

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Madison 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

December 20, 1966

TO: All concerned with subject

FROM: Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities

SUBJECT: Proposal for an addition to the Louisiana Council Staff

As some of you will have heard by the time you receive this, John Pecoul has found it necessary to withdraw his name from consideration for the staff position in question. Unanticipated complications in his family situation will make extensive travel impossible for him for some time, and he has concluded that he could not in the immediate future fulfill the obligations outlined in the job description. This is a disappointment, of course, as John seemed an exceptionally likely prospect for the proposed job and his availability was an extra incentive for expedition of our planning.

John's situation may be such that he could reconsider the position after a year's lapse, if that should be the wish of all concerned. He has asked me to make it clear, however, that he does not wish his personal involvement or potential involvement to be a primary consideration in the planning or timing.

In view of this development, it seems to us here that we should continue active planning on the basis of the job description, budget and structure which have been developed -- but at a slower pace, aiming at a later date for beginning the operation. We think the idea intrinsically sound and worthy of pursuit. The necessary delay can be used to good effect toward both stabilizing the existing Louisiana Council operation before expanding the staff and securing the necessary backing for the expansion.

As a basis for this continued planning I attach hereto a copy of (1) our original note on the idea, (2) the "Outline for an Addition to Louisiana Council Staff" (comprised of adoption of the basic idea, a job description, a section on staff-board relations, and a section on financial arrangements) prepared by the planning group in Louisiana, and (3) a revised minimum budget. In addition, I want to make a few comments and clarifications growing out of a discussion of these with Paul Anthony and John Pecoul.

First, Paul and I want to commend all involved in the planning that has been done for the entire outline submitted, and most especially for the job description. We think this indicates the sort of careful thought and cooperative spirit which is necessary to the success of the proposal.

As for the Southern Regional Council's financial participation, we are prepared to commit ourselves for $5,000.00 for the first full year of operation, whenever it might begin. Payment would have to be distributed over a full twelve-month period; that is, we cannot provide $5,000.00 for an operation during part of a calendar year. We arrived at this figure in the light of our commitments to the state councils for 1967 and implied commitments for 1968 -- and, indeed, can make this amount available only because of the importance we attach to experimentation with an arrangement of the kind under consideration.

The budget roughed out by the planning group and shown to us by Mr. Pecoul totalled $22,500.00. The attached revision totals $17,667.80. This lower figure is, of course, not the ideal, but we feel that it is sufficient to make a beginning and is more realistic in terms of potential funding. Most of the reduction is effected by budgeting for a half-time secretary instead of a full-time one, planning a more modest office at a rental of about $100.00 per month instead of $200.00, and reducing the item for expendable office supplies from $1,200.00 to $600.00.

I would suggest as our next step a meeting of appropriate persons from the CRC and LCHR boards with Paul Anthony and me either just before or just after the Louisiana Council's annual meeting on February 25. At that time we can attempt to set up a new timetable, assuming that interest continues. Meanwhile the planning which has been done thus far could be used in sounding out general interest and potential support for the project.

AN IDEA FOR AN ADDITION TO THE STAFF OF THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Metropolitan areas have unique and intense needs in the field of human relations which require the special attention not only of interested citizens but also of professional staff. The needs of a southern state like Louisiana require additional staff personnel in human relations at the state level.

These facts suggest the desirability of an associate director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations who would serve both statewide functions, but particularly the New Orleans area.

It is proposed as an idea for consideration that an Associate Director of the Louisiana Council be employed and that he reside in New Orleans, working out of a small office there. His job description would include three principal parts:

1. to give special service to New Orleans and the Community Relations Council, which would be facilitated by his location there;

2. to carry out research and writing projects in consultation with the Executive Director;

3. to help organize and service local human relations councils in other sizeable cities in Louisiana.

His salary and support for his work would be underwritten entirely by a special grant from the Southern Regional Council and by the New Orleans Community Relations Council, utilizing initially whatever foundation assistance may be secured.

It is obvious that the special needs of New Orleans and the C.R.C. would thereby be recognized and served. Assuming that a properly qualified person were chosen, his location and job description would assure attention to these needs. Volunteer support and participation would be encouraged by this arrangement.

Hardly less obvious are the benefits to the Louisiana Council as a whole if this idea is accepted. First, additional staff time and talent would be made available for research and aid to local councils. Second, additional staff resources would be available to the state as a whole by virtue of the release of the existing staff's attention from the special problems of the New Orleans metropolitan area.

The net effect would be to increase tangible interest in and support of the Louisiana Council as a whole from the New Orleans group -- and vice versa -- through the vehicle of a state council staff more nearly adequate to the total needs of the whole state and with a unified structure at the state level.

We estimate that $15,000 per year will be needed for this addition to the staff. An initial grant of $5,000 from the Southern Regional Council would need to be matched with approximately $5,000 from the Community Relations Council and $5,000 from a foundation grant or combination of grants. It is anticipated that support of this latter portion of costs of the operation would be gradually assumed over a period of two or three years by the New Orleans community as its worth to that community is proven.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDITION TO LOUISIANA COUNCIL STAFF

I. SRC proposal adopted, revised in financial section and stressing metropolitan areas more.

II. Job Description

A. Aid to Executive Director in organizing new councils and consult with existing councils in metropolitan areas on research and program, such as media, interagency councils, and jobs and unions.

B. Research and Resources

1. Establish resources and information center to include the following:

a. Newspaper and magazine clips on race relations, human resources, and politics for Louisiana and New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Shreveport.

b. Compile manuals, handbooks, etc., on federal, SRC, and other program resources.

c. Move toward establishment of an inter-agency human resources data center with universities, BGR, PAR or others.

2. Special research projects to facilitate council work in metropolitan areas to be determined by the associate director in consultation and cooperation with the executive director on the basis of state program priorities and local council needs. In most instances, such projects should be of sufficient generality to be of use in all metropolitan areas although they would normally be conducted from the associate director's New Orleans office, published through the state office.

C. New Orleans area program (Assist officials - not run program)

1. Evaluation of current CRC program to establish one or two specific goal priorities from among the following possibilities and others:

a. Housing and neighborhood stabilization.

b. Economic opportunity (jobs, coops, credit unions) possible program aid in doing this.

c. Community issues forum (Grant)

d. Voter education

e. Administration of justice (police, courts, legal aid, etc.)

f. Media and race

g. Religion and race

h. Inter-agency coordination

i. Youth and student affairs (program for help of population under 30 years)

j. Education

k. Organize Greater New Orleans branches

2. Maintain flexibility to deal with unforeseen needs which arise in addition to basic goals.

3. Become completely familiar with the dynamics and personalities of the New Orleans public and quasi-public sector.

III. Staff-Board Relations

In order to maximize effectiveness of the above professional functions the following relationships are proposed:

A. Part A above:

In consultation with the Associate Director, and sufficiently in advance to allow planning and to avoid schedule conflicts, the Executive Director will arrange visits by the Associate Director to state cities other than New Orleans for no more than an average of one week per month. It is understood that this time would more efficiently be spent in blocks where possible rather than on frequent short trips, though short frequent trips may sometimes be necessary in special circumstances.

B. Part B above:

In consultation with the Executive Director and representative of local councils, the Associate Director will select, design and conduct special research or information collection of significance to Louisiana state metropolitan areas. It is understood that this function will require varying amounts of time in any given month but that it is important enough to justify the use of as much as one week per month, sometimes more and sometimes less.

C. Part C above:

The Board of the New Orleans Community Relations Council will set policy for the work of the Associate Director with the CRC. It is understood that, depending upon demands from the state travel and research functions, work with CRC by the Associate Director might involve as many as three or as few as two weeks per month.

D. Staff relations committee representing state, research, and CRC interests should be established to resolve any conflicts arising under the foregoing arrangements and to report periodically to their respective constituencies. It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that the suggested time allocations are guidelines to prevent disproportionate emphasis being given to any one of the three job functions. They should not be altered unilaterally by any party involved but in special circumstances they could be altered by mutual agreement of both staff members with the consent of the Presidents of CRC and LCHR.

IV. Financial arrangements for additional staff.

A. Responsibility for all costs over and above SRC grant for Associate Director will be borne by CRC. All funds for the staffing and operating of CRC will be directed through LCHR and accounted for by LCHR auditor.

B. Any funds secured by CRC over and above the minimum of $ _____ required for New Orleans staff and office will be deposited with state LCHR for general state program needs which might include further New Orleans programs.

C. Present contributions of CRC membership pro-rata to state will continue.

REVISED BUDGET

Salaries		
Associate Director	$ 9,000.00	
Secretary	2,100.00	(1)
Janitorial Services	300.00	(2)
Benefits		
FICA taxes	382.80	(3)
Major Medical Policy	325.00	
Retirement Policy	260.00	
Office		
Rent	1,200.00	(4)
Telephone and postage	1,200.00	
Equipment (typewriter, furniture)	600.00	
Expendable Supplies	600.00	
Travel		
All travel	1,800.00	(5)
TOTAL	$17,667.80	

NOTES ON BUDGET

(1) Although a full time secretary is certainly desirable, we anticipate that a secretary half-time would be sufficient, at least for the first year.

(2) Assumes that someone could be employed for an average of three hours each week at $1.50 per hour.

(3) This figure (382.80) is 4.4% of the first $6,600.00 of the Associate Director's salary and 4.4% of the Secretary's salary.

(4) We consider it necessary that the office be a very modest one for the time being. $1,200.00 should be sufficient for this purpose, especially with an additional $300.00 in case janitorial service should be included in the rent. It might be possible to secure adequate space for even less.

(5) $150.00 per month, average, for travel is minimal. It will require careful planning of trips to make them maximally productive. It might also require limiting out-of-state travel mostly to expense-paid opportunities.

December 22, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the "Directory For Citizens Information Service" prepared by the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta. It occurred to us that it might be suggestive of program possibilities to some of you.

La	- c.	1,000
S.C.	- c.	800
Va.	- c.	600
Miss	- c.	1,200
N.C	- c.	600
Ark	- c.	550
Ga	- c.	700
Ala	- c.	1,200
Fla	c.	70
TOTAL	c.	6,720

MEMOS - OUTGOING

REPORT TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION ON SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CONFERENCES, 1966

Conferences on school desegregation were held, as proposed, in eight southern states and the border state of Maryland under the sponsorship of each state's Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Following each of these, except the one in Maryland, a brief after-meeting was held to discuss the problems of achieving desegregation and to give practical guidance to Negro community leaders on the processes necessary. Such a meeting was also held in Tallahassee, for North Florida, although there was no Civil Rights Commission conference there. These meetings were sponsored jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the human relations councils of the several states and civil rights groups active in each.

Schedule and Attendance

The Louisiana conference was on March 26 at the Bentley Hotel, Alexandria. Approximately 1,000 people attended the conference and about 400 were at the after-meeting.

In South Carolina, April 2, at Dreher High School, Columbia, there were 800 at the conference, 250 at the second meeting.

The Virginia conference on April 9 was at John Marshall High School in Richmond and was attended by about 600. 200 remained for the after-meeting.

An estimated 1,200 people turned out for the Mississippi conference at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson on April 16. At least 450 stayed for the community organization meeting.

The North Carolina conference was at the University's Greensboro campus on April 30. Some 600 people attended, with

about 150 at the second session.

On May 7 the Arkansas Conference was held at Philander Smith College, Little Rock. About 550 attended, with 200 staying for the after-meeting.

The Georgia Conference was held in Atlanta, at the Biltmore Hotel, on May 14. Approximately 700 were at the main meeting and about 250 at the second meeting.

The Alabama Conference was on June 11 at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham. About 1,200 attended, with some 500 staying for the second meeting.

On April 23, while the U. S. Civil Rights Commission staff was engaged in the Maryland Conference, a small meeting was held for Negro parents and leaders in Tallahassee. About 70 people attended. The American Friends Service Committee, assisted by a staff member of the Florida Council on Human Relations, planned that extra conference, and the Southern Regional Council paid some travel expenses for participants.

The Programs

The conferences followed very similar patterns. Copies of the schedules for two of them are attached. It can be seen that the same basic program was used for both, and it was used for the others also. Speakers and other leaders varied, of course.

The organization meetings were also much alike. Ordinarily the entire group stayed together for a briefing, usually by Miss Jean Fairfax of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund or a member of the American Friedds Service Committee staff (which has been working intensively on school desegregation for a number of years). This briefing included the key points of the new guidelines, techniques of organization to secure transfers to formerly all-white schools, dodges to watch for, etc. There was also time for specific case-problems and questions and answers.

By April 30, when the North Carolina Conference was held, the transfer period was supposed to have been over. There was an extension. Nevertheless, the after-meetings of the last four conferences dealt more with what happened - instances of guidelines violations, difficulties, and the like - than with organization and planning. There was wide-spread frustration and an often-expressed feeling that "freedom of choice" plans would never do away with the dual school systems.

The Response

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina had the largest attendances and, as it seemed, the greatest interest. This was no doubt due to the fact that these are the states in which there has been least progress toward school desegregation and most frustration. (The attendance in Georgia was a little smaller than in the other Deep South states. Georgia and Alabama had had good conferences on school desegregation a couple of months before -- and Georgia did not have the widely-publicized, total opposition of the state administration to the guidelines that Alabama had.)

In Louisiana, where only six parishes had "voluntary" desegregation plans and five times as many were under court order, the interest was remarkable. There was little organization in Louisiana, the civil rights groups not having concentrated on that state, and the people seemed to feel the need keenly.

The Mississippi and Alabama Conferences had the added attraction of an address by Commissioner Howe himself. The challenging circumstances and considerable civil rights leadership also contributed to the greater interest shown.

However, the response in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia was not at all disappointing.

Costs

A statement showing expenditures for transportation state by state is attached.

Virtually all of the money expended from the New World Foundation grant was for transportation expenses of participants. Since most of the experts used were either from government agencies or the staffs of private organizations, only one or two consultants had to be utilized. Thus there was less expense for this purpose than we anticipated.

In addition, there was general agreement among representatives of the sponsoring agencies that we should not try to pay the entire cost of operating a car to the conference, but only the cost of gasoline and oil. At the first conference, Louisiana, we paid drivers at the rate of six cents per mile. We noted that many who collected were school principals, teachers and others who were not in the low-income group. Subsequently we reimbursed drivers at the rate of three cents per mile, which we calculated to be enough to buy gasoline and oil for the trip. (Except that in Virginia werwere already committed, by a letter of invitation to the after-meeting, to six-cents per mile.)

Evaluation

We feel that the conferences and after-meetings were very valuable and that the provision for participation by the poor greatly increased the value.

At all of the conferences a large number of counties were represented. (See attached partial listings of participants in the community organization meetings.) As a result information about the regulations, the rights of minority-group pupils, the specific steps required of school boards (including copies of required letters and forms), and the techniques of organization for school desegregation was widely disseminated. The staff of the Civil Rights Commission provided literally tons of government publications -- and they were taken eagerly by participants. Sponsors of the second sessions provided kits of material on organization to secure transfers and to monitor procedures of the local school board.

A second value of the conference was that they gave people opportunity to see, perhaps to meet, employees of government and private agencies who could be called upon for assistance. We feel that it was encouraging to community leaders to see what and who was available to help.

We also think that it was valuable for government officials to be confronted with people from remote counties and with their fears and difficulties concerning school desegregation.

The conferences provided a platform for reaffirmation by government officials of the validity of the guidelines and the determination of the administration to achieve desegregation. Commissioner Howe's speeches in Mississippi and Alabama, for example, were widely publicized. This kind of thing was valuable at a time when governors and senators and school officials from these states were publicly decrying the guidelines as illegal and calling for resistance to them.

MEMOS - OUTGOING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM FOR 1966

General Conditions

Duration

The Southern Regional Council's expanded grant-in-aid program is made possible by a three-year Ford Foundation grant. Commitment to the 1966 grant schedule, however, is for one year only. Grants to state councils will be revised for the second year, and again for the third, in the light of their progress toward attaining the general purpose of the expanded aid program.

Purpose

The general purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to increase their membership and program and to become self-sustaining in their basic, staffed operations. As a means to this end, grants for the first year are mostly to make possible adequate or more stable staffed operations.

Evaluation and Revision

The Southern Regional Council will consider this expanded program to be attaining its purpose only if it results in significant increase of both membership and financial support from the membership of the several state councils. Therefore

it should be clearly understood that performance in these two respects will weigh more heavily than need in the annual revisions of the grant schedule.

No "matching funds" provision is attached to the 1966 grants. It is expected, however, that each state council will make during 1966 a planned, systemmatic effort to enlist new members and new chapters and to raise funds from a broad base of individual contributors. The success of such an effort will weigh heavily in the annual evaluation. (This may be interpreted frankly to mean that failure of the membership to support the state council will result in less aid, not more, from the Southern Regional Council.)

It is probable that larger portions of the 1967 and 1968 grants will be designated for particular projects, and that support of staffs made possible by the 1966 grants will be proportionately reduced. For this reason policy boards of the state councils should consider both their determination and the possibility to assume rapidly support of whatever staffing is made possible by their 1966 grant. Should determination be lacking or the possibility doubtful, they should seriously consider rejecting the grant because of this condition and in fairness to employees and potential employees.

Payment Schedule

Except where noted, the annual grant will be paid in equal quarterly installments, due February 15, May 15, August 15, and November 15.

The first quarterly installment of each grant will be paid as soon as possible administratively. Where one of the purposes of the grant is to employ additional personnel, expenses incurred in finding and moving the employee may be considered a part of the overhead expense. The second quarterly installment of grants for additional staff will be withheld, if necessary pending actual employment of the staff person.

Reporting Requirements

Quarterly payments will be made only if (1) the last-due quarterly program report has been received by the Director of Field Activities of the Southern Regional Council and (2) monthly financial and membership reports have been received regularly (beginning with a report for April, 1966). Quarterly installments due on the fifteenth of the months mentioned above will be paid upon receipt of the statistical report for the preceding month, plus any past-due reports.

Monthly statistical reports, in order to be acceptable, must show the following:

1. A breakdwon of receipts into membership dues, individual

contributions, corporate business contributions, S.R C grants, foundations grants, and miscellaneous receipts. The report must show for each category the amount received during the month and the total for the fiscal year to date in that category.

2. A chapter-by-chapter breakdown of membership growth for the month and each chapter's total for the membership year to date. (This may include out-of-state and at-large categories.

3. A separate accounting for funds received from the expanded (Ford Foundation) grant-in-aid program, with a breakdown of each category of disbursement into expenditures for the month and the year to date. (We recommend, but do not require, a similar reporting for the disbursement of other funds.)

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

JOHN EDWIN STANFIELD

Born in Warren, Arkansas, Mr. Stanfield attended public schools in Mansfield and Shreveport, Louisiana, and completed high school in Hot Springs, Arkansas. He attended Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, for two years, then transferred to Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia, where he received his B.A. degree in 1953. He was awarded a Bachelor of Divinity degree by Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, in 1956.

He was ordained a Presbyterian minister and served the First Presbyterian Church of South Charleston as Assistant Pastor for more than two years. Subsequently was Pastor of the Fayetteville (West Virginia) Presbyterian Church for nearly five years. During this time he was Stated Clerk (or principle executive officer) of the Presbytery of Bluestone.

After earning a Master of Theology degree from Union Seminary in Richmond, Mr. Stanfield joined the staff of the Southern Regional Council for a three month training period in the summer of 1964. In September of that year he became Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He resigned that position to become Director of Field Activities for the Southern Regional Council in January, 1966.

Mrs. Stanfield (Joyce) is a native of West Virginia. They have one son, Mark.

Golf and dramatics have been among Mr. Stanfield's hobbies, although these interests are now dormant. More current is an interest in flying. He is a Private Pilot.

TO: Nathan Greene, Intern Program Consultant, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

FROM: J. Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council.

RE: Supervisor's Report on Robert S. Valder, Eleanor Roosevelt Intern.

I. During this quarter Mr. Valder has carried all of the responsibility of acting as Director of The Alabama Council on Human Relations--and he has carried it well. From frequent conversations with him and from comments by officers and members of the ACHR, I continue to be highly impressed with his maturity, thoughtfulness, energy, imagination, administrative ability, and dedication to justice and equality.

In the course of his work in this capacity Mr. Valder has had opportunity for administrative responsibility--including supervision of a secretary; writing newsletters, reports, memorandums, etc.; preparing for and taking the executive's role in Executive Committee meetings; supervision of a field staff person (Mr. Lewis Black, Director of ACHR's Rural Advancement Project); administering a fund raising and membership enlistment program; consulting with local officers of the council concerning programs and local problems; direct involvement in civil rights and welfare problems. And this listing is only a partial one--the prominent features of his three month's experience.

II. Mr. Valder has many strenghts, as I have indicated, and all in such measure that it is difficult to rank them. I would say that his greatest strength is a single-minded commitment to justice, equality, and relief for the oppressed.

His weakness--if it can be called that--is perhaps an unavoidable implicate of his strength: a simplistic dualism of right and wrong, of justice and injustice. Thus the quality of his mercy toward the white majority in Alabama is somewhat strained. This is a very undamaging weakness, of course.

III. Future Employment

A. Mr. Valder has accepted a permanent position as Associate Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

B. Yes, I would recommend him for employment in the intergroup relations field.

C. It seems to me that Mr. Valder is better suited, both by talent and by temperament, to work involving investigation of violations and enforcement of the law than he is to work involving conciliation as a means of securing compliance. (This is not to say that he does badly at the latter.) If he were inclined to work in a government agency, for example, I think he would be much happier and more effective in the Civil Rights Commission or as a compliance investigator for HEW than as a Community Relations Service field man.

cc: Robert S. Valder

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Southern Regional Council has wisely established state Councils on Human Relations to effectuate the purposes of the Southern Regional Council;
And whereas the Southern Regional Council has continued to affirm its strong support of the State Councils by continuing grants-in-aid, by maintaining a Department of Field Activities, and by repeated statements of confidence and support;
And whereas it is necessary in most states, both for the continued existence of the state Councils and especially now for the continued existence of the Southern Regional Council as a popular-support organization, to establish and maintain local Councils affiliated formally and functionally with state Councils;
And whereas it has been the case in several instances that Southern Regional Council projects have been carried out in the several Southern states without the cooperation of and in some instances without even the knowledge of the state or local Councils;
And whereas the present methods of materials distribution by-pass the state Councils in many instances, making the state Councils appear useless as materials resource centers to local Councils and other groups who feel no need for affiliating with a state Council as long as they can be served directly by Southern Regional Council;
Be it therefore resolved:
That, insofar as professionally practicable, all projects carried out within the Southern states be done in cooperation with the state Councils as represented by their Executive Directors;
And that, again insofar as professionally practicable, materials distributed from the Southern Regional Council within the several Southern states be channeled through the state Council offices, with the exception of the NEW SOUTH, materials going directly to members of the Southern Regional Council, news releases of a general regional nature, and such other materials as the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council deems inappropriate for state Council distribution;
And further, that the sense of this resolution carries with it the implication that at the very least the Executive Director of a state Council be informed that a program is to be undertaken, unless the project director, with the advice and consent of the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, makes a specific decision that the information and/or further cooperation would be detrimental to the program or other interests of the Southern Regional Council.

Respectfully submitted

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.

Ban on Interracial Marriages Upheld by Virginia High Court

MISCEGENATION 3/8/66

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, March 7 — The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals unanimously upheld today the state's ban on interracial marriages.

The court said it saw no reason to overturn its ruling in an earlier, similar case, and noted that the United States Supreme Court had never invalidated any state's antimiscegenation law.

At issue before the Virginia court was the marriage in 1958 of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Perry Loving of Caroline County, a rural county north of Richmond in central Virginia. The couple were married in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Loving, 32 years old, is a white construction worker. His wife, 26, is part-Negro and part-Indian. Under Virginia law they are forbidden to marry.

Statute Challenged

When the couple returned to Caroline County from Washington in 1959, they were arrested, charged with committing a felony and sentenced to a year in jail. The sentence was suspended on condition they leave the county and the state.

The Virginia Supreme Court overruled the lower court on that condition. It said the Virginia law does not prohibit partners in a white-Negro marriage from living together in the state, so long as they do not cohabit. It ordered that the Lovings be resentenced, though not retried.

The litigation leading to today's decision was begun in 1963, when the couple said they had complied with terms of their suspended sentence but that the statute under which they were convicted was unconstitutional.

A ruling on the issue by the Federal District Court here was postponed until the State Supreme Court reached a decision.

The Lovings were represented by lawyers associated with the American Civil Liberties Union. The lawyers could not be reached today for comment, but with the adverse Virginia decision, they could decide to return to Federal Court for a ruling.

The decision by the Virginia high court was written by Justice Harry L. Carrico of Fairfax in northern Virginia.

The Lovings sole contention, he wrote, was that Virginia's antimiscegenation law is violative of the Virginia and United States Constitutions.

In a Virginia case 11 years ago—involving a white person and an Oriental—the Virginia law was "fully investigated," and upheld, Justice Carrico wrote.

Basis of Ruling

To upset the Virginia law on the subject, he added, would be "judicial legislation in the rawest sense of that term," in that sociological arguments against the racial marriage ban should be more properly directed to the Legislature.

MISCEGENATION

Race Marriage Bans Upheld in Virginia

High Court Backs Law Involving Negroes, Whites

RICHMOND, Va. (AP)—Virginia's Supreme Court of Appeals, citing "an overriding state interest in the institution of marriage," upheld Monday a state law forbidding Negroes and whites to live together as man and wife.

In a unanimous decision, the court refused to reverse a similar decision it had made in 1955, and again held that the so-called anti-miscegenation laws violate neither the constitution of Virginia nor that of the United States.

The suit against the state had been brought on behalf of Richard Perry Loving, 32, who is white, and his wife Mildred Jeter Loving, 26, who says she is part Indian and part Negro.

YEAR IN PRISON

They were married June 2, 1958, in Washington, D.C., but were convicted under the anti-miscegenation law the following month after returning to their rural home in the north-central Virginia county of Caroline.

Judge Leon M. Bazile of Caroline County Circuit Court sentenced them each to a year in prison, but suspended the sentences on condition that they leave Virginia and not return together or simultaneously for 25 years.

The Lovings left the state but returned in 1963, and with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, began an attack on the constitutionality of the law in question.

VOIDS SENTENCES

Monday, although upholding the circuit court decision in substance, the State Supreme Court struck down the sentences imposed against the Lovings.

The opinion, written by Justice Harry L. Carrico of Fairfax, said it was "unreasonable to require that the defendants leave the state and not return thereafter together or at the same time.

"Such unreasonableness renders the sentences void, and they will, accordingly be . . . set aside."

REMANDS CASE

The high court remanded the case to the circuit court for resentencing of the defendants in accordance with "conditions not inconsistent with the views expressed in this opinion."

The ruling left the Lovings with a somewhat uncertain future.

Bernard S. Cohen of Alexandria, one of their lawyers, said the couple "definitely will appeal."

"The only question is which way to go," he added.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 13, 1966.

The Law

NYT 3/13/66

Miscegenation Nears Test in High Court

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Since 1661, at least, Americans have tended to resolve racial issues into the ultimate question: "Would you like to have your daughter marry a Negro?"

In that year, the residents of colonial Maryland became sufficiently concerned about intermarriage between whites and slaves to pass the first antimiscegenation law, prohibiting marriages between the races.

The laws flourished during the 18th and 19th centuries, and at one time or another 38 states had one. All prohibited marriages between whites and Negroes, and some added Malayans, American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Asian Indians, mulattoes, Ethiopians, Hindus, mestizoes and half-breeds. A few even banned marriages between Negroes and other nonwhite groups.

With the Civil War such laws began to disappear, and today only 19 states—the 17 Southern and border states and Indiana and Wyoming—have laws against interracial marriage.

Although the United States Supreme Court has long since struck down all other types of laws that create discriminatory racial classifications, it has never ruled directly on an antimiscegenation law, and so has not yet gotten around to declaring them unconstitutional.

Significant Exception

This delay is significant. These laws do seem to express the white man's ultimate objection to equality with the nonwhite, and it is understandable that they have been left standing, long after less basic segregation laws have been swept away.

In his classic study of segregation, "An American Dilemma," Gunnar Myrdal wrote that "the whole system of segregation and discrimination" is designed to prevent eventual inbreeding of the races.

But antimiscegenation laws strike deeper than ordinary segregation acts, and the legal theory behind them leads to chaos in other facets of law whenever they are invoked. This is because they make any affected marriage absolutely void from its inception—thus children are illegitimate, "wives" have no inheritance rights and heirs cannot receive workmen's compensation and other death benefits.

All this has resulted in litigation in the state courts [illegible] until California's Sup[illegible] struck [illegible]

In 1883 it upheld an Alabama law which punished fornication between the races much more severely than that between members of the same race, on the ground that it punished equally severely the members of both races who were involved. But in 1964 it unanimously struck down a Florida law that made it a crime for persons of different races to cohabit. The Court ruled that the desegregation decisions of the past 10 years had swept away the rationale of the 1883 case, and that the Florida law denied the defendants the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. It left no doubt that the result would have been the same if a law against interracial marriages had been at stake.

Recent Conviction

The stage was set last week for a final decision by the Supreme Court. The highest court of Virginia unanimously upheld the conviction of a white man and his part-Indian, part-Negro wife for violating that state's ban on interracial marriages.

In 1958, Richard Terry Loving and Mildred Jeter Loving had been sentenced to one year in jail under the law, but the prison term had been suspended upon the condition that they leave the state for 25 years and not return to it at the same time.

They left for a time, but in 1963 returned to fight the conviction. On Monday the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia ruled that nothing in the Federal courts' decisions of the past 15 years has infringed upon the "overriding state interest in the institution of marriage." To upset the law in the courts would be "judicial legislation in the rawest sense of that term," the court said. It suggested that any change would have to be made by the Legislature.

The decision left the conviction in effect, but said the Lovings may return to Virginia at the same time, as long as they do not cohabit.

Lawyers for the Lovings immediately announced that they would appeal, giving the Supreme Court a clear chance finally to rule on the issue.

Associated Press

MIXED MARRIAGE: Richard P. Loving and his half-Negro, half-Indian wife, Mildred, whose conviction of violation of a Virginia law banning marriages of whites and nonwhites is expected to reach the Supreme Court. Eighteen other states have such laws.

KENTUCKY FACING RACE CUSTODY SUIT

MISCEGENATION

Mother Seeks the Return of 5 Children in U.S. Court

NYT 3/25/66

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 24 — A divorced mother of five goes into Federal Court here tomorrow to seek the return of her children from the foster homes and juvenile institutions to which the State of Kentucky has committed them because she married a Negro.

The mother, Mrs. Anna Eiler Anderson, a native Kentuckian, is a neatly dressed, attractive waitress in her late 30's. She and her children by her first marriage — two girls and three boys, six to 13 years old — are white.

It is against the law in Kentucky for a white person to marry a Negro, and County Court records here make clear that Mrs. Anderson's marriage in 1964 to Marshall C. Anderson, 28, a semiemployed Negro musician, was the reason she lost custody of the children.

Under an order by Judge Lyndon R. Schmid of the Jefferson County Circuit Court, Mrs. Anderson and her children have been separated for a year to protect the children's "health, morality and general welfare."

For 'Best Interests'

According to Judge Schmid, Mrs. Anderson's marriage to "a colored man" is "detrimental to their best interests."

KENTUCKY FACING RACE CUSTODY SUIT

MISCEGENATION

Mother Seeks the Return of 5 Children in U.S. Court

NYT 3/26/66

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For 'Best Interests'

According to Judge Schmid, Mrs. Anderson's marriage to "a colored man" is "detrimental to their best interests."

The custody dispute thus raises — apparently for the fitst time in a Federal Court — a civil rights issue involving equal protection of the laws in domestic relations cases.

The question is whether Kentucky's law and custom against intermarriage transcends the legal rights of divorced parents of good character to retain custody of children.

The case here is indirectly tied to a pending Federal Court appeal in Virginia against that state's antimiscegenation law. Kentucky, Virginia and 16 other states still have such laws on the books. All of them, however, are expected to be invalidated by the Federal Courts.

Mrs. Anderson will attempt tomorrow to have Judge Henry L. Brooks of the United States District of Western Kentucky take jurisdiction of her long custody battle. This is believed to be the first such appeal for Federal intercession on constitutional grounds in a child custody case.

Jurisdiction at Issue

Custody matters ordinarily are strictly reserved to the state and local courts. The issue here, therefore, is one of Federal jurisdiction.

Mrs. Anderson contends that the "imprisonment" of her children is not only "cruel, inhuman and damaging" to them and herself, but also is a violation of the First, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

The case is expected to establish a legal landmark. Whatever the District Court here decides, the decision is almost certain to be appealed.

In an interview yesterday in Indianapolis where they have moved to escape "harassment" in Louisville, Mr. and Mrs. Anderson acknowledged that their three years of married life has been difficult.

Both of them have lost several jobs when their controversial marriage became known. The appearance of Mr. Anderson in his automobile to meet his wife after work has already cost Mrs. Anderson three restaurant jobs, she said.

1375
625
2,000

INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: _____

TO: _____
Name

_____
Address

_____
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: 625 [illegible]

1375 [illegible]

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: State [illegible]

air [illegible]

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE.

DATE _____ 19 66

REQUESTED BY: [illegible]

APPROVED: _____

1,150
3,000
4,150
625
4,775

INFORMATION GIVEN TO PAT BY MARGE - REFER TO IT

1. When Quarterly Reports come in one copy circulates to the following:
   Paul Anthony
   Al Ulmer
   Sam Adams
   Pat Watters

2. I am to fill out yellow sheet saying INTEROFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT ~~ROLL~~ form. Make one yellow, 1 copy on green paper Give the yellow sheet to Mrs. Alexander. Write a letter telling them here is their check. On original and 1 white copy with SRC's letterhead, 1 green + reading file this also goes to Mrs. Alexander. List amount of check in Marge's brown notebook. Important

1375 abs
625 letters

3. Southern Inter Agency Conference
   Meets three times a year. Send notices about next meeting. Set-up a meeting for Steering Committee. Take minutes and send them. Make a note to myself to arrange through Mrs. Knox for the conference room to be available for both meetings.

4. Ruth Howard keeps files on all financial information from Councils and all Memberships and Budgets from state councils.

5. Folder that says Southern Intergroup Agencies don't ever send out.

6. Each State Has separate folder. Everything that is not specific should go in General Correspondence folder just for that state in which we do have state councils.

7. Miscellaneous file. Anything that does not have a specific folder goes in there.

Dear

~~Gentlemen:~~

Here is your check for $2.000

1 org, with

1,375
internship
625
2,000

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $2,000.00, $1,375 of it representing your first quarterly grant-in-aid for 1966, and the remaining $625 represent

the quarterly SRC
grant toward the NAIRO
intern's salary.

— Please sign and
return the enclosed
receipt carbon at
your convenience.

Janet — keep and count for
Mr's total and addresses — Moffie

Henri MENDY
Chambre 292
Cité Universitaire
DAKAR-FANN (SÉNÉGAL)
West Africa

Momath Thiam chez
Djim Momar Diop
employé à la Printania
31 Avenue Albert Sarraut
Dakar SENEGAL
WEST AFRICA.

N'GANGA Bernard
Maison des Etudiants BP 2102
BRAZZAVILLE - CONGO -
(CENTRAL AFRICA)

PIERRE YAKÉTÉ
S/C YABOUÉ ALBERT
INFORMATION
BANGUI
Central African Republic

Lawrence P. G. Pufong
c/o Cameroun College of Arts & Sc.
Bambui, Bamenda
West Cameroon. F.R.C
West Africa

Jean-Paul NGOUPANDE
Lycée Barthélemy BOGANDA
B.P. 831
BANGUI
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Victor Tchamo
B.P. 93 Yaoundé
Cameroon - W. Africa.

Mbida Bonaventure
Collège Vogt B.P. 765
Yaoundé - CAMEROON
W. Africa

Service R. Nanguiadé
S/c de Djimé Dominique
Affaires Economiques
B.P. 424 Fort-Lamy
Rep. of CHAD
AFRICA

MISCELLANEOUS

AC 3/10/66

Negro Death Rate Leads in Viet Nam

WASHINGTON (AP)—Defense department figures show that proportionately more Negroes have died in Viet Nam than other U.S. military personnel, but officials deny there is any discrimination in battle area assignments.

If the figures show anything, a Pentagon spokesman said, "it is the valor of the Negro in combat."

The figures, compiled in a recent Pentagon survey, show for example that of the Army force in Viet Nam at the end of 1965, 16,531 or 14.8 per cent were Negroes, while the Negro death rate between 1961 and 965 was 18.3 per cent.

MARINES COMPARED

Of the Marine force in Viet Nam, 3,580 or 8.9 per cent were Negro, compared with an 11.3 per cent Negro death rate in the 1961-65 period.

The Negro death percentages for enlisted men only stand at 22.1 per cent for the Army and 12.0 per cent for the Marines.

Here is the breakdown of 1961-65 deaths as provided by the Pentagon:

Army—A total of 1,078 including 213 officers, 865 enlisted men. Negroes: 6 officers, 191 enlisted, total 197 or 18.3 per cent.

Marine—A total of 346, including 37 officers and 309 enlisted. Negroes: 2 officers, 37 enlisted, total 39 or 1.13 per cent.

The Navy was unable to come up with precise figures, but estimated its number of Negroes in and off Viet Nam at 500, or 5.1 per cent, with only one Negro dead in the four years.

The Air Force reported 908 Negroes, or 8.3 per cent, and no Viet Nam deaths.

The data covered 98 per cent of the forces in Viet Nam last December, the Pentagon said.

The Defense department called upon the services to conduct a one-year survey of Negro participation in Viet Nam because of what it termed "many requests." Previously available records did not break down enlistment by race.

QUESTIONS RAISED

Some congressmen have raised questions about whether Negroes are discriminated against on the battlefield. And some civil rights leaders have protested that Negroes are forced to fight a war with which they are not in sympathy.

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff told Southern senators last month that Negroes and whites share the dangers proportionately in front-line fighting.

During secret hearings on $12.3 billion of emergency Viet Nam funds, Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., said home Negro constituents had complained that Negroes were being assigned "in disproportionate numbers to the most dangerous areas in Viet Nam."

Russell then asked: "You haven't heard of any of them being selected to make a forlorn-hope attack on any extraordinary strong position?"

"No, sir," Wheeler replied.

In response to another question, Wheeler told Sen. Allen J. Ellender, D-La., that in certain airborne units, the proportion of Negro soldiers runs as high as 18 per cent, compared with 13 or 14 per cent in most units.

MISCELLANEOUS

"The one thing I know is that the white man wants production. He respects production. That's my job. I've got to produce."

"The white father encourages his child to take part in athletics. Many times the Negro athlete doesn't even know who his father is."

"A man tells his son that the Negro is an inferior man. Now I'm responsible for his boy. I've got to convince the boy that I'm not inferior."

Lambert Reed Must Win Respect, Then Games

By NEIL AMDUR
Herald Sports Writer

"They threw a black hat out for Jackie Robinson when he came to bat," Lambert Reed says. "But when he hit a home run, the same guys applauded."

Joe Wilson, who hopes to sell insurance, called Reed the other day and said Reed was Dade County's Jackie Robinson. So did several of Reed's friends from Richmond Heights. The name Jackie Robinson now rings in Reed's ears but the sound has no sentiment.

AMDUR

Lambert Reed believes man must be judged by performance not color. Reed dislikes mediocrity. When someone reminds him of his first head coaching season in Dade County, he winces. Two wins in 10 games doesn't stand by itself.

Last week, Reed was recommended for another coaching position. When approved, he will be (at 28) the youngest head coach at the county's youngest high school. Killian, still under construction in the southwest, is scheduled to open this fall with 1,200 students.

Killian should be ideal for Reed. It has the challenge and opportunity for development. But not even Reed knows how white students will react to him as head football coach. Reed is a Negro.

"Killian will require a big adjustment for me," he says. "Last year Mays (the Negro high school where Reed now coaches), welcomed me with open arms. Going to Killian, I'll have to prove I can get the job done.

"There's a lot of doubt I can do it at Killian. There will be name-calling. But football is nothing but a challenge. And one thing I know is that the white man wants production. He respects production. That's my job. I've got to produce at Killian. If I don't, I don't deserve to be head coach."

★ ★ ★

LAJEAN REED says her husband is ambitious. She married him five years ago, after the two had met at Morris Brown College in Atlanta. It wasn't Lambert's size that attracted her. There were other 6-3, 250-pound tackles on the football team. "She used to hate my guts," Lambert says, "because I was an outspoken freshman."

Reed made the Pittsburgh Courier's Negro All-America in his senior year. He had two pro football tryouts — at Cleveland and Detroit. Paul Brown told him he was too fast to play tackle and not good enough for guard. "They had Jim Ray Smith, Gene Hickerson and John Wooten at guard," Reed says. "They didn't need me." The Lions' George Wilson told Reed that education needed him more than football.

Education needs Reed. He is frank, perceptive and honest — with himself and his position. He doesn't flinch when he talks about whites and Negroes. He talks confidently. Experience, he believes, will justify his ideas.

Reed is not taking the Killian job as an administrative figurehead for the future. "I'm going to hire a staff that jells," he says. "And it doesn't make any difference what color they are. I know what the situation will be. If things go good at Killian, it will be 'we.' If things go bad, it will be 'I.' It's may responsibility that we produce a winner."

★ ★ ★

REED'S BIGGEST asset at Killian will be his insight. He understands people. At Mays, he sees the plight of the Negro athlete who gets little motivation from home and who must be lured into sports with the prospects of glory. The coach is the boy's soul; he builds the dreams.

"The white father encourages his child to take part in athletics," Reed says, "either because he was an athlete or because he sees the value of the game. Many times the Negro athlete doesn't even know who his father is."

Last year, Reed had a quarterback who lived in Goulds, and a split end from Princeton and a tight end from Goulds. Reed didn't realize until the end of the season that his quarterback had a tendency to pass to the tight end.

Then there was his head trainer. Reed always wondered why Perrine boys got the best football equipment until he found out the trainer lived there.

Reed sees Killian a winner. The school will draw from Richmond Heights which he knows is culturally motivated. Add the white population in the southwest is rich in athletic tradition.

Killian will have nearly 300 Negro students the first year. The football program will be limited to 10th grade scheduling and Reed knows he will have problems on both sides: from the white parent who may keep his son out of Killian because of Reed to the Negro athlete looking for an easy out.

"A man tells his son that the Negro is an inferior man," Reed says. "Now I'm responsible for his boy. I've got to convince the boy that I'm not inferior. I know there's going to be some parents wondering about their boys. I just hope they let their boys decide."

The Negro athlete will find nothing but an Ivy League-type dresser greeting him. "A Negro boy might think he can come to Killian and have it made," Reed says. "Well, he's got another thing coming. We'll put 11 black ones or 11 white ones on the field but it'll be the best 11 we've got. No one's told me to put a certain percentage of whites and blacks on the field. If they do, they've hired the wrong man."

★ ★ ★

REED HAS heard the talk that Negro coaching is inferior to white. He disregards it. He doesn't figure it's worth an argument.

Reed's father, Lambert Reed Sr., told him in Douglas, Ga., that life wasn't all black. This is Reed's thinking and when he talks of Traz Powell and Nick Kotys, he talks of successful contemporaries not skin-types.

"Coaching is the difference between winning and losing," says Reed who worked as an assistant under Powell at Carver before moving to Mays. "You've got to take your boys to the football field knowing they can win.

"That's going to be my job. It's going to be a long-range program but I expect to win. I've never done anything without wanting to win."

—Herald Staff Photo by JOHN WALTHER

Lambert Reed Learned Early That Life Isn't All Black
. . . yet-to-be-approved Killian grid coach faces challenge

Infernos Cavort At Beach Show

The Infernos will meet Danny Miller and Mike Paidousis in a Texas tornado death wrestling match Wednesday night at Miami Beach Auditorium.

In a death match no one dies, but all four opponents are allowed in the ring at the same time. In another bout, former college football star Calvin Pullins will take on Tiger Conway.

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MISCELLANEOUS

NEGRO PREJUDICE ON JEWS DOUBTED

MISCELLANEOUS

Panel Asserts Antagonisms Are More Anti-White

NYT 3/28/66

By IRVING SPIEGEL

Buildings Commissioner Charles P. Moerdler and two civil rights leaders agreed yesterday that Negroes who are accused of being anti-semitic are basically expressing anti-white attitudes.

Discussing the situation with them, a prominent rabbi partly agreed but said that theological teaching had played a "very significant role" in creating Negro anti-Semitism.

The rabbi, Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a Reform Jewish group, said the teaching was the charge that the Jews were the "Christ killer."

The spiritual leader held that Christian writers, including Negroes, were in agreement that the "first attitude of the Negro toward the Jew" was influenced by "that particular tradition of the literal interpretation of the Gospel."

The roots and the extent of "black anti-Semitism" were discussed on the "New York, New York" program over WABC-TV.

In addition to Commissioner Moerdler and Rabbi Eisendrath, the others who took part in the discussion were Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Alexander Allen, eastern regional director of the National Urban League.

Mr. Allen said that "some anti-Semitism" existed among Negroes, but he added that "there is anti-Semitism throughout the American society." He analyzed the Negro attitude this way:

"There are anti-white feelings and it happens that the most easily identified — the closest figure—the landlord and the corner grocery store, are very frequently in the hands of Jewish businessmen. And I think this is the point at which friction takes place. It's basically anti-white; it's not anti-Semitic."

In agreeing with this viewpoint, Mr. McKissick said that in many communities it did not matter whether the person was "Jewish or Italian," adding that "by and large it's a feeling of anti-white more so than directed at the particular Jewish people."

Mr. McKissick noted that there were some Jewish merchants who "really exploited" and "some other Jewish merchants who are pretty fair." In answer to a question, he said that the greater majority of those who exploited operated business in Harlem.

In discussing the changing character of neighborhoods from predominately Jewish to Negro, Commissioner Moerdler listed Harlem and the Brownsville section in Brooklyn, pointing out that Jewish merchants and landlords, despite the changes, remained.

"When the Negro sees the white businessman or the person to whom he must let out frustrations," the Commissioner said, "in the overwhelming majority of the instances it is frequently a Jew."

However, he said, this hostility is not aimed primarily at the Jew but "at the white community that has for years kept down a people."

Reform Democrat to Run

Nathan Straus 3d, a Reform Democrat, announced yesterday that he would seek the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Bronx's 22d Congressional District.

WAR ROLE SOUGHT FOR HOMOSEXUALS

NYT 4/17/66

Groups to Aid Deviates Ask End to Pentagon Ban

By PETER BART

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, April 16 — A national campaign to end the exclusion of homosexuals from the armed forces was set in motion here this week.

The campaign will culminate in a series of parades and demonstrations in major cities on Armed Forces Day, May 21.

The organization staging the campaign contends there are 17 million homosexuals in the nation, most of whom would be eager to fight for their country. The organization, called the Cimmittee to Fight Exclusion of Homosexuals From the Armed Forces, argues that an end to the ban would ease the shortage of manpower available for service in Vietnam.

Donald Slater, a spokesman for the committee, which is based here, said the drive represented the first manifestation of a new militancy in "the homosexual movement." The campaign, he said, grew out of a convention of homosexual organizations held Feb. 19-20 in Kansas City.

The convention, which was formally called the National Planning Conference of Homosexual Organizations, is said to have represented the first major effort of homosexual groups throughout the nation to organize a unified self-improvement program.

About 40 homosexuals representing 15 groups attended the two-day meeting, among them members of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual of San Francisco; the Janus Society of America, Philadelphia; the Mattachine Society of New York, and One, Inc., of Kansas City.

The homosexuals also agreed to set up a national legal fund to defend homosexuals who are in legal difficulties and to fight against "restrictive" sexual laws.

Mr. Slater discussed the aims of his organization in the small, sparsely furnished offices of Tangents magazine, a homosexual literary periodical of which he is the editor. Tangents, an outgrowth of a defunct publication called One, has a circulation of 5,000, according to its editor, a small, slender man with graying hair. The walls of the office are lined with books dealing with homosexuality. A seminude male adorns a calendar on the wall.

Mr. Slater said he was encouraged to find an increased willingness of homosexuals across the nation to discuss their situation publicly.

He said he did not believe that the homosexual population was increasing relative to the total population but conceded that "it may seem that way because of the trend toward more open discussion."

The campaign on military policy, Mr. Slater said, will focus on distributing leaflets to the public and encouraging people to write to the President. To attract public attention, homosexual groups around the country will seek to go on radio and TV programs and to engage in public debates.

MISCELLANEOUS

JOB CORPS SEEKS RACIAL BALANCE

Acts to Halt Trend Toward All-Negro Enrollment

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 17 — Antipoverty officials are seeking ways to halt or reverse a rapidly accelerating trend toward an all-Negro Job Corps.

They fear that if they do not act now to entice more whites into the corps and to stem the present high rate of white dropouts, there will soon be de facto segregation in the national youth training program.

"A black Job Corps would be a terrible, terrible thing," said Dr. David L. Gottlieb, a sociologist at the Office of Economic Opportunity. "Nothing could be worse than to create a program that has broken down racial barriers and then let it turn into a segregated system."

There are 23,000 enrollees in 97 centers across the country. At all seven women's centers, Negroes are in the majority. At the much bigger men's urban camps, with contingents up to several thousand, Negroes are swiftly gaining numerical dominance.

Camp Kilmer, N. J., is now more than two-thirds Negro; just before the Christmas furlough the ratio was 40 per cent Negro, 60 per cent white.

The Job Corps has now embarked on a project to attract teen-agers from rural areas, where most white recruits come from.

Also planned are a pre-tested "big brother" advisory structure to give each enrollee more personal guidance; and a "payoff" promotion system for enrollees, featuring quick rewards in rank and money for effort.

The corps may also adopt a policy of assigning friends to the same camps in groups.

The most explosive idea being contemplated is to make staying in the corps compulsory—to insist, as Dr. Gottlieb puts it, that the enrollees "become productive, creative members of society even if they don't want to."

"It's going to bug some people," said Dr. Gottlieb, an imaginative young man who has extensively worked with and written about teen-agers.

One radical possibility which will not be attempted unless a legal rationale is found for it, is to achieve racial balance with a quota system—that is, by limiting the percentage of Negroes admitted to the corps or assigned to individual camps.

More than 300,000 young men and women 16 to 21 years old applied to enter the Job Corps last year when it was announced. Acceptances have been on a first-come, first-served basis after undesirables such as serious criminal offenders are screened out.

Recent spot checks indicate that Negroes and other nonwhites, most of them from cities, are staying in; the whites, mostly rural and particularly from the South, are heading home in ever larger numbers.

Enrollees can stay in the corps a maximum of two years. The spot checks indicate that the dropout rate for whites is four times the rate for Negroes.

The Job Corps' big-city Negroes, toughened by urban pressures, seem more aggressive and mobile, adapt easier to an unfamiliar environment, come mostly from broken homes, and have "less to go back to," Dr. Gottlieb says.

Their aspirations, officials of the corps have found, are both higher than those of poor whites and more directed toward the white-collar jobs that have been denied their race in the past.

The rural whites in the corps, officials say, find it much harder to accept change, have traveled less, generally come from intact homes and are more plagued by homesickness. They want to go back home where everybody knows them when they graduate from the Job Corps, even though most of the jobs they could take are in cities.

Corps officials say that the rural whites are attracted by simple occupations, such as driving a bulldozer or working in a gasoline station, and that, in the poor-white South, there is a tradition of what has been described as "keeping down with the Joneses"—community pressure not to rise above one's present station.

It has been found in Job Corps camps that as soon as the Negro-white ratio nears 50-50, the white exodus begins to accelerate.

These steps are now being taken to attract whites into the corps:

Letters have just been sent to principals of 24,000 small rural high schools with information about who is eligible for the corps and where teen-agers may find out more about it.

Extension service staffs of 4-H clubs and universities are being pressed to recruit applicants.

The United States Employment Service, which screens most of the men for the corps, is sending staff members into the field as recruiters instead of waiting for prospective enrollees to approach the service.

Among the steps now being taken to keep enrollees in the corps are the following:

A "corpsman advisers" system has been tested for four months in four Job Corps centers and will begin nationwide the end of April when a 30-page instruction handbook is sent out.

Close-Up

MISCELLANEOUS

Tech, Georgia Fumble; Michigan State Scores

AC 5/5/66

Decatur high school senior Jack Pitts is "the finest quarterback prospect we've ever seen on film," says Michigan State's football coach Duffy Daugherty.

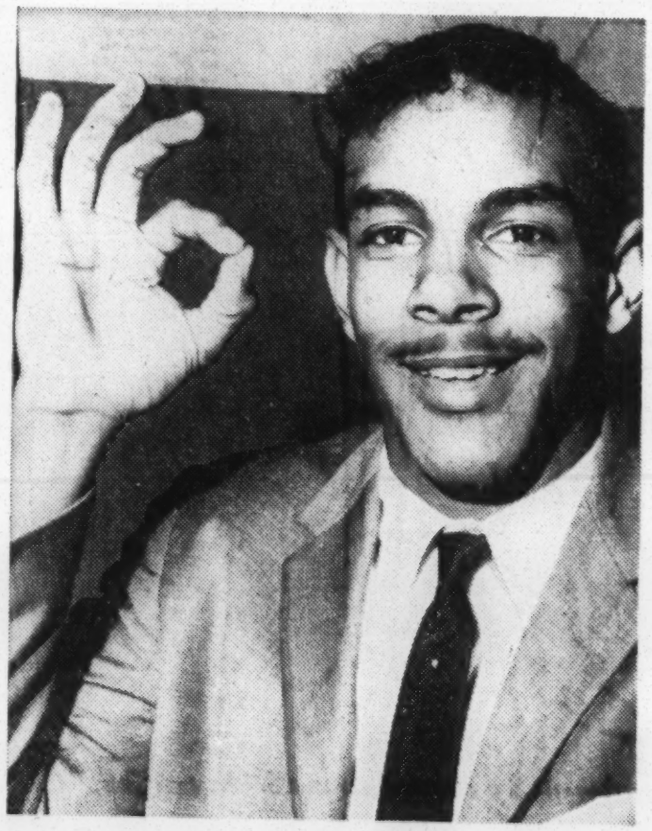
Mr. Daugherty, overwhelming choice of national sportswriters as 1965 Coach of the Year, believes young Mr. Pitts has "more all-around ability . . . quickness, agility and sense of timing" than any of State's present roster of quarterbacks.

The man from East Lansing isn't alone in his regard for the Trinity High School whiz. The young man has been wooed by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Wake Forest, Arizona, some predominately Negro schools and others he's not sure about, since his coach did the talking.

He hasn't heard a whisper from Georgia Tech or the University of Georgia.

Jack Pitts was captain of little Trinity's championship team and has played "everything they offered," which means basketball, track and baseball as well.

Off the playing fields, he's president of the senior class, president of the Honor Society and a member of several other academic achievement clubs. His national College Board score was in the 800s.



TRINITY HIGH'S FLEET-FOOTED JACK PITTS

"The Finest Quarterback Prospect We've Seen"

("And what do you do in your spare time?" I joked with him. "Oh, it doesn't take too much time," he replied seriously; "I'm taking only four classes this year.")

Jack Pitts has not let all the offers and the visits to distant campuses go to his head. He's quiet, almost shy until you talk with him a while. "It's pretty hard for a boy that young to get all that attention and keep his feet on the ground," Coach Daugherty observed. But Pitts has.

The Decatur stand-out isn't sure what he will major in—probably business administration, engineering or law. He has two years of general studies in which to make up his mind, he explained.

Without a scholarship, Pitts would have had to stick close to home if he had attended college at all. Mrs. Lillie Mae Pitts has three children to raise—a younger daughter and son besides Jack. Jack had been considering Clark College.

But now he's chosen Michigan State. Duffy Daugherty is a happy man. "I think he's a boy who'll be a great credit to us and to his high school . . . not just in athletics. He can go on to greatness," the coach predicted.

DUFFY DAUGHERTY

A Happy Man

Michigan State's gain, as they say . . .

BRUCE GALPHIN.

Admin. file MISCELLANEOUS

May 18, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Ed Lewis

Mutual of New York can cover the staffs of the State Human Relations Councils on the following basis:

$10,000 max
4,000 max

89¢ per thousand of life insurance per month

$18.58 for complete medical care per family per month

and

$ 5.64 for medical care for single people per month

As there can be some saving to SRC by bringing these people in, I suggest that they be advised of their opportunity with a July 1 or August 1 cut-off date.

cc: Paul Anthony

EL/km

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

June 23, 1966

file

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

We have received your application for participation in our Second Atlanta-Regional Laboratory for Community Leadership Development, to be held at the Sheraton-Emory Inn, Atlanta, Georgia, July 24-31, 1966. It is not yet clear how many participants can participate on a commuter basis. We are giving this serious consideration and when a decision is reached we will communicate with you promptly.

Be assured you will be given top priority in this commuter category whenever the number of such participants is agreed on by the faculty and the advisory committee.

Yours truly,

Chas. T. Lester

Chas. T. Lester
Dean

CTL:ss

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Your check for $25 drawn on the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., has been received as a down payment in the event of possible participation in the Laboratory for Community Leadership Development.

We appreciate your interest in the Laboratory and as soon as the Planning Committee has selected participants you will be notified.

Chas. T. Lester
Dean
Graduate School

file

Arthur M. Cohen
Chairman
Planning Committee

July 20, 1966

Mr. John Pecoul
2106 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19121

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter of July 18. We are pleased that Ellen liked the prospect.

Concerning the maternity benefits, we have a contractual obligation to cover all of our employees under our plan and it would not be possible to divert the monthly cost to another plan. However, most such plans, including ours, provide maternity benefits even after the coverage is discontinued, provided the pregnancy occurred while the mother was covered. Have you checked that carefully in your present contract?

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

file

2106 N. Broad St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19121
July 18, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Ed:

Thank you so much for your time and Paul's on our visit. Ellen was very happy with what she saw and heard. Going "south" should be less of a problem for her now.

As for the Rusche's apartment, it would cost $70.00 plus phone and utilities. It is a lovely place but because they would be returning by Dec. 1 and that would require another move, we have decided to say no and try to find a place with a six-month lease or availability. Al Ulmer spoke of the Atlanta University area and we think it

is a real possibility — as well as Ardley Park. We drove through each and checked the ads and feel confident we can swing it with something acceptable rent-wise and time-wise.

One other practical matter has come up and that is about our maternity coverage under a change of health insurance. It would lapse for ten months if we switch to the S.R.C. plan ~~the~~ and the way things look, that might cause some difficulty. Would it be possible to apply whatever you would pay for me in the S.R.C. group policy to my present health insurance plan? I would make up the difference — if any ($248 per year) and we would have no lapse in maternity coverage. I found out that I can continue our present plan after we leave Phila. if I wish. Is this possible?

Thanks again and we'll see you in September.

Sincerely,
John Pecora

P.S.: Had good visits with Helen Mervis and Jack Sisson in New Orleans.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

August 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director

John H. Wheeler, President

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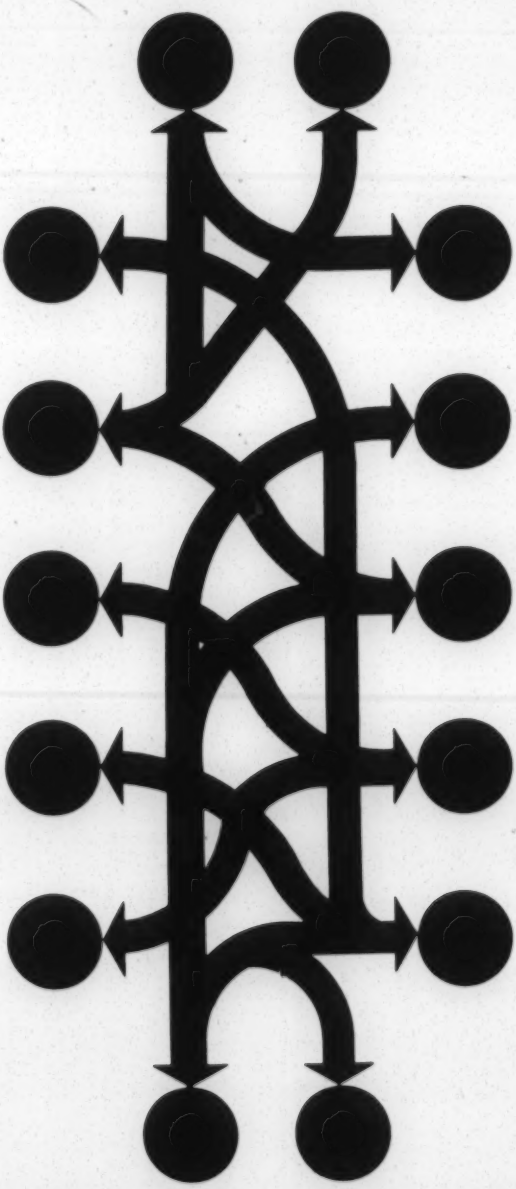
Administration MISCELLANEOUS

HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

SUMMER 1966



The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade, Cleveland, Ohio 44114
Telephone: (Area Code 216) 781-6630

PREFATORY NOTE

This brochure on Human Relations Workshops is the 5th or 1966 edition of an annual publication developed by The Council on Human Relations, Cleveland, Ohio. Miss Nell C. Henry of the Council's staff is responsible for its development.

Originally conceived as a handy reference list for intergroup relations practitioners, the brochure has become an important resource for educators, social workers and city officials. Its usefulness has grown as the human relations crisis has deepened and as the need for objective study and systematic training has become increasingly important.

Francis Keppel, U. S. Commissioner of Education, has been widely quoted for his terse "thank God for the Civil Rights Movement." Commissioner Keppel's comment indicated his satisfaction that, at last, the educational door was open and changes, needed changes, could be introduced.

Everyone of the approximately 75 workshops listed in this brochure is concerned directly or indirectly with these anticipated and necessary changes. Experience seems to suggest that these changes depend primarily on direct confrontation and continuing dialogue. And the workshop is, par excellence, the place or process where this kind of personal change most often and most readily takes place.

As a unique tool or instrumentality, the Human Relations Workshop, currently a modest and largely unadvertised development on the American educational scene, merits extended use. This brochure is published with this purpose in view.

. . . J. D. NOBEL
. . . The Council on Human Relations, Cleveland, Ohio

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Dates to be announced *(6)

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June 27 - July 15 (5)

LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM
Palo Alto, California
See statement on last page.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Los Angeles, California 90045
"Human Relations and Group Guidance"
June 22 - August 2 (6)

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1. "20th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
   July 17-29
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   August 7-19

(Conducted in cooperation with Western Training Laboratory, University Extension, University of California at Los Angeles: cosponsored by the School of Education, the Institute of Industrial Relations, and the Graduate School of Business Administration.)

For further information write to:
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National Education Association
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Washington, D.C. 20036

(See statement under National Training Laboratories in Maine)

SACRAMENT STATE COLLEGE
Sacramento, California 95819
"Workshop in Human Relations and Communication"
June 20 - July 15 (4)

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
San Francisco, California 94132
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 27 - July 15 (3)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California 94305
"Guidance Workshop", 332w
June 20 - July 1 *(4)
"Guidance Workshop", 339a
July 5-15 (4)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXTENSION
Los Angeles, California 90024
"9th Annual Leadership Laboratory in Human Relations and Supervisory Skills"
May 29 - June 4

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
Stockton, California 95204
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 27 - July 8 (2)

UNIVERSITY OF REDLANDS
Redlands, California 90723
"Minorities in Our Culture"
July 26 - August 6 (2)

COLORADO

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
Denver, Colorado 80210
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 20 - July 22 (7½)

CONNECTICUT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
Storrs, Connecticut 06602
"Workshop in Education: Communications as a Factor of Human Relations and Intergroup Process"
July 5-22 (3)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
Washington, D.C. 20016
"17th Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding"
June 20 - July 8 (3)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
on University of Maryland campus
"American Politics in a Revolutionary World"
(for those 19-23 years of age)
June 19 - July 30
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

The Encampment is a six-week "living-in" educational program designed for junior citizens who are interested in first-hand acquaintance with basic social issues. Guided by informed and skilled adult leaders, the Encampment participants explore problems in human relations, labor and international relations and civil rights. The participants themselves represent a great variety of socio-economic, racial, religious and cultural groups, a fact which makes the Encampment interlude intensely personal and stimulating as well as profoundly educational.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
Washington, D.C. 20007
"Institute on Human Relations"
July 5-9

LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM
Washington, D.C. 20036
See statement on last page.

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

ILLINOIS

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
DeKalb, Illinois 60115
"Family Relationships"
June 13 - August 5 *(3)

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
See under
"BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS."

INDIANA

VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY
See under
"BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS."

KENTUCKY

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS
Berea, Kentucky 40403
"Workshop on Urban Adjustment of Southern Appalachian Migrants"
July 8-22

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Barbourville, Kentucky
"The Rural South and American Democracy"
(For those 15 through 18 years of age.)
July 3 - August 13
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
(See statement under Encampment for Citizenship in Washington, D.C.)

URSULINE COLLEGE
Louisville, Kentucky 40206
"Community Relations" (for sisters only)
July 6-8

MAINE

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine

1. "20th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
   June 13-25, Judy 13-15, July 24 - Aug. 5
2. "6th Annual Laboratory for Educational Leaders"
   July 24 - August 5
3. "7th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership Training"
   July 3-15
4. "3rd Annual Laboratory in Conflict Management"
   July 24-August 5

Conducted by:
National Training Laboratories
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The work of the National Training Laboratories is part of a massive modern trend, falling under the head of behavioral science. It is at Bethel, Maine, that Kurt Lewin's pioneering idea for the analysis of face-to-face groups has been given a practical laboratory testing year after year since 1947. Beginning in mid-June, three sessions are held, each of two weeks' duration, for participants from all walks of life. It is the

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primary business of NTL to study group reactions, to alert members to what is wrong, and what they can do about it. The three main goals are to increase the sensitivity of the individual to his own role and his own responses and help him express complicated or even negative attitudes acceptably, to provide new skills for conducting and diagnosing group meetings, and to develop methods of participation and leadership. Additionally, the "Bethel pattern" has expanded into laboratory sessions running two weeks for professionals in various occupational fields. Planned in close co-operation with leaders in these fields, these laboratories are tailor-made programs for a particular occupational group, and are held annually in various locations throughout the country.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
Orono, Maine
"Education for Intercultural Understanding"
August 1-19 *(3)

MARYLAND

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
College Park, Maryland 20742
"Human Relations in Educational Administration"
June 20 - July 29 (6)

See also ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP under Washington, D.C.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER
Boston, Massachusetts 02115

1. "13th Annual Summer Laboratory in the Improvement of Human Relations"
   June 24 - July 8 (3)
2. "Advanced Training in Methods of Human Relations Education"
   June 24 - July 8 (3)

MICHIGAN

EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197
"Seminar in Inter Group Education"
August 8-19 (2)

UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT
Detroit, Michigan 48221
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 27 - July 22 (6)

MISSOURI

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis, Missouri 63130
"Human Relations Commission Institute"
June 24-26

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH
See under "FOREIGN WORKSHOPS"

NEW JERSEY

RUTGERS—THE STATE UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Education
"Human Relations in Professional Education"
July 5-22 (6)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

NEW MEXICO

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106
"Intercultural Relations Workshop"
June 20 - July 15 *(4)

NEW YORK

ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
Garden City, New York 11530
"Police and Community Relations Workshop"
Dates to be announced (3)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Riverdale, Bronx, New York
"Urbanism and American Democracy"
July 3 - August 13
For those 15 through 18 years of age.)
Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
(See statement under Encampment in Washington, D.C.)

THE NEW SCHOOL HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER
New York, N.Y. 10011
Six cources, each meeting one day each week:
"Absurdity and Humor: Four Novels of Our Day"
"Four Attitudes in Contemporary Drama"
"The Ideas of Americans: What We Believe and Why"
"Communication and Adjustment"
"Windows on Other Lands and Cultures"
"Sources of Political Power"
June 7-30

HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY
Hempstead, New York 11550
"Workshop for Educators and Community Leaders"
July 5-22 (3)

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Washington Square, New York, N.Y. 10003

1. "Workshop in Group Dynamics"
   June 6 - July 1 (6)
2. "Institute on Problems of Desegregation and Integration"
   July 18 - August 5 (4)
3. "Workshop for Instructors of Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth"
   June 27 - July 1

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO
Buffalo, New York 14214
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 27 - July 15 (3)

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
Syracuse, N.Y. 10010
"Institute on Human Relations for Law Enforcement Officers"
June 13-24

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
New York, N.Y. 10003
"Management of Troubled Youth"
July 5 - August 2 (3)
"Anti-Poverty and Desegregation"
July 5 - August 2 (6)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

OHIO

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
Cleveland, Ohio 44106
"Workshop on Intergroup Relations"
June 20 - July 29 *(6)

OKLAHOMA

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Norman, Oklahoma
"Justice in Community Relations"
8th Annual Human Relations Seminar
July 25-30 (2)

OREGON

PACIFIC UNIVERSITY
Forest Grove, Oregon 97116
"Workshop for Human Relations"
June 20 - July 5 (3)

PENNSYLVANIA

KUTZTOWN STATE COLLEGE
Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530
"The Improvement of Human Relations in School and Community"
July 18 - August 5 (6)

TENNESSEE

FISK UNIVERSITY RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
Nashville, Tennessee 37203
"23rd Annual Institute of Race Relations"
June 27 - July 9 (3)

TEXAS

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY
Dallas, Texas 75222
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 6 - July 1 (3)

UTAH

NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
College of Southern Utah
Cedar City, Utah

1. "20th Annual Summer Laboratory in Human Relations Training"
   August 7-19
2. "7th Annual Laboratory in Community Leadership Training"
   August 7-19

   Conducted by:
   National Training Laboratories
   National Education Association
   1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
   Washington, D.C. 20036

   (See statement under Maine National Training Laboratories)

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112
"Intermountain Group Development Laboratory"
August 7-19

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

WASHINGTON

PACIFIC LUTHERAN UNIVERSITY
Tacoma, Washington 98447
"Human Relations Workshop"
June 27 - July 15 *(3)

WISCONSIN

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233
"Human Relations Institute"
June 20-21 (3)

II WORKSHOPS CONDUCTED BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

"Traveling Workshops"

College of St. Theresa
Winona, Minnesota
June 10-11

Mundelein College
Chicago, Illinois
June 20-24

Albertus Magnus College
New Haven, Connecticut
June 28-30

Four Motherhouses
Dubuque, Iowa
July 1-3

Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.
July 5-8

St. Mary's
Notre Dame
July 8-10

**St. Catherine's
St. Paul, Minnesota
July 11-23

Xavier College
Kansas
July 13-17

Assisi Heights
Rochester
July 16-17

St. Thomas
Houston, Texas
July 18-29

**Our Lady of the Lake
San Antonio, Texas
July 25 - August 5

Good Counsel
Mankato, Minnesota
July 24-26

**St. Mary's Dominican
New Orleans, Louisiana
August 1-12

St. John College
Cleveland, Ohio
June 13-17

**Under Title IV of Civil Rights Act

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana 46383
"17th Annual Institute on Human Relations"
July 22-24
"Workshop in Human Relations"
July 25-28

III WORKSHOPS ABROAD

PUERTO RICO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico
"Social Welfare Workshop"
June 12 - July 16

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit.

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
Cayey, Puerto Rico

"Democracy and Social-Economic Development in the Western Hemisphere"
(For those 19-23 years of age.)
June 26 - August 6

Conducted by:
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023
(See statement under Washington, D.C.)

INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON ISRAEL

"5th Annual Summer Study Tour of Israel"
July 12 - August 10

For information write to:
Inter-University Committee on Israel
250 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

"13th Annual Foreign Workshop in Human Relations and Group Guidance" in Scandinavia
August 3 - September 2 (6)

Apply to: St. Louis University
21 North Grand
Saint Louis, Missouri 63103

IV RELATED PROGRAMS

THE LISLE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The Lisle Fellowship offers the opportunity for students and young adults to participate in international summer programs in intercultural relations. The purpose of Lisle is to give young adults the challenge to experience the development of relationships with peoples of other cultures and backgrounds and to learn through practical fieldwork experiences about the ways of living and thinking in another culture. The programs take place in California, Washington, D.C., Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Colombia, Republic of Congro and USSR.

V HUMAN RELATIONS CENTERS

ALBERT M. GREENFIELD CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (Philadelphia)

Charged with a three-fold responsibility, the University of Pennsylvania's Center encourages and carries out both pure and applied research, offers courses of instruction with special emphasis on the graduate level, and engages in community service.

Fellowships are offered to doctoral students in allied areas on condition that they write their dissertations in the field of human relations. In addition to the staff's serving on advisory committees of intergroup agencies in housing, employment, public accommodations, and education, the Center also has an intern relationship with some of the city intergroup agencies. M. A. degree in Human Relations is granted.

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY STUDIES OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY (New York City)

At present, the program is entirely graduate in scope, with the exception of one course taught as an elective for persons specializing in the various helping professions.

The center is concerned with the integration and application of the behavioral disciplines for the purpose of furthering full human development. It seeks to make understood how the relations of people in schools and other institutions, in community organizations, in ethnic groups, and in regions and nations of the world may contribute to the maximum growth of all. It seeks also to teach the principles, arts, and techniques of successful performance in the many types of professional work in which its majors can apply the great concepts of the sciences of man.

COMMUNITY TENSIONS CENTER OF SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE (Springfield 9, Mass.)

The Community Tensions Center of Springfield College is an integral part of the institution with special responsibility in the area of intergroup relations. The center discharges this responsibility in three ways — at the graduate level through specialized instruction to students about to enter professional community service vocations — at the undergraduate level through general instruction to give students an understanding of community tensions and equip them with a minimum of skill to become responsible citizens in our multi-group society; and through basic and applied research in advancing knowledge in the broad field of intergroup relations.

In addition, the Center conducts workshops, institutes study programs and serves as a consultative service to community and professional groups.

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER OF BOSTON UNIVERSITY (Boston, Massachusetts)

Focused on that part of the spectrum of personal relations that extends from interpersonal relations through group, intraorganizational and intergroup relations, to community relations, Boston's areas of responsibility include instruction (seminars and field service projects), research (basic and applied), and community service (short-term and long-term training programs, and consultation to particular agencies involved with certain intergroup problems).

Annual faculty conferences on relationships between human relations studies and various problems of university instruction, research, and administration; the provision of voluntary "unstructured" groups designed to support self-examination; fellowships to outstanding graduate and professional students, and a "living-in" summer workshop round out the Boston program.

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA (Norman, Okla.)

The basic purpose of the Human Relations Center is to provide opportunities for the study of human conflict and its resolution. To accomplish its purpose, the Center has three types of subgoals:

EDUCATION — to develop educational opportunities and intergroup experiences at the adult and graduate levels for professional persons and lay leaders. This is done through institutes, conferences, workshops, seminars, and other educational programs throughout the regular school year, and in summer sessions.

CONSULTATION—to provide consultative services to organizations and committees on inter group problems.

RESEARCH—to initiate and stimulate research in the field of human relations, to collect and disseminate research findings.

IMPORTANT NOTE:

Colleges and Universities conducting workshops during the summer of 1967 are asked no notify The Council on Human Relations as soon as their plans are formulated. The deadline for inclusion in the 6th Annual Edition of **The Human Relations Workshops Brochure** is March 1, 1967.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM FOR 1966

General Conditions

Duration

The Southern Regional Council's expanded grant-in-aid program is made possible by a three-year Ford Foundation grant. Commitment to the 1966 grant schedule, however, is for one year only. Grants to state councils will be revised for the second year, and again for the third, in the light of their progress toward attaining the general purpose of the expanded aid program.

Purpose

The general purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to increase their membership and program and to become self-sustaining in their basic, staffed operations. As a means to this end, grants for the first year are mostly to make possible adequate or more stable staffed operations

Evaluation and Revision

The Southern Regional Council will consider this expanded program to be attaining its purpose only if it results in significant increase of both membership and financial support from the membership of the several state councils. Therefore

it should be clearly understood that performance in these two respects will weigh more heavily than need in the annual revisions of the grant schedule.

No "matching funds" provision is attached to the 1966 grants. It is expected, however, that each state council will make during 1966 a planned, systemmatic effort to enlist new members and new chapters and to raise funds from a broad base of individual contributors. The success of such an effort will weigh heavily in the annual evaluation. (This may be interpreted frankly to mean that failure of the membership to support the state council will result in less aid, not more, from the Southern Regional Council.)

It is probable that larger portions of the 1967 and 1968 grants will be designated for particular projects, and that support of staffs made possible by the 1966 grants will be proportionately reduced. For this reason policy boards of the state councils should consider both their determination and the possibility to assume rapidly support of whatever staffing is made possible by their 1966 grant. Should determination be lacking or the possibility doubtful, they should seriously consider rejecting the grant because of this condition and in fairness to employees and potential employees.

Payment Schedule

Except where noted, the annual grant will be paid in equal quarterly installments, due February 15, May 15, August 15, and November 15.

The first quarterly installment of each grant will be paid as soon as possible administratively. Where one of the purposes of the grant is to employ additional personnel, expenses incurred in finding and moving the employee may be considered a part of the overhead expense. The second quarterly installment of grants for additional staff will be withheld, if necessary, pending actual employment of the staff person.

Reporting Requirements

Quarterly payments will be made only if (1) the last-due quarterly program report has been received by the Director of Field Activities of the Southern Regional Council and (2) monthly financial and membership reports have been received regularly (beginning with a report for April, 1966). Quarterly installments due on the fifteenth of the months mentioned above will be paid upon receipt of the statistical report for the preceding month, plus any past-due reports.

Monthly statistical reports, in order to be acceptable, must show the following:

1. A breakdown of receipts into membership dues, individual

contributions, corporate business contributions, S.R.C. grants, foundations grants, and miscellaneous receipts. The report must show for each category the amount received during the month and the total for the fiscal year to date in that category.

2. A chapter-by-chapter breakdown of membership growth for the month and each chapter's total for the membership year to date. (This may include out-of-state and at-large categories.)

3. A separate accounting for funds received from the expanded (Ford Foundation) grant-in-aid program, with a breakdown of each category of disbursement into expenditures for the month and the year to date. (We recommend, but do not require, a similar reporting for the disbursement of other funds.)

Grant Schedule

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $9,000. ($9,000 requested)

Use. The grant is toward salary, travel, and overhead for a full time associate director; and to make possible the securing of an intern beginning in the summer or fall of 1966. (Approximately $3,000 of the grant is for the latter purpose.)

Special conditions. The Alabama Council is presently without an Executive Director. Therefore the second quarterly installment is subject to filling of both staff positions.

Should the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials discontinue their intern program, or for other valid reasons, use of approximately $3,000 of this grant may be re-negotiated with the Southern Regional Council.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $8,000 ($12,450 requested)

Use. The grant is for needed increases in staff salaries; additional out-of-state travel for the staff, for the purpose of attending professionally edifying meetings and conferences or special consultations on program; and wages and overhead for part-time staff workers in school desegregation and community organization.

Special conditions. None.

Florida Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $7,000. ($9,000 requested)

Use. The grant is made toward salary and overhead for an intern or assistant to the director; and to strengthen the general operation of the Florida Council.

Special conditions. The first two quarterly payments will be made, in the case of Florida, but the third and fourth

will be contingent upon employment of an intern or assistant.

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $9,000 ($13,000 requested)

Use. This grant is to be used toward payment of salary, travel and overhead for an additional staff person whose duties will include assistance of local chapters to strengthen organization and program and organization of new chapters.

Special Conditions. None.

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $10,000. ($10,000 requested)

Use. The Louisiana Council has no professional staff at present. This grant is to be used for staffing.

Special conditions. None.

Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $16,750 ($16,750 requested)

Use. This grant is for employment of a staff person for work primarily with college students and faculty; for student conferences; and for work scholarships.

Special conditions. An irregular schedule of payments of this grant, as requested by the Board of the Mississippi Council, is approved.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $8,000. ($8,000 requested)

Use. This grant is for general support, to assure a stable, staffed operation.

Special conditions. Since the N.C. Council's executive director post is presently vacant, the general condition concerning "additional" staffing applies in this case also.

South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $9,000. ($12,600 requested)

Use. The grant is to help provide salary and travel for an additional, full time professional staff person.

Special conditions. None

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $11,000. ($14,000 requested)

Use. The grant is to enable TCHR to hire and provide expenses for an assistant or associate to the Executive Director; and to provide opportunity for the staff to travel to conferences and meetings out-of-state.

Special Conditions. None.

Virginia Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $8,250. (9,500 requested)

Use. This grant is for employment and expenses for an

Associate Executive Director; and for additional out-of-state travel and conference expense for professional edification of the staff.

Special conditions. Approximately $500 of this grant must be used for staff travel to out-of-state conferences and meetings which would provide helpful information or improve professional skill.

Houston Council on Human Relations

Recommended: $4,000. ($6,500 requested)

Use. This grant is toward the Houston Council's proposed "Battaglia Vista Project" -- coordination and direction for about twenty VISTA volunteers to be placed in five census tracts in the lower socio-economic areas of Houston.

Special conditions. None.

DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

During this quarter the field director has attended at least one function of each of the ten state councils on human relations. This travel helped to acquaint him with the several organizations.

Inauguration of the expanded grant-in-aid program made possible by our $300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation was one of the significant tasks of the quarter. General conditions for recipents, prepared by the field director, stress growth and self-sustenance by the state councils.

Another major concern of the field director has been to establish a staffed operation in Louisiana. To this end the New Orleans Community Relations Council has affiliated with the state council and a decision has been made to locate the LCHR office in Baton Rouge. A search fof a director has started.

An "Experience Report" requested by the U.S. Conference of Mayors was assigned to the field director. It is a study of positive actions by municipal officials to improve human relations. The report is near completion.

The field department has cooperated with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and private agencies in planning ten state-wide conferences on school desegregation. The first was held in Louisiana on March 26 with 750 participants. Others will be on successive Saturdays in April and May. S.R.C. secured a

grant of $8,000 to obtain resource persons and provide travel expenses for participants in these conferences.

Other activities include the usual duties connected with SRC's functioning as the secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, attendance at a regional consultation of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New Orleans, speeches at two local councils, "trouble shooting" trips, and efforts to help the North Carolina and Alabama councils find directors.

POSSIBLE OFFICE OF EDUCATION CONSULTANTS

The following are on the staff of the American Friends Service Committee, currently engaged in efforts to desegregate schools. They might be able to serve occasionally, especially outside the areas for which they are responsible.

Miss Constance Curry
American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, Room 501
Atlanta, Georgia
404-523-6629

Miss Winifred Falls
American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, Room 501
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-523-6629
(Primarily in Alabama)

Mr. Hayes Mizell
American Friends Service Committee
c/o Voter Registration Project
2022 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina
254-5953

The following are currently employed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., and are working on school desegregation. They also might take occasional "outside" assignments.

Mr. Allen Black
1009 W. Irvine Street
Florence, Alabama
205-766-2453

Mr. Joanna Edwards
1707 South Chester, Apt. 217
Little Rock, Arkansas
501-FR4-5118

The following are on the staffs of state councils on human relations in their respective states and should be asked to serve only outside their states.

Mr. Ozell Sutton
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas
501-FR6-3541

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
525-6468

Rev. August VandenBosche
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 Northwest 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida
691-0220

Mr. Kenneth Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Mississippi
948-0878 (601)

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
803-AL6-8808

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director COR
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee
615-297-6568

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama
205-539-4277

Mr. Robert Alexander
Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas
713-Ja6-1829

The following persons are recommended by Mr. Vernon Jordan, Director of the Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, who suggests that his recommendation be mentioned in communicating with them.

Mr. Cleveland Denard, Principal
Carver Vocational High School
1275 Capitol Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
523-6902

Dr. Samuel Cook
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street
Atlanta, Georgia
(Chairman, Department of Political Science)
JA3-6431

Mrs. Isabelle Webster, Attorney at Law
9½ Ashby Street
Atlanta, Georgia
524-3856

The following are highly knowledgeable individuals who have had some experience with problems of school desegregation in the South:

Mr. David Broils
595 Brookwood Drive
Athens, Georgia
(President, Athens Council on Human Relations)
Bus.404-548-7511 (270)
Hom.548-6119

Mr. Joe Hendericks
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia
(Chairman, Georgia Council on Human Relations)
Bus. 912-743-1511
Home 912-SH5-2115

Mrs. Nancy Adams
1455 S. Miami Avenue
Miami, Florida
305-379-7145

Mrs. Paul S. Darien
2349 Twin Lake Circle
Jackson, Mississippi

The Reverend Charles Hamilton
1224 Gwinnette Street
Augusta, Georgia
(Has served as "Program Associate" for
school desegregation with AFSC)

Mrs. Charles Alston
Eatonton Road
Milledgeville, Georgia
(Has served as AFSC "Program Consultant")

Mrs. Mason Robertson
607 E. 51st Street
Savannah, Georgia
(Housewife, Physician's wife)
912-AD3-9442

Mr. Edward F. Parrish
1015 Bartow Street
Brunswick, Georgia
(Teacher)
912-265-1599

Mrs. Margaret Belcher
2861 Urban Avenue
Columbus, Georgia
(Operates a secretrial service)
Bus. 322-6113
Hom. 561-3472

Consultant -5-

Mr. C. W. Aycock
319 E. 15th Street
Rome, Georgia
(School Principal)
232-4874

BIAS IN ATHLETICS IN SOUTH CHARGED

MISCELLANEOUS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 14 — The Southern regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union has asked the United States Commissioner of Education to investigate racial discrimination in school athletic programs.

Federal funds should be withheld from institutions found practicing discrimination, as provided by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Charles Morgan Jr. of Atlanta said in a letter to Harold Howe 2d.

Mr. Morgan emphasized that discrimination existed in the athletic programs of colleges in the Southeastern Conference.

"Typical of S.E.C. athletic programs are those at Louisiana State University and the University of Georgia," Mr. Morgan wrote. "At L.S.U. there are 113 football players. No Negroes are numbered among the 55 varsity, 34 freshmen and 24 red-shirted team members.

"The University of Georgia has nine football coaches and one director of recruiting. They each are members of the white race. One Negro student is trying out for the University of Georgia team, according to our information, but he has not yet obtained an athletic scholarship."

Name & Address	Occupation	Organization
Girod Jackson 1227 Cohen St. ?		
Mrs. Ethel Martin 701 14th St. Lafayette, La.	Housewife	Human Rel. Council Members
Robert Thompson P.O. Box 62 Clinton, La.		
Fred Jones 710 West Green St. Farmerville, La.	School Teacher	
Alvin J. Kendrick 207 Whaley Street Haynesville, Louisiana	Teacher	Claiborne Parish Civic League
Ray Wallace 1725 N. 30th St. Baton Rouge, La.	School Principal	
Mrs. Pernella D. Sounier 409 Gelpi Drive Lake Charles, La.	Teaching	
V.W. Williams, Jr. 8964 Rickshire Drive Baton Rouge, La.	School Principal	Arlington Elementary
Leroy Jones 1026 North Madison Tallulah, La.	Factory Worker	
Isaac Reynolds 2209 Dry Ades New Orleans	Field Secretary	CORE
John W. Joseph 537 Perry Lane Opelousas, La	School Teacher	Carter G. Woodson H.S.
Charles P. Loeb, Jr. 331nSo. St. George St. Eunice, La.	School Supervisor	

Name & Address	Occupation	Organization
Reverend Abraham E. Davis 1852 Abbie Street Shreveport, Louisiana	Minister	NAACP
Roy B. Givens 417 W. 5th St. Crowley, La.	Teacher	
S. T. Evans, Sr. Rt. 1 Box 129-A Athens, Louisiana	High School Principal	Claiborne Civic Lesue
Mrs. Virginia Y. Collins 9130 Fig St. New Orleans, La.	Anti-Poverty Program	Parent-Teacher asso.
Mrs. Flaise T. Glem 3060 Badley Rd. Baton Rouge, La.	Operate's a Nursery	Herman Relation Council
Reverend Julius Hill P.O. Box 758 Grambling, Louisiana	Minister	Church
Reverend Richard H. Harry 807 Simpson St. Leesville, La.	Minister	
Charles Hudson 1227 W. Bellevue St. Opelousas, La. 70570	School Teacher	
Reverend A. E. Durham P.O. Box 31 Newllton, La.	Minister	Church
Jack Brady P. O. Box 1058 Lake Charles, Louisiana		
George Dodd, Jr. 1208 Jefferson Ave. Homer, La.	Public Worker	Clairborne Civic Lesue

Name & Address	Occupation	Organization
George Dodd, Jr. 1208 Jefferson Ave. Homer, Louisiana	Public Worker	Clairbone Civic Lesue
Reverend Z. B. Banks 710 East Levee St. Tallaluh, Louisiana	Minister	
Reverend Noel Gaines, Jr. 1333 Silverlilly Lane Marrero, La.	Minister	
James C. Coit P.O. Box 926 Houma	Teacher	
Huex Fontenot P.O. Box 38 Palmetto, La.	Teacher	Community Association for Welfare of Sch. children
I. Candy Davis 505 West Green St. Tallulah & Lake Providence, La.	Task Force Worker	Southern Consumers'
Delores Schuyler 303 St. John Lafayette, La.	Staff Worker	Southern Consumers'
Mrs. Louise Suiewa 1132 Erie St. Shreveport, La.	Housewife	NAACP
Sylvester Watson 6106 Albany Rd. Shreveport, La.	Woodwork	SLCS
Reveren T. L. Green Rt. 2 Box 246 Homer, La.	Minister	Clairborne Parish
Sidney Briscoe Box 963, Jennings, La		

Name & Address	Occupation	Organization
Dave Kenerson Ethel, La.		Community Release
E.M. Wallace Box 746 Houma, La.	Store Mgr.	NAACP
Stacy R. Wilson 4521 Lincoln Park Ave. Monroe, La.	Architect	
J. W. Blankenship Saline, La	Attorney	
Anthony Gerald Pierre 908 So. Orange St. Lafayette, La.		NAACP Ass. Sec.
Marion Overton White 1520 North Market St. Opelousas, La.		NAACP
Fred Lacey Route 2, Box 18 Greensburg, La.	CORE Task Force	CORE
Rogers J. Newman 7860 Emile Baton Rouge, La. 70807	Prof. of Mathematics	
Joseph Robinson 1703 St. John St. Lake Charles, La.	Truck Driver	NAACP
Rev. R. H. Tucker 1209 Cadez St. New Orleans, La. 70117	Minister	A.M.E. Church
Rev. S. R. Johnson R.I S Box 36 St. Joseph, La.		
Jonas E. Mason P.O. Box 987 Eunice, La.	Principal	Charles Drew H.S.

C. Considering state-by-state, community-by-community conferences in several southern states on utilizing Off of Ed. (EEOP) guidelines — plans by March. (AFSC - Comm't C.)

D. Oscar McCloud — Presb. worker in Ga. + Ala.? — on plans .... Un. Presb. esp. in Wilcox Co.... Another's comment: Start including denom's in school conferences! (addressed to Comm't)

E. Jack Wilmore — from U.S. Civil Rts. Comm Commission planning conferences in South on school desegr.
Objection voiced: Better not include school boards!
Fairfax: Can't you move U.S. Commission tow. Action — follow ups?
Wilmore: No. Mandate limits.

IX. RC — International Justice
"STAR" program in Mississippi communities

X Urban League
New booklet "Beyond Today's Struggle" (ordered one for LAM + LS)

SOUND OF ORCHESTRA TUNING UP....
FADE UP TITLE "The World of Music with
Morton Gould" PAGE TURNS TO "

AS GROUP SINGS:

Everybody wants Freedom

Everybody wants Freedom

Everybody wants Freedom

Freedom, Freedom

MUSIC FADES OUT....to humming

GOULD:

Welcome TO the THE WORLD OF MUSIC, my name is Morton Gould. The nonviolent revolution of the Negro in America today has been sharp and urgent in its demand for equality of citizenship. It remains the nation's most pressing domestic issue. In every corner of the land, the Negro's continuing struggle for self-respect and human dignity is being waged against a thrilling backdrop of "Freedom Songs". These hymns of Freedom, Deeply immersed in the religious faith of the Negro community, in many instances, as the modernization of the Spirituals of the antebellum Negro community. These "new" Freedom Songs, improvised by the people making tomorrow's history, will in time take their place beside the traditional spirituals in our national folk heritage.

SONG PICKS UP TO COMPLETION:

Do you want your Freedom?

So do I

Do you want your Freedom?

So do I

Do you want your Freedom?

So do I

Certainly, certainly,

certainly, Lord

GOULD:

Here is what Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has said about the music.

(PICK UP BOOK)

"In a sense, the Freedom Songs are the soul of the movement, signed to invigorate a campaign...they are as old as the history of the Negro in America. They give our people a new courage and a sense of unity. ....they keep alive a faith, a radiant hope in the future, particularly in our most trying hours."

(PUT DOWN BOOK)

Here now, to help us appreciate the full impact the music has had, is a man who has not only studied it, but has lived with it. He is the former Chief of Staff to Dr. King, and now a publishing executive with the Negro Heritage Library. He was the chief organizer pf the Birmingham demonstrations and one of the revolution's most articulate spokesmen: The Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker.

WALKER:

Thank you, Mr. Gould. To understand the role of the Freedom Songs today, we really have only to recall the part played by the Negro Spirituals in breaking the chains of slavery more than a century ago. Then, as now, music was both a source of moral instruction and a rallying cry to collective action. Then as now, this music was the dramatic emblem of the struggle to freedom and mighty weapons in that struggle. Then, as now, these hymns, acted as a common denominator for the Negro community - welding individuals, with individual doubts and fears and weaknesses, into a dynamic striking force. A hundred years ago, the Spirituals rand out the slaves' faith that somehow they would find release from bondage; today these same spirituals are tearing down the walls of that polite form of bondage known as segregation. The Freedom Songs can be heard in the North and in the South, wherever the "land of the free" fails to live up to its promises. They surge forth as mass meetings on the picket line, during sit-in demonstrations. They are the sould of the movement.

(MUSIC: "OH FREEDOM")

Oh Freedom, Freedom - sole
Oh, Freedom, Freedom
Oh, Freedom over me
over me
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
and go home to my Lord
and be free ee ee.

WALKER:

"And before I'd be a slave, Id'd be buried in my grave...." Here we have one of the most glorious hymns to freedom in all American music. Born on the slave plantations, this vibrant Spiritual sounded a prideful note of determination. Later it became a marching tune of Negro regiments in the Civil War, and after Emancipation, it returned to the South as a jubilant victory cry. In 1955, when a tired seamtress, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in Montgomery, Atlanta as the system of segregation demanded, "Oh Freedom" presided at the birth of the non-violent revolution. As the citizens of Montgomery mounted a crushing boycott of the city's buses, they walked the streets chanting its timeless words. They had submitted tired feet for tired souls and in 385 days of marching and singing, they brought dignity to public transportation in Alabama.

(MUSIC UP, "NO MORE JIM CROW..." TO COMPLETION.)

Oh, Lord, no more Jim Crow

No more Jim Crow

No more Jime Crow

Over me

And before I'd be a slave

I'd be buried in my grave

And go home to my Lord

And be free

No Segregation - segregation

No Segregation - segregation

No Segregation over me

And before I'd be a slave

I'd be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be Free-ee-ee.

WALKER:

In Nobember of 1956, nearly a year after the boycot had begun, the U.S. Supreme Court flatly declared bus segregation unconstitutional. This Striking victory for nonviolent action thus set the stage for future developments in what was to become the nonviolent revolution. Nonviolence would be its chief weapon and its prime source of moral strength. The Freedom Songs had been indispensible in supporting this vital cornerstone of the revolution simply by providing a vehicle of expression for the highly charged emotions that might otherwise explode into individual acts of retaliation.

(MUSIC: "WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED" - one chorus;)

We Shall not
We shall not be moved
We shall not
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the waters
We shall not be moved

WALKER - CONTINUED:

When the lunch counter sit-ins began to spread to cities across the South, the demonstrators used the message of these songs as the only armor to ward off the taunts, the abuses and the blows. But with the help of these songs, they found the collective courage to stand their ground proudly, with passive and heroic dignity.

(MUSIC - CONTINUED - "WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED":)

Just like down at Woolworths
We shall not be moved
Down at Woolworths
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the waters
We shall not be moved

WALKER - CONTINUED:

Like so many of the sit-in songs, this hymn is a real old-timer, pressed into modern service. It started out as gospel hymn, inspired by the verse from the Book of Jeremiah: "....blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord for he shall be as a tree planted planted by the waters...." The sit-ins carved a deeper nitche of immortality for this hymn in the folklore of American music.

(MUSIC - "WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED" - CONTINUED)

"Til we have ~~freedom~~ peace and freedom
We shall not be moved
"Til we have peace and freedom
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the waters
We shall not be moved

WALKER - CONTINUED:

In the 1930's , the orginal hymn did its own private job of integrating. It became a fighting song of both Negro and white coal miners in the

West Virginia Mining Union; within a few years,
It had become one of the best-known labor songs
in America. And then in 1960, its exultant credo
was ammended again. With even more fervent rhythm,
this ~~xxxx~~ re-vamped hymn escorted the sit-ins to
success in Greensbore, North Carolina, Nashville,
Tenn., Tallahassee, Florida, and Petersburg, Virginia-
and a host of other cities.

MUSIC UP TO COMPLETION:

We'll fill up all the jails
We shall not be moved
We'll fill up all the jails
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the waters
We shall not be moved

We shall not (chorus repeat)
We shall not be moved
We shall not
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree that's planted by the waters
We shall not be moved

WALKER:

As the Negro revolution gained in scope and
momentum, a new and powerful development appeared in the
nonviolent thrust--The Freedom Ride. Braving the legal
terrors of injunction and martial law, as well as the
lawless terror of mob violence, these 20th century

crusaders were arrested by the hundred on every conceivable charge. Often, the authorities had to set up make-shift prisons to accomodate the ever-growing numbers of demonstrators. The jail-houses of Mississippi echoed to the Freedom songs. The riders' faith in the inevitable rightness of their mission was cemented by the music they brought with them; and if words and stanzas didn't exist that would express their exact feelings, they simply made up new ones on the spot. I can remember vividly in at least a half dozen of my own jailings, the overwhelming impact these freedom hymns have had in keeping morale high. I have felt them lift the weight of inevitable monotony that prison inflicts; I've seen them inspire new confidence in our hearts; I can remember itsmusic dispelling fear that comes to every one of us; these hymns have changed many a harrowing experience into a heart-warming one as well....

(MUSIC: "COME BY HERE MY LORD")

OHhhhhhhhhhh.....

Come by here My Lord (solo)

Come by here

Come by here MY Lord

Come by here

Come by here My Lord

Come b y here

Oh Lord, come by here

Eulabel - Sombody's prayin', Lord

Chorus - Come by here

Eulabel - Somebody's prayin', my Lord

Chorus - Come by here

Eulabel - Somebody's prayin'

Chorus - Come by here

Oh, Lord, Come by Here

Women - Somebody needs you Lord

Men - Come by here

Women - Somebody needs you Lord

Men - Come by here

Women - Somebody needs you Lord

Men - Come by here

All - Oh Lord, Come by Here

Men - Down in the jailhouse Lord

Women - Come by here

Men - Down in the jailhouse Lord

Women - Come by here

Men - Down in the jailhouse Lord

Women - Come by here

All - Oh Lord, come by Here

All - We want to be free my Lord

Come by here

We want to be free my Lord

Come by here

We want to be free my Lord

Come by here

Oh Lord, come by here

WALKER:

By the Fall of 1961, the nonviolent revolution had built up a full head of steam. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was born of the Sit-Ins; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under Martin Luther King, now spreadeagled the South; the Congress of Racial Equality had sent organizers into every Southern state except Texas; everywhere NAACP branches were electric with vitality. Then, just before Christmas, all these civil rights groups joined in a unified coalition, and the name of Albany, Georgia, exploded into the headlines. There for nearly a year, the battle raged, not now against some isolated objective such as a segregated library or lunch counter, but against the whole vicious system. Over a thousand rights workers were arrested during this period, but the campaign continued to gain in assurance and effectiveness. Again in Georgia, the freedom songs were in the vanguard of the struggle; as one of young leaders put it, quite simply; "without music, there could have been no Albany Movement".

MUSIC - MEDLEY :

Over my head
I see trouble in the air
Over my head
I see trouble in the air
Over my head
I see trouble in the air
There must be a God somewhere.

Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(Chorus)
I see trouble in the air	(solo male)
I see trouble in the air	(chorus)
Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see trouble in the air	(solo male)
I see trouble in the air	(Chorus)
Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see trouble in the air	(solo male)
I see trouble in the air	(chorus)
There must be a God somewhere	(all)

Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see justice in the air	(solo male)
I see justice in the air	(chorus)
Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)

I see justice in the air	(solo male)
I see justice in the air	(chorus)
Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see justice in the air	(solo male)
I see justice in the air	(chorus)
There must be a God somewhere.	(all)

Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see freedom in the air	(solo male)
I see freedom in the air	(chorus)
Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see Freedom in the air	(solo male)
I see freedom in the air	(chorus)
Over my head	(solo male)
Over my head	(chorus)
I see freedom in the air	(solo male)
I see freedom in the air	(chorus
There must be a God somewhere	~~(xxxx)~~ (solo sing-male)

WOKE UP THIS MORNING

Woke up this mornin'
with my mind stayed on freedom
Halleju
Halleju
Hallejuuuah

Singin' and prayin'
with my mind stayed on freedom
Halleju
Halleju
Hallejuuuah

Ain't no harm to have
my mind stayed on freedom
Halleju
Halleju
Hallejuuuah

WALKER:

Perhaps the most significant battleground of the Negro revolution, and the one which may have marked the turning point in the crusade, was Birmingham. Through the unparalled dedication and devotion of an army brandishing only the healing sword of nonviolence, the commerce and industry of the South's great steel center ground to a complete standstill. Despite the jailings, the beatings, the dogs and the waterhoses, the protests continued unabated, until at least a firm start was made towards smashing once and for all the brutal face of segregation in Birmingham. And even more important than the local break-through, was the fact that the whole campaign fixed the eyes and the conscience of the nation on the dilemna of the black man in America as no other series of events had done before. Birmingham, more than any other single factor, prompted a courageous John F. Kennedy to present to Congress the most sweeping Civil Rights legislation in the country's history. As for the role of music in Birmingham, I can do no better than to read you a brief passage from Martin Luther King's book "Why We Can't Wait". (PICK UP BOOK)

These are Martin King's own words:

"I have stood in a meeting with hundreds of youngsters, and joined in while they sang 'Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round'. It is not just a song; it is a resolve. A few minutes later, I have seen those same youngsters refuse to turn around from the onrush of a police dog, refuse to turn around before a pugnacious Bull Conner in command of men armed with power hoses. These songs bind us together, give us courage together, help us to march together...."

(MUSIC - "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn me 'Round")

(OPTIONAL SUGGESTION - Show various slides of scenes during the Birmingham riots, while the song is being sung)

(Uses piano and drum)

Ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round
Turn me 'round
Turn me 'round
Ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round
Keep on walkin', keep on talkin'
Marching on the Freedom Land

Ain't gonna let Bull Conner turn me 'round
Turn me 'round
Turn me 'round
Ain't gonna let Bull Conner turn me 'round
Keep on walkin', keep on talkin'
Marching on the Freedom Land

Ain' gonna let no fire hoses turn me 'round
Turn me 'round
Turn me 'round
Ain't gonna let no fire hoses turn me 'round
Keep on walkin', keep on talkin'
Marching on to Freedom Land

WALKER:

This then is the dramatic story of the civil rights songs -- the chants and hymns and spirituals which are blending into an electric command: "Freedom Now!" As an outgrowth of one of America's most vital currents of traditional music, the freedom songs are marking a new chapterin the long and proud history of a people. Now, as we close this brief survey, we do so, inevitably, with the most eloquent musical expression of all. Starting out as a Baptist hymn, this Marseilleise of the freedom fighters followed the well worn trail from church to union hall to sit-in counter; without benefit of sheet music or radio exposure or popular recordings, it became <u>the</u> anthem of the entire movement. Today it invariably closes mass meetings, or prayer vigils, or protest marches. The singers stand, arms linked and hands clasped, renewing their faith to its measured beat, rocking back and forth in time to its noble, yet joyful credo: "Deep in my heart, I do believe, We shall overcome someday....."

We shall overcome

We shall overcome

We shall overcome some day

Deep in my heart

I do believe

We shall overcome

Someday

We shall overcome

We shall overcome

We shall overcome some day

Deep in my heart

I do believe

We shall overcome someday

Truth shall make us free

Truth shall make us free

Truth shall mmake us free today

Deep in my heart

I do believe

We shall overcome someday

The Lord will se us through

The Lord will see us through

The Lord will se us through someday

Deep in my heart

I do believe

We shall overcome someday

States - Gen

When The State Council movement was initiated, its founders planned a temporary commitment of funds and personnel. By 1957, it was hoped, individual Councils would have enough local support to sever formal connections with SRC. But the fast moving events of the past decaed, the unimagined opportunities, the unforseen resistance, made an expanding Council movement necessary. And that movement could neither exist nor expand without continuing SRC support.

Now, ten years later, in the light of all the events compressed into this decade, is an appropriate time to re-examine the Human Relations Councils - the role we play on the local level and our relationship with SRC.

What follows is a synthesis of the feelings of State Council Directors in searching for new directions, new program emphasis to meet our expanding needs:

The Directors are agreed that the basic relationship between SRC and the Councils is healthy, as is that between our respective staffs. However, we feel very strongly that changed circumstances call for a total re-evaluation of the formal framework (or structure) within which that relationship functions.

More and more, the achievement of human relations gains must come from local understanding of, and local action on the issues. For while the courts may decree school desegregation, that decree will be ignored unless the local community is prodded to prepare for it. The Congress may enact civil rights legislation, but the law will be flounted unless local people pressure for its compliance, test it, and file complaints under it. The function of the Human Relations Council is to translate into local reality the dreams of the planners, the innovators, the legislators. Or to put it in the words of SRC's Executive Director: "Everywhere there is a growing awareness that numbers do count, that the once prevalent notion of a small band of good people quietly doing good is outmoded and that the Councils on Human Relations...have unique opportunities and therefore responsibilities for program accomplishments."

It is good indeed to have this recognition. But as Councils struggle day-by-day with disheartening resistance, with potential members too fearful to join the Council, with unstretchable budgets, with trying to provide services and materials which we have neither the funds nor the staff to supply, we inevitably experience a sense of isolation from the community in general and SRC in particular. The State Directors are aware that while grants in aid to State Councils have remained at the same level for the past eight (8) years, the SRC budget has almost tripled. We are aware that the total number of SRC employees has increased substantially in the past ten

Work

years while the number of SRC staff serving Councils in eleven Southern states consists of the Field Director and one intern.

All the Directors have the highest regard for Paul Anthony. His dedication, resourcefulness and competence cannot be too highly praised. We question merely whether the field department is large enough to serve our needs. Similarly, the State Council Directors respect SRC's other staff members and programs.

By and large however, State Directors are ignorant of many SRC programs. As a case in point, many Directors were not aware of the scope and direction of the VEP; we wondered what role we could or should play in the program. Not having been briefed on its basic out-look, some queried what seemed to be an inconsistent attitude toward the Councils; sometimes soliciting cooperation and sometimes rejecting it.

Further specific examples to illustrate the State Directors' point of view could be dangerously misleading. For our aim in presenting this memorandum is broader than improving the techniques of communication between SRC and the State Councils, augmenting the Field Staff, or even securing more money. What we seek, in partnership with the Executive Committee and the Executive Director is a total re-evaluation of the role we are playing and can play in each of our States, and a review of our total relationship with the SRC.

* * * * * * * * *

When the SRC conceived the Human Relations Council idea none of the events which have reshaped the South had taken place: the Supreme Court decision, the bus boycott, the sit-ins or Federal Civil Rights legislation. It took extraordinary vision to foresee the need for local Councils before these things had occurred. With this kind of insight from the SRC planners on the one hand, and the day to day practical experience of State Council Directors on the other, a new look at the role of the State Councils ten years after their beginnings is bound to be fruitful for all concerned.

We recommend that:

(1) That SRC and the State Councils have a joint fund raising effort for the Council on Human Relations movement with a goal of $5,000,000 to be raised in a period of three (3) years from business, industry, labor and foundations.

(2) That a committee be set up to study the basic organizational structure of the relationship of SRC with the State Councils to build a more dynamic human relations program.

(3) That a joint committee work with publications and research which will be specifically useful for the Council on Human Relations Movement.

(4) That a special effort be made to create a regional and national identity of a Council on Human Relations Movement.

Signed:

Charles Kelly, Houston
Baxton Bryant, Tennessee
Helen Furman, North Carolina
Edwyn Lewis, Florida
Edwin Stanfield, Alabama
Nathaniel Griswold, Arkansas
Frances Pauley, Georgia

Add Houston

Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama
539 - 4277 (205)

Membership: 724 (March, '65)

Ed Stanfield's home telephone number: 852-5938
home address : 2108 Fulton Drive

Officers:

President: Nat Welch, P.O. Box 1192, Auburn. Home: 887-2927
Ofc.: 887-5455
Vice Pres.: Lucius Pitts, Miles College, Bham. State 8-6577
Second Vice President: Rev. J. C. Wilson, P.O. Box 67, Tuskegee Institute
Third Vice President: Father Brice Joyce, 220 E. 19th St. Sheffield, Ala.
Secretary: Mrs. Lois Reeves, 218 Bibb St., Tuskegee Inst.
Treasurer: Mrs. Moreland Smith, 3236 Bankhead Avenue, Montgomery

Budget, 1965: $24,500.00

Funds raised, 1964:
Local: $7,277
Other: 4,985
Total: 19,439 (includes SRC)

Major Projects:

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521

Membership: 777 (Jan; 1965)

Nat Griswold's home address and phone: same

Officers:
President: Walter B. Clancy
Vice President: Dr. Townsend

Budget, 1965:

Funds raised, 1964:
Local: $8,203
Other: 10,000
Total: 25,618 (includes SRC)

Major projects:

Florida Council on Human Relations
356 South Beach St.
Daytona Beach, Florida
255-5881

Membership: 2700-2800 (June, 1965)

Ed Lewis's home address and phone: 251 S.W. 65th Ave., Miami
922 N. Wild Olive, Daytona Beach

Officers:

President: Dr. H. Franklin Williams, U. of Miami, Coral Gables
V. Pres. : Mrs. Henrine Ward Banks
Treasurer: Mr. Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach, News Journal CL-2-1511
Secretary: Mrs. Eugene Halmi

Budget, 1965: $39,000.00

Funds raised, 1964:
Local: $9,563.
Other:
Total: 17,930 (includes SRC)

Major Projects:

Georgia Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia
525-6468

Membership:

Frances Pauley's home address: 943 Clifton Rd., N.E., DR. 3-6735

Officers:

President: Dr. Joe Hendricks, Mercer U., Macon
V. Pres. : Rev. Austin Ford, DeKalb Co.
V. Pres. : A. J. McClung, Columbus
Secretary: Mrs. Harry Richardson, Atlanta
Treasurer: John Glustrom, Atlanta

Budget, 1965: -1964-65 - $50,000

Funds raised, 1964:
Local: $18,408.
Other: 30,100
Total: 54,723 (includes SRC)

Major Projects:

Louisiana Council on Human Relations Membership:

Officers:

President, Dr. James R. Oliver, P.O. Box 2992, Lafayette, La.
Vice Presidents: Mrs. Barbara Erickson
Dr. Murray J. Martin
Secretary: Mrs. Leo Mervis
Treasurer: Dr. Martin L. Harvey

Budget, 1965:

Major Projects:

Mississippi Council on Human Relations Membership:
306 First Federal Bldg.
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Miss.
948-0878

Ken Dean's home address: 3635 N. State St., Apt. 3, Jackson, 362-8981

Officers:

President: Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.,
Vice President: Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr.
Vice President: Rev. E. A. Mays,
Sec.-Treasurer: Rev. Donald Thompson

Budget, 1965: $19,000

Funds raised, 1964:

Local:	$1,000
Other:	800
Total:	2,200

Major Projects:

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833

Membership:

Helen Furman's home address: 1300 Queens Rd., 375-3486

Officers:

President: Dr. T. Franklin Williams, Chapel Hill
1st V. P.: Dr. S. E. Duncan, Salisbury
2nd V. P.: Dr. C. E. Boulware, Durham
Secretary: Mrs. Chase H. Benson, Greensboro
Treasurer: Rev. Moses S. Belton, Charlotte
Asst. Treasurer: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte

Budget, 1965: $35,519.40

Funds raised, 1964:
Local: $7,626
Other: 13,000
Total: 27,015 (includes SRC)

Major Projects:

South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C.
ALpine 6-8808 (803)

Membership:

Alice Spearman's home address:

SU 7-4276

Officers:

President: Rev. Fred Reese, 4600 Daniel Dr., Columbia

Budget, 1965:

Funds raised, 1964:
Local: 5,340
Other: 17,000
Total: 41,303 (Includes SRC)

Major Projects:

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 - 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee
297-6568

Membership:

Baxton Bryant's home address: 3313 West End, 297-4065

Officers:

President: Mrs. Martha Ragland, Nashville
Vice President: Louis Sinclair, Knoxville
2nd V. Pres. : Dr. Vascoe Smith, Memphis
Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge
Treasurer: Dr. G. J. Tarleton, Nashville

Budget, 1965: $31,000.00

Funds raised, 1964:

Local: $4,151
Other: 7,500
Total: 17,399 (includes SRC)

Major Projects:

Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Va.
648-4445 (703)

Membership:

Bob Combs' home address:

Officers:

President: David H. Scull, Turnpike Press, Box 170, Annandale
1st V. Pres: Harold O. Dewitt, 426 Burbank St., Williamsburg
V. Pres.: John A. Lapp, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg
V. Pres.: Mrs. George E. Mattus, 1502 S. Main St., Blacksburg
V. Pres.: M. C. Martin, First State Bank, Danville
Secretary: Dr. Edna M. Colson, Va. State College, Petersburg
Treasurer: Dr. J. Rupert Picott, 316 E. Clay St., Richmond

Budget, 1965: $27,135.00

Funds raised, 1964:

Local: $19,775
Other: 17,200
Total: 52,002 (includes SRC)

Major Projects:

200 NEGROES HELD FOR COLLEGE MARCH

Miss Star

LORMAN, Miss., March 4 (UPI) — Campus security officers and local authorities arrested Charles Evers, the Negro Civil Rights leader, and 200 other demonstrators today when they marched on Alcorn College, a Negro institution, to present a list of grievances.

Claiborn County Sheriff Dan McKay and Mr. Evers and about 180 Negroes had been jailed at Port Gibson, near the state-supported college. He said most of the Negroes had refused to post bond.

The sheriff said they were charged with disturbing the peace and bond had been set at $35 each. He esaid most of the other demonstrators were minors.

The sheriff said the arrests were made after the demonstrators had gone about half a mile into the Alcorn campus.

Mr. Evers earlier this week called on the State College Board for an investigation of student loan policies of the college.

Mr. Evers, state field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, also sent a telegram to the Office of Education in Washington requesting the immediate withholding of all Federal funds and a thorough investigation.

RTY AID RE IN SOUTH

MISSISSIPPI

Supports Mississippi Negroes Despite Criticism

3/7/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss. March 6—In early January, Mrs. Ardella Jordan, a 54-year-old Negro, stopped working as a $3-a-day maid and began teaching kindergarten pupils without pay.

Since then, she has been collecting food from her neighbors to provide hot lunches for her four-year-old pupils and struggling to overcome the handicaps of her own eighth-grade education.

She still spells the word "brush" without an "s" in preparing classroom hygiene charts, but she has succeeded in teaching "counting" to children from impoverished homes in which arithmetic is difficult even for the parents. She stacks bubble gum in piles and distributes it to the children when they correctly identify the number of pieces.

This week, after one of the most prolonged battles in the nation's antipoverty drive, Mrs. Jordan—along with nearly 2,500 other low-income Mississippi Negroes—will start receiving a Federal pay check as a teacher in one of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Head Start programs.

Tough Decision for U.S.

The decision to provide funds for the Child Development Group of Mississippi, which received Federal Funds for a two-month program last summer and since then has been operating classes such as Mrs. Jordan's on a voluntary basis without Government assistance, was one of the toughest the Office of Economic Opportunity has yet faced.

Had the agency refused to finance the program for a second time, it would have alienated a major segment of the civil rights movement, angered the program's staff members and the parents of its 9,000 pupils, and invited the wrath of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, an organization founded by Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers.

Ten days ago, after six months of deliberations, the Office of Economic Opportunity announced that it was granting the Child Development Group $5.6-million—enough to finance 125 centers with 9,000 pupils in 28 counties for six months.

As the agency knew it would, the announcement immediately aroused the indignation of the state's Congressional delegation, many of its newspapers, its segregationist organizations, and some of its more liberal and moderate white citizens.

James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, arose on the Senate floor to say he was "shocked." Two Democratic colleagues agreed.

Representative John Bell Williams found the decision to be "inconceivable." Senator John Stennis said it showed "remarkably poor judgment" by Federal officials.

Rights Members Employed

The battle lines were drawn last summer when the Child Development Group, operating under an Office of Economic Opportunity grant of $1.4-million, hired about 30 of its 1,160 faculty members from such civil rights organizations as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party and the Congress of Racial Equality. The director of last summer's program was Dr. Tom Levin, a New York psychologist who had worked with another civil rights organization, the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Among the other staff and faculty members were many Negroes who had been active in local civil rights projects. The state headquarters for the program was Mount Beulah, an assembly center for the Delta Ministry, the civil rights arm of the National Council of Churches.

Mr. Stennis denounced the Child Development group's civil rights connections and declared that $500,000 in "discrepancies" existed in its finances.

The attack was broadened to include the qualifications of the group's school teachers and its educational materials. One book, designed to teach children to read by retelling their own stories in their own language, was criticized because it included a line that read, "My dog eat meat."

The development group countered that it had saved taxpayers money by teaching nearly 2,000 more students than it had agreed to teach. It conceded, however, that $30,000 had been "improperly" accounted for because of lost receipts and inadequate records. The loss has since been adequately accounted for or replaced, it said.

In applying for the new Federal grant, the group met objections from Washington by arranging to move from Mount Beulah, hiring an experienced administrator, engaging a leading Jackson accounting concern to audit its books, and expanding its board of directors to include three middle-class whites and Negroes in addition to the present membership of civil rights leaders and the poor.

Its experimental teaching methods and policy of hiring "eager and able" Negro teachers regardless of educational qualifications have received testimonials from across the country.

"I saw children grow a bit, gain a bit of respect for themselves, feel that, after all, there is a lot more possible than they and their parents ever thought possible," said Dr. Robert Coles, a Harvard University research scientist after visiting the Head Start centers.

Some Mississippi moderates and liberals favor other Head Start programs that promote racial "understanding" by bringing middle-class whites and Negroes together as administrators and policy makers. However, John Mudd, a 26-year-old Harvard graduate student who has directed the group since last August, argues that the group's approach is invaluable because it teaches impoverished Negroes that they can act for themselves.

Florida School Boycott Urged

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., March 5 (AP)—A coalition of civil rights and ministerial organizations called Saturday for a boycott of public schools Monday and Tuesday o dramatize their complaints about school segregation. Leaders of the protest said they were asking the city's 90,000 white students along with the 30,000 Negro students to stay home.

Director of Dental Research Named by Surgeon General

WASHINGTON, March 6 (UPI) — Surgeon General William N. Stewart announced today the appointment of Dr. Seymour J. Kreshover as director of the National Institute of Dental Research.

Dr. Kreshover of Bethesda, Md., joined the United States Public Health Service in 1956 after serving as professor of oral pathology and diagnosis at the Medical College of Virginia.

He has been awarded the Public Health Service's Meritorious Service Medal and the honorary degree of Doctor of Science from the University of Buffalo.

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

MISSISSIPPI

through which he can get redress."

Many of the cases handled by the Philadelphia board involve more misunderstanding and excessive language than head-knocking. And the truth often seems to lie somewhere between the stories told by the offending cop and the aggrieved citizen.

Indeed, under the direction of executive secretary Clarence Farmer, a 49-year-old Negro printing executive, the Philadelphia board is run more like a social agency than an investigation unit. Operating on a $14,500 annual budget, Farmer unabashedly uses his contacts in the ghettos and at police headquarters to foster better understanding. "Many of the complainants will be happy with just an apology," Farmer told NEWSWEEK's Pat Reilly. "It's hard sometimes to get the policeman concerned to say he's sorry—but I can always get the captain to say so."

Lindsay's Plan: New York's Lindsay made enlargement of the city's complaint review board one of his key campaign planks last year and was determined to redeem his pledge—especially in light of the heavy vote he pulled in the ghettos. Far less radical than the experiments in Philadelphia and Rochester, Lindsay's plan called merely for the addition of four civilians to the departmental panel of three police officials who now judge complaints. Yet he ran into fierce headwinds from headquarters. The mayor's proposal, cried Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick, was "a cruel hoax." Lindsay's solution: to replace Broderick with Philadelphia's professorial Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary, no admirer of civilian review but a top cop who has learned to live with it.

Even as Leary was sworn in last week, his new foot-soldiers were mounting a near-hysterical attack against the mayor's modest reform. A civilian-controlled review-board formula could "spread like wildfire" throughout the U.S., warned John Cassese, the head of the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. "If that should happen," orated Cassese, "then Russia should send a medal to the city of New York and say: 'Thank you for accomplishing what I haven't been able to do these many years . . . immobilize the police department'."

But more sophisticated law-enforcement officials believe that civilian review can actually make the policeman's lot easier. "It seems so clear that a law-abiding policeman need never fear civilian review," said Federal District Judge David L. Bazelon last week. "His morale should not be lowered by the airing of citizen complaints. Rather, he ought to be encouraged by the increased community respect which can be expected when the public sees that the police are also required to obey the law."

'Secret' Crisis in the Delta

He stood in the chill in front of a tin-sided general store in Tribbett, Miss., his cap pulled low, his hands jammed deep in the pockets of his baggy khakis, his ebony face cast in deep relief by a single naked bulb. He is a tractor driver on the plantation just up the road, but work is so short that he makes no more than $15 in a good month. He houses his wife and thirteen kids in a farm shack at the sufferance of The Man, and he feeds them on the largesse of the Federal surplus-food program: black flour and grits and butter and rice and nine tins of meat a month for fifteen people. He is hungry and he is angry, and there is nothing for him to do but wander down to the store with others of the dispossessed and talk.

And the talk, in this worst Delta winter in memory, has turned desperate. The driver listened to the voices rising around him like a litany: "Somebody sho' better do something." He spat into the oil-blackened ground. "I wasn't born to live like this, wasn't nobody, colored or white," he said. "I'll tell you something, now, it keeps up like this, there's gonna be a big parade, a *lot* of big parades all over this countryside, with some torches and a few other things, too. 'Cause I ain't gonna let my people starve. None of us gone let our people starve. So it's not gone be stealing—it's just gone be a *taking*."

That bitter voice was only an integer in a set of grim statistics that has lately begun to haunt Mississippi and frighten Washington. With technological progress far more to blame than racial prejudice, up to 20,000 Delta Negro farm laborers are expected to be idled this cotton season—a staggering total that amounts to half the shrunken pool of workers still working the black-belt soil of Mississippi.

Another Country: The Delta DP's are, potentially, the kindling of revolution, and lately—only lately—the Federal government has begun to take urgent notice. Their plight has been discussed at secret Cabinet-level meetings, examined first hand by a succession of official visitors, anatomized in a flood of stunned confidential memos ("I felt," one U.S. higher-up wrote home, "as if I had been out of the country"). The result has been a stepped-up program of aid to the Mississippi poor—and the prayer that it will not be too little too late.

Matt Herron—Black Star

Tent colony at Tribbett: 'There's gonna be a big parade'

The problem lies in the quickening erosion of The System in the Delta, the flat, sun-scorched alluvial plain that edges the Mississippi from Memphis to Vicksburg. For most of the century since Emancipation, that system had evolved only glacially from slavery to a sort of latter-day feudalism. It preserved some of the style of the ante-bellum Good Old Days, but it endured only as long as the Delta planters could afford it.

Spurred by the competition from elsewhere in the U.S. and abroad, the planters have in recent years speeded the advent of the new technology. Chemical weed killers have made the old, familiar gangs of Negro cotton choppers all but obsolete, and machines —not men—will pick 95 per cent of this

year's crop (compared to 69 per cent in 1964). Moreover, a new Federal crop-control program will pay planters 10.5 cents a pound for cotton they don't grow this year—a subsidy expected to take up to a third of the Delta's 925,000 acres of cotton land out of production. In sum, the new arithmetic means no jobs for perhaps a fourth of the 26,000 Delta Negroes who work the farms they live on—or for most of the 14,000 "day haul" laborers who are trucked in gangs to whatever plantation needs them.

And that in turn means no exit in sight from the prison called poverty. The Delta winter is always hard; Negroes somehow survive it on the expectation of work at planting time. This year, for too many, that last wisp of hope is gone.

Willy James Sanders is, at 54, the youngest remaining man in a cluster of 27 Negro shanties at the edge of a cotton field a mile down a rutted road from Rolling Fork; the young, the mobile, the ambitious have long since fled North. "We stay hungry," Sanders told NEWSWEEK's Marshall Frady. "That's the way we live—hungry. We keep goin' on [surplus food] commodities, and ever once in a while The Man give us a dollar or two." But his 5-year-old daughter has epilepsy and his 3-year-old son is dying of sickle-cell anemia, and Sanders does not know how long he can go on. "Not long," he says, looking down the row of unheated shacks. "Something gone have to give somewhere."

Tent City: The evangels of the left wing of the Movement have been laboring for months to advance that day—with no more visible effect, for a time, than frightening the planters into speeding up mechanization still more. A dozen drivers who struck for higher wages on one Tribbett plantation last summer were promptly run off the land. Fueled by high hopes and heady talk from the civil-rights professionals who organized them last summer, the strikers moved defiantly into a makeshift tent colony to wait out The Man. But The Man's only other response was to mechanize his operation even more and take the maximum 35 per cent of his acreage out of production under the U.S. subsidy program. The tent city still stands, a huddle of Army tents on a patch of land outside Tribbett. But its population is down from a peak 150 to a hungry, gloomy 48.

Nothing seemed to work—until, three weeks ago, a band of 60 of the dispossessed from Tribbett and elsewhere barged into the deactivated Greenville Air Force Base and announced they were going to stay the winter. A crew of Air Police ran them out, but the short-lived squat-in made the Federal government the target for the first time—and it joggled Washington into action.

Without fanfare, a stream of high-level officials headed South—the biggest Federal invasion, said one Mississippian, "since Grant took Vicksburg." And the messages home were all the same. The situation, one high-level official said in a confidential memo, "has the seeds of protest in it, particularly if given wrong leadership . . . This vacuum of despair and frustration must be filled by the Federal government with constructive endeavors geared to meet the real needs of the people." Another—an old civil-rights hand—reported: "This many displaced people means a hell of a situation, and it comes at a time when there's an awakening. These people are angry, frustrated—and knowledgeable. I've never seen the same seething resentment before."

On White House orders, a closed-door conference of top officials—among them Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and poverty chief Sargent Shriver—was called at the Office of Economic Opportunity. The speed-up spread down from there. OEO and Agriculture stepped up a stalled free-food distribution program. Another snarled project—a $5.6 million Operation Head Start program for 9,100 pre-school children—was put through last week over pro forma protests by Mississippi's Congressional delegation. And so was a thirteen-county literacy and job-training program.

Matt Herron—Black Star

Delta family: 'Nothin' here'

Those programs scarcely scratch the surface—but there are more on Washington's front and back burners. Poverty and agriculture officials are considering a variety of projects putting the unemployed to work cleaning up national forests, roadsides, rural-electrification lines and soil-conservation drainage ditches. Officials have already put out private feelers to coax industries to build plants in Mississippi—and asked seed companies to provide packets of vegetable seeds to Negroes too poor to afford them even at a dime apiece. They are considering making some vacant government buildings available for winter housing for the dispossessed—including the barracks at the deserted Greenville air base. And they are even brainstorming the possibility of an Operation Homestead—buying land and reselling small, subsistence-size plots to Negroes on long-term, low-interest loans.

Poverty: Can the effort turn the tide in the Delta? "The problem," said one young Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee worker at the Tribbett tent city, "is that the people around here don't think there is any chance for them, and it's probably too late for the government to move now." The roots of poverty lie tragically—and dangerously—deep in the black Delta soil. Outside Rolling Fork, a black woman in a shabby red coat knelt in her front yard, chopping kindling with a handleless ax blade. "None of us doing nothing," she said. "The men all gone, the work all gone, there ain't nothin' along here." And outside the general store in Tribbett, under the dim single light, a 41-year-old black man with eight children, two grandchildren and no future said bleakly: "It's a tight fight, and after a while we just ain't gone have no choice but to do something. And that's liable to be most anything—whatever it takes." He tapped his chest with a gnarled forefinger. "And when it comes, this is one of us that's gone be right there."

CALIFORNIA:

Tax Wonderland

Last July 4, hours after the fireworks displays had ended over San Francisco Bay, 48-year-old Norman A. Phillips downed several drinks at a bar and then set out to do something about a simmering grudge against his boss. The resulting fireworks illuminated California's worst public scandal in years—and cast dark shadows over one of its major sources of local public revenue, property taxes.

Such taxes are based on valuations assigned to personal and corporate holdings by public assessors. But the manner of establishing these evaluations is so recondite that the whole assessment process has traditionally been considered ripe for favoritism and fraud. In parts of California, where elected county assessors control fiefdoms well insulated from outside scrutiny and are allowed a wide range of personal discretion in setting values, assessment practices had been considered not only ripe but rotten. Yet evidence had been hard to

come by—until Norman A. Phillips literally produced a truckload of it.

Fired by drink and anger, he drove a pickup truck to the stucco house in Castro Valley, near Oakland, which was used as an office by his boss, a suave little tax consultant named James C. Tooke, 46. Tooke had worked briefly for the Alameda County (Oakland) assessment department and now had large corporate clients in eight Western states. Phillips lugged five gunmetal gray filing cabinets out of the office and carted them away. Eventually they ended up in the hands of California's Attorney General Tom Lynch.

Payoffs: Among the most damning of the contents were canceled checks made out by Tooke to employees of various county assessors' offices. And Alameda County Assessor Donald Feragen and San Francisco County Assessor Russell Wolden were promptly indicted after detailed grand-jury testimony by Tooke and by a onetime assistant in Wolden's office, Max J. Newstat, both of whom turned state's evidence. The thrust of the charge: the officials accepted payoffs for shaving the property assessments of big-name corporations.

In grand-jury testimony released last week, Tooke elaborated on the ad hoc system for dividing spoils between tax consultants and county assessors. During a meeting in a Mission Valley motel outside San Diego in 1962, Tooke said, County Assessor John McQuilken complained that he was not getting a proper cut of a $35,000 consultant fee paid by General Dynamics (for which, Tooke said, the company received a $227,728 tax saving). "He was very upset," said Tooke, "and called [another consultant] a chiseler."

Assessor McQuilken himself escaped indictment by committing suicide with an overdose of barbiturates. But in January three of his San Diego subordinates were indicted. And the dimensions of the spreading scandal grew sharply: the chief assessor of Seattle, Wash., pleaded guilty to charges of bribery and resigned his post, and Arizona's attorney general launched an investigation, based on California tip-offs, that is currently hot on the trail of one of that state's largest corporations.

Climax: Then, last week, a climax of sorts was reached. Yet another assessor was indicted. Along with Earl McLain of Butte County, Calif., the first corporation (Butte County's Continental Nut Co.) was charged—with perjury, fraud and conspiracy involving an alleged $1 million in dodged taxes. And in the San Francisco area, assessors Feragen and Wolden came to trial. (Wolden, who has refused to resign his post, still vows to run for re-election. "People are always making trouble," he shrugged last week. "But I'm putting a good campaign together and we'll win it.")

Meantime, thousands of pages of testimony have been compiled by four grand juries so far, and state investigators have begun turning up other tales of tax evasion. Indeed, one investigator figures that three-quarters of the corporations in California—with the willing compliance of county assessors—have been telling less than the whole truth on their property-tax declarations.

Already a number of corporations named in taxpayer civil suits aimed at recovering back taxes have quietly begun to settle out of court. Among those who have already paid up in Alameda County alone: Pepsi-Cola, Kimberly-Clark, P. Lorillard, Gerber Products and Hunt Foods and Industries. "We're catching them with hard figures," said a state official, "and they're paying off like good slot machines." Yet all have denied any knowledge that bribery had helped lower their assessments.

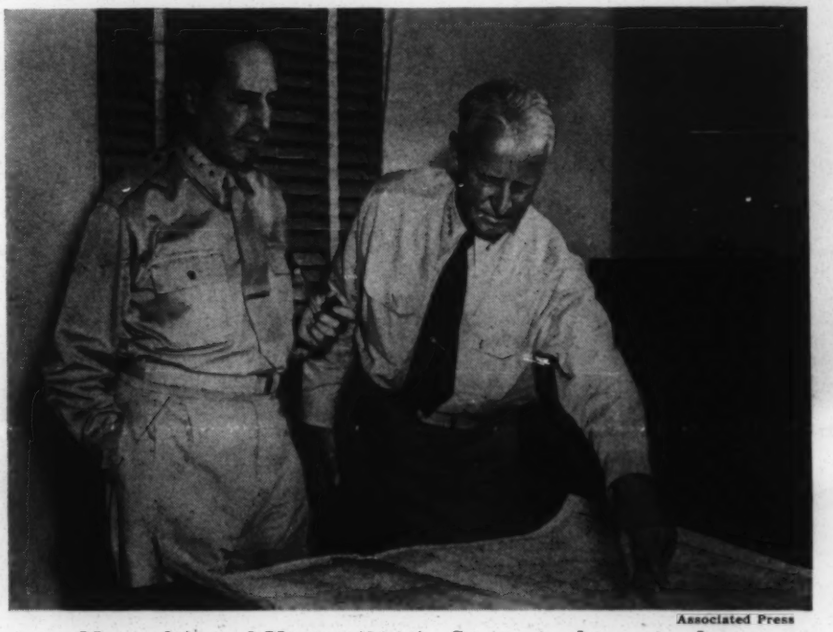
All told, state officials estimate that as much as $200 million a year for three years has been lost in taxes throughout California alone, most of which would have gone toward education. "This," one said, "makes Teapot Dome look like a $2 holdup." And the end of indictments and disclosures doesn't appear to be in sight. Meantime, however, California is taking steps to prevent a continuance of such unseemly practices. This week the state legislature is expected to consider a bill to curtail the power of county assessors and require public disclosure of every company's tax base. "The more I learn of assessors and their assessment practices," Attorney General Lynch told a legislative committee in support of reform, "the more I believe that Lewis Carroll wrote the code."

ARMED FORCES:

Two Bites to a Dog

No one paid any particular attention to the handsome, silver-haired traveler who boarded the train in Washington that mid-December day in 1941. His ticket had been issued in the name of a Mr. Wainwright and, with his somber civilian suit and soft-spoken manner, he might easily have passed for a moderately successful banker or stockbroker off on a business trip to the West Coast. Mr. Wainwright's luggage was as unexceptionable as the man, except for one item he had packed into his valise at the last moment—his wife's sewing bag.

Such was the manner in which Rear Adm. Chester W. Nimitz left Washington, outward bound to take command of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. The country was still afflicted with an acute case of spy-fever and invasion jitters; many expected Japanese landings almost hourly on the West Coast. Tucked in his compartment aboard the train, Nimitz took out his wife's sewing bag and opened up the reading material he had placed in it: top-secret reports on the actual extent of the vast damage the Japanese attack had wrought at Pearl Harbor.



Associated Press

MacArthur and Nimitz (1944): Secrets in the sewing bag

Self-effacing: In a real sense, Nimitz's quiet, calculated departure from Washington was a measure of the man. Of all the top U.S. naval commanders of World War II, the calm, self-effacing Texan was easily the least flamboyant. And once in Pearl Harbor, he calmly, methodically set about rebuilding the fleet. Then, on May 8, 1942, came the Battle of the Coral Sea, the first major sea engagement since Pearl Harbor, and the first naval battle in history fought en-

Mississippi Eyes Rape Abortions

AJ 3/10/66

JACKSON, March 10 (AP) — The Mississippi House has given approval to an emotion - packed proposal to legalize abortions in pregnancies resulting from rape.

Before a final 88-45 vote came on the bill, there were charges that lawmakers were playing God, that they were legalizing murder, and that they were penalizing unfortunate women.

At present, the state permits abortions only when necessary to safeguard the life of the mother.

Rep. Billy Thompson introduced the bill, which would also permit abortions in cases where a deformed baby was a reasonable possibility because of drugs, injury or disease.

Mississippi

3/13/66

O. B. Bowen Jr., 47-year-old president of the Richton Bank and Trust Co. of Richton in Perry County, has been appointed comptroller of state banks by Gov. Paul Johnson to succeed the late Llewellyn Brown. . . . State Rep. Radford DuBois of Yazoo City, is president of the newly organized American Turtle Producers Association. He raises miniature turtles for commercial distribution. . . . George A. Owens will be formally installed as president of biracial denominational Tougaloo College near Jackson on April 21. He succeeds Dr. A. D. Beittel who retired last September. . . . William M. "Fish Bait" Miller, native of Pascagoula and doorkeeper of the United States House, will be honoree at the 17th annual banquet session of the Mississippi Economic Council-State Cham[illegible] Commerce in Jackson April 5. . . . Charles E. Speed [illegible] of Prentiss, is new state senator of the [illegible] district, succeeding the late Sen. E[illegible] [illegible] Former State Rep. Jesse Shanks, attorney of [illegible] lost the race by one vote has filed a contest, but in the meantime, Sen. Speed is serving and drawing pay. A hearing is set for March 30.

Legislators Feel Pressure As Deadline Draws Nearer

3/13/66

MISSISSIPPI

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., March 12. The legislature has only 26 days left to do what it has been unable to accomplish in 67 or else Mississippi's five congressional posts will be filled state-at-large and not by districts in the June 7 election. The deadline for qualifying as well as redistricting is April 7.

Even though the legislators come up with a compromise before the qualifying deadline, that doesn't guarantee the five posts will be filled in district balloting. The biracial Freedom Democratic party, which failed to unseat the representatives last year, has a suit pending in federal court challenging the present setup with a petition attached asking the court to redistrict in conformity with the "one man—one vote" guideline set by the United States Supreme Court.

There is one possible "out" for the legislators who ended 10 weeks of the no-limit biennial assembly Thursday. In a last-minute, hurry-up action, postpone the election.

ANTICIPATING the deadlock that has developed between the House and Senate, several members early in the session introduced a bill to put off the election until August. It has been held in committee awaiting the emergency of its enactment.

Two major problems confront the legislators.

One is to reshape the districts so none of the incumbents will be thrown in the same area. The other is what to do with the 111,611 majority Negro population in the 607,241 populated second (delta) district of Rep. Jamie Whitten of Charleston.

Each legislative branch has passed its own version of how the 82 counties should be districted. Authors of the two proposals are from the second district.

Rep. Kenneth Williams of Clarksdale (Coahoma County), sponsored the House-approved bill which shifted the counties with Negro population majorities into predominately white areas. Rep. Thompson McClellan of West Point (Clay County) in the first district, charged it was "adroitly" drafted to devalue the Negro vote. He said the federal courts would not accept it.

SEN. W. B. Alexander of Cleveland (Bolivar County), offered the Senate-approved plan which retained the majority Negro population in the second district but reduced it to 47,910. The overall population would be reduced from 607,241 to 430,834.

The House bill was pigeon-holed in the Senate for its proposal. However, when the Senate measure reached the House, the original Williams plan was inserted as an amendment, which the Senate, just before weekend adjournment, rejected.

Conference committees to attempt a compromise will be named during the week by Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, president of the Senate, and House Speaker Walter Sillers.

Meanwhile, an added problem has arisen as a result of the United States supreme court decision last Monday that literacy requirements for voters set out by state statute cannot be used to keep most of the 50,000 certified by federal registrars who cannot read and write from voting in the election for congressmen. The new federally-qualified electors are largely concentrated in the heavily Negro populated second district.

At the same time, the ruling poses a question in view of the 'secrecy' of the polling booth for those unable to read and write. Question is what steps will the federal government take to aid illiterates in marking their ballots. Mississippi law prohibits any assistance being given a voter, except one that is blind.

MISSISSIPPI

Ole Miss Clamps Tight Security On Eve of Bobby Kennedy's Visit

AJ 3/17/66

OXFORD, Miss. (AP) — Worried University of Mississippi officials imposed tight security on this tree-studded campus Thursday on the eve of an appearance by Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y.

The senator, who played a major role in ending the university's century-old segregation policy, will address the law school student body Friday afternoon.

The appearance of the late President's brother has provoked some criticism in Mississippi. A "rebel flag day" protest rally is set for tonight in Jackson, the state capital 180 miles to the south.

Kennedy's only purpose in coming to Mississippi "is to rub salt into the wound," said Rep. Prentiss Walker, this state's lone Republican congressman.

State Rep. Jim True of Harrison County told the legislature Wednesday the visit would be "an insult to all Mississippians."

Some state officials called for a display of Southern hospitality.

Kennedy was attorney general in 1962 when federal marshals and soldiers occupied the campus to quell a riot that followed the court ordered enrollment of Negro James Meredith. Two men died in the riot and many more were hurt.

The New York senator will arrive by private plane, landing at the airport where the bulk of the 20,000 soldiers dispatched here in 1962 were quartered. He will attend a brief private reception sponsored by the campus Young Democrats Club, then will address the law students at Fulton Chapel — just across the street from where U.S. marshals and rioters clashed in 1962.

From Oxford, Kennedy will fly to Tuscaloosa for an address ath the University of Alabama Friday night.

POWELL ASSISTS MISSISSIPPI GROUP

Prods Antipoverty Office on Funds to Build New Homes

MISSISSIPPI

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 2—Adam Clayton Powell stood tall beside his elevated chairman's chair in the spacious new hearing room of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

He wore an impeccable gray suit with matching tie, a baby blue shirt and an orange button on his lapel saying "Free D.C.," a slogan used by advocates of home rule for the District of Columbia. In his hand he flourished a cigar.

In the audience were 50 farm Negroes from Mississippi who had come to Washington try to get action on their applications for about $1.3-million in antipoverty funds to assist in building homes for displaced plantation workers. They wore rough clothing and appeared weary after a long bus ride.

Mr. Powell, Manhattan Democrat who is chairman of the committee, addressed the group as "my black brothers and sisters in Mississippi." He explained that his committee initiated laws but had no jurisdiction in enforcing them.

"However," he said, "there are times we can put pressure on the executive branch."

Another Project Aided

In three hours, he said, he was able to get $3.5-million in antipoverty funds released from the Office of Economic Opportunity for another Mississippi project. In doing so, he said, he "leapfrogged over the Governor and the Mississippi Congressmen."

"We had a similar complaint from Brooklyn," he said. "They came in here and in 30 minutes we had a courier going to Brooklyn with $300,000 in his hand."

Mr. Powell announced that while his audience waited he would retire to his office, call Sargent Shriver, director of the antipoverty program, and tell him "we want this money released." After hearing one witness, he turned the informal hearing over to Representative William F. Ryan, Democrat-Liberal of Manhattan, and left.

A small group of House liberals have held similar hearings in recent months to give Southern Negroes a forum for their grievances, but this was the first one held under the auspices of Mr. Powell.

Frank Smith, leader of the Mississippi group, explained that three organizations in his state—Neighborhood Development, Inc., U.N.A., Housing Project and the Delta Opportunities Commission—had applied for funds to subsidize buildings of homes. Most of the recipients, he said, were living in tents and would have to spend another winter there unless help was forthcoming soon.

Submitted on Feb. 28

The applications were submitted on Feb. 28 after two months of negotiations. The Federal share of building the houses would be about $650 a person.

After three hours, Chuck Stone, assistant to Mr. Powell, returned and announced that the representative had reached Mr. Shriver by automobile telephone.

Mr. Shriver indicated there was difficulty in the applications, the way they were submitted," Mr. Stone said. "I talked to another official in O.E.O. who said it probably would go through. This is symbolic of confusion that permeates O.E.O."

Mr. Stone said Mr. Powell would assign one of his assistants to help with the applications.

Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat of Michigan, told the Mississippians, Mr. Powell's commitment is tremendous." He craticized "interminable delay" in the office of economic opportunity.

"These people are very sophisticated," Mr. Diggs said, "They can do the frug better than anybody here."

The hearing was held Thursday night. Mr. Smith asked if Mr. Powell could go with the group the next day to see Mr. Shriver. Mr. Stone replied that he could not but he would send an assistant.

Yesterday Mr. Shriver was out of town but other antipoverty officials met with the Mississippians and promised to do what they could. The word out of the agency was that they probably would get their money.

NEGROES EXTEND TENT CAMP STAY

MISSISSIPPI

Capital Seems Sympathetic to Mississippians' Quest

4/6/64

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 5 — The tent camp erected by homeless Mississippi Negroes within sight of President Johnson's White House bedroom may become "more or less" permanent, spokesmen for the group said today.

Officially, the Government professed not to mind. Even the Office of Economic Opportunity —the target of the demonstration—said through a spokesman that the tent-out in the tulips of Lafayette Square might have "a certain charm."

Last night's "sleeping shift" of 30 Negroes—members of the full contingent of 90 are housed indoors when not demonstrating —was invited to breakfast this morning by the women of St. John's Episcopal Church on Lafayette Square.

Another downtown church promised lunch for one of two day shifts tomorrow. And protest leaders said there were more offers of food and blankets "than we can handle."

Questions directed at the campers by passers-by this afternoon also appeared markedly sympathetic.

'They Might as Well Stay'

Isaac Coleman, a West Point, Miss., field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who accompanied the group from Mississippi last Thursday, said:

"Since these people would have to live in tents anyway, en if they went back to Mississippi, they might as well stay right here."

Mr. Coleman, bearded and 22 years old, appeared to be one of only a handful of youthful, educated demonstrators in the group. Most are unemployed field workers and farm hands.

Mr. Coleman called the responses to the demonstration "very good, very encouraging, except from the O.E.O."

But James F. Kelleher, the antipoverty agency's press spokesman, turned the other cheek.

"These are truly defeated, people," he said.

He said there was "no question that they have real troubles. We can't be mad at them."

"Because they are genuinely lost souls," he went on, "their demonstration is far more appealing than the usual civil rights thing."

He said the Negroes' campsite "is serving the useful purpose of calling public attention to their poight."

When the four-tent community went up Sunday afternoon, the announced stay was a week. The apparent extension today seemed to reflect two factors.

They are the tolerance being shown by official Washington and the likelihood that the Negroes' demands of the antiproverty office could not be satisfied quickly.

The demonstrators insist they came here with no premeditated intention to camp out in the park. They said the four 6-by-6-foot tents were rented here last Saturday after a "disillusioning" five-hour meeting with antipoverty officials.

They said the object of both the pilgrimage here and the weekend decision to erect the ents—technically a violation of Federal park regulations—was the same. This was to hasten the processing of three requests for a total of $1.3-million in antipoverty funds to finance construction of low-cost, cinder-block houses for 300 homeless Negroes now living in "tent cities" near Greenville and Leland, Miss. Part of the money would be used to train the homeless applicants in construction skills while building their own homes.

Mr. Kelleher said antipoverty officials hoped to resume talks with the demonstration leaders later this week, "to see whaht we can do to rework their applications on a sound basis."

In interviews today, several of the demonstrators ascribed their homeless, jobless plight to varying causes.

Mississippi Negroes Chased by Troopers In College Protest

NYT 4/6/66

By United Press International

LORMAN, Miss., April 5—About 50 young Negroes dodged tear gas and water hoses today and led state troopers on a foot race across the campus of Alcorn A. & M.

One youth was taken into custody in the chase, which pitted the troopers against darting youngsters who scrambled into nearby woods.

Troopers turned back two marches later at the gates of the all-Negro school.

The demonstrations were to protest the allegedly heavy-handed administration of the state-supported college by the school president, J. D. Boyd. Negroes have complained that Mr. Boyd does not pay laundry and cafeteria workers enough, imposes too strict a curfew on coeds and arbitrarily sends students home for minor rule infractions.

Guardsmen Stand By

State troopers used tear gas on Monday to clear a dormitory of Negroes who had thrown bottles and bricks out the windows at the troopers.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. ordered an infantry company of national guardsmen to stand by to reinforce the 100 troopers he had sent onto the campus, but the guardsmen were not needed today. They remained on the ready at nearby Port Gibson, about 15 miles east of Lorman, in southwest Mississippi.

Charles Evers, the organizer of the protests, has stressed that his new campaign is for "human rights," rather than civil rights.

After organizing today's demonstrations, Mr. Evers left for Jackson to meet with the state college board. Mr. Evers, the state field secretary of the National Association for the Ad-

Continued on Page 29, Column 4

Mississippi Negroes Chased at College

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

vancement of Colored People, said the college board had invited him to present a formal ls of complaints against Mr. Boyd.

Alcorn has an enrollment of 2,300 pupils, and about 200 of them staged a two-hour, silent protest march on the campus following the outburst Monday night. The campus was normal today until outside demonstrators showed up.

Songs at President's Home

The first group of 50 was made up of high school students from the surrounding area. The gathered in front of Mr. Boyd's official residence, sain "freedom songs and taunted troopers and Vernon Maxwell, a Negro who heads the campus police.

On one occasion, Mr. Maxwell attempted to turn a high pressure water hose on the demonstrators, but they raced away laughing. State troopers who were backing up Mr. Maxwell joined in the laughter, when, on another occasion, the campus policeman hurled a tear gas grenade at the demonstrators but the gas blew harmlessly away without bothering any of them.

Seeing that the antics were beginning to attract the attention of the student body, the troopers started to advance on the youths, but suddenly sat down on the lawn. The young Negroes continued their harassment, taking off their coats and waving them at the officers in the manner of a bull-fighter.

At this point the troopers jumped up and started the race across the campus, with the screaming demonstrators darting in every direction.

The first gropp of marchers that later turned up at the school gates retreated when the police reminded them that a Chancery Court had issued an injunction banning marches through the campus.

Thirty minutes later another group, made up mostly of women and teen-age girls, appeare at the gates and taunted the police with shouts of "we have a right to march," and "you can't stop us."

The troopers took three quick steps forward and the demonstrators started to run, some of them tripping over others in their haste.

Evers Meets College Board

JACKSON, Miss., April 5 (UPI) — Mr. Evers, the state field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, met here today with the State College board. He said the board had invited him to present a formal list of complaints against Mr. Boyd.

Following the two-hour closed meeting Mr. Evers said the situation "looks favorable," but he declined further comment.

A college board spokesman said "We feel we're making progress."

Meanwhile, attorneys filed a petition in Federal Court here challenging the Chancery Court order blocking demonstrations at Alcorn. The lawyers asked for an immediate temporary order preventing officials from interfering with Negroes in "peacefully assembling" and presenting their grievances to Mr. Boyd.

Evers Seeks Ouster of Boyd

LORMAN, Miss., April 5 (AP)—Mr. Evers said today that the goal of the demonstrators was to oust Mr. Boyd.

"This is a fight between Negroes," Mr. Evers said in a midday pep talk to his followers just outside the college gate. "And you white folks ought to stay out of it," he added as he glanced at a row of 20 highway patrolmen who stood at the gate with billy clubs in hand.

"J. D. Boyd has got to go," Mr. Evers said. "We're going to get him sooner or later. He's only concerned with pleasing the white folks."

"This is my alma mater," Mr. Evers said. "I went to school here four years, and right now I couldn't pass a sixth grade examination.

"They got teachers without degrees, students teaching. It's no wonder the Negro can't elevate himself."

In talking to newsmen, college students complained about the food, the infirmary, the grading system and the teachers.

"They treat us like babies," one student said. "He [Boyd] won't even talk to us and we are students. The president dominates the whole school."

"At the library they search you when you come out," said another. "And we have an infirmary that is not fit to take care of dogs."

Police Patrol Georgia Schools

CORDELE, Ga., April 5 (AP) —The police patroled three Negro schools today to discourage pupils from joining protest marches. The County School Superintendent said more efforts would be made to enforce school attendance laws.

James Y. Moultrie, Crisp County School Superintendent, said "We are going to tighten up as far as children under 16 who are on the streets are concerned."

Seventy-one Negroes, mostly school children, were arrested yesterday after marching to a school, but 40 teen-agers were released on condition they return to classes.

MISSISSIPPI

Negroes Picket Negro, Gas Drives Group Off

AC 4/6/66

LORMAN, Miss. (AP)—A campus security police officer fired tear gas grenades Tuesday at a band of laughing, taunting high school pupils who roamed all-Negro Alcorn A&M college demonstrating against the school's president.

The Negro youngsters, skipping classes at area schools, were driven from the vicinity of President J. D. Boyd's home by tear gas and pursuing state highway patrolmen.

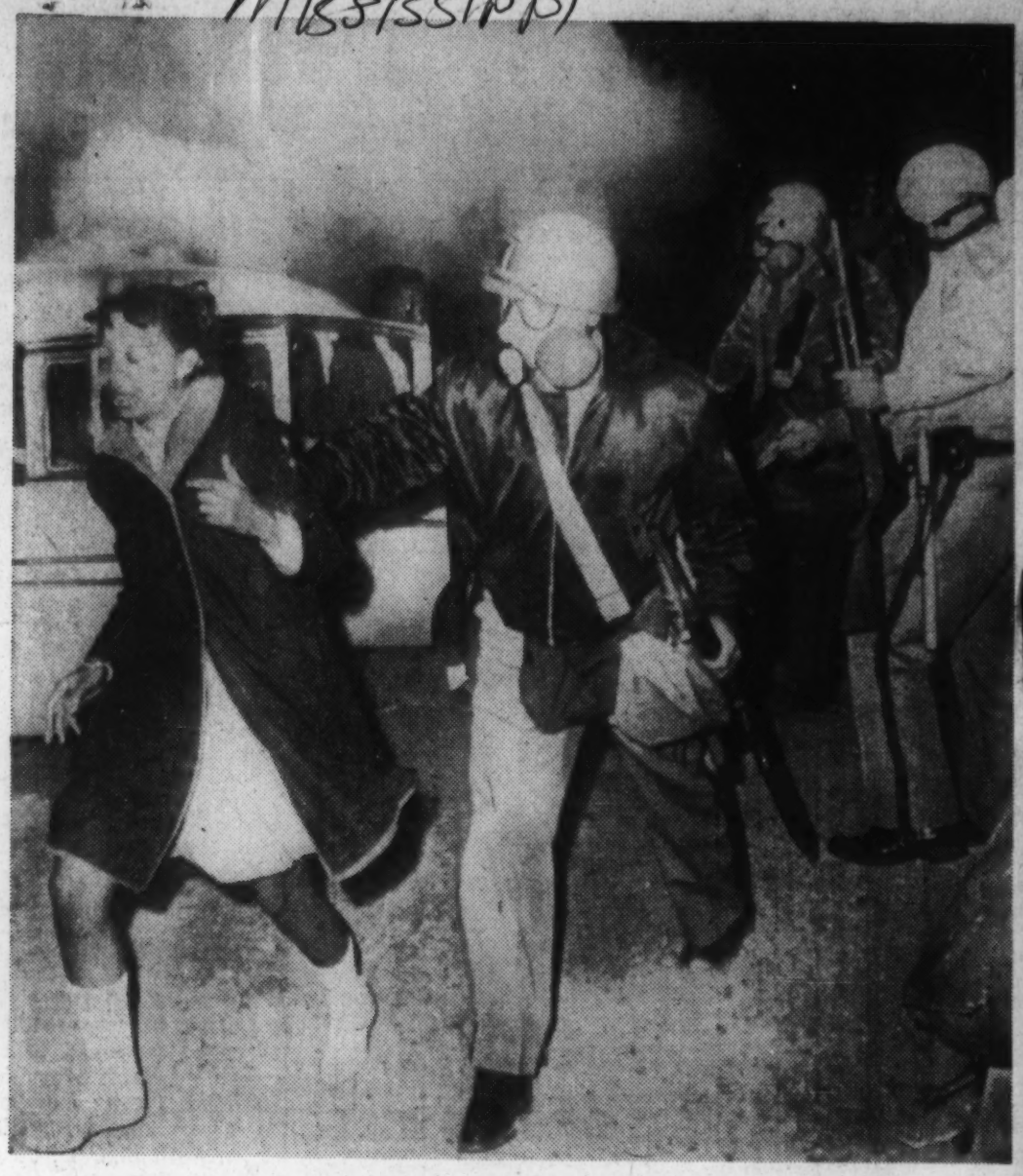
One boy was arrested, raising the total number taken into custoday in two days to 36.

Boyd, target of the demonstrations, was not available for comment. He has issued no statement concerning the unrest.

Alcorn students, cheering the high school youths on, emphasized that their quarrel with Boyd was over campus policies, not civil rights.

The high school sympathizers, about 50 in number, walked onto the tree-lined campus at midmorning. They circled the president's home, clapping hands and singing civil rights songs.

MISSISSIPPI



Associated Press Wirephoto

CLOUDS OF TEAR GAS DURING DEMONSTRATION AT ALCORN COLLEGE
Mississippi Highway Patrolman Moves Out Young Demonstrator at College Entrance

CLUBS, GAS SCATTER MARCHERS

AJ 27/6/66

LORMAN, Miss. (UPI) — State police used billy clubs and tear gas late Tuesday night to break up a crowd of about 2,000 demonstrators who had engaged officers in a noisy, bottle-throwing melee.

The clash came along a highway running through Alcorn A&M College, where demonstrators have been protesting against the administration of the state-supported Negro college.

A highway patrolman was struck in the face by a flying bottle and about seven demonstrators were cut on the head. Others suffered scratches and bruises as they fled blindly into the woods from the tear gas attack.

The clash was one of the most serious of a series of incidents that brought carbine-armed National Guardsmen to Lorman.

THE GUARDSMEN were ordered into this southwestern Mississippi town by Gov. Paul Johnson Monday night to help keep order and reinforce state troopers.

The Guardsmen, however, were not involved in Tuesday night's melee.

Officers said the clash started after inspector Giles Crisler ordered a force of 50 troopers to disperse the demonstrators who were slow to obey orders to leave the highway.

A group of teen-agers surrounded some of the patrolmen and one grabbed for a rifle held by a trooper. An officer nearby whacked him across the head

Turn to Page 10, Colume 1

MARCHERS SCATTERED

Continued From Page 1

and a scuffle started. Bottles began flying through the air.

Crisler ordered the tear gas which broke up the melee.

It was the second incident in which tear gas was used in the last two days.

THERE WAS no violence in three marches earlier Tuesday by Negroes protesting the alleged firing of teachers and dismissal of students at Alcorn for participating in civil rights activities. But Negro youths had scuffled with police and threw bricks and rocks at officers Monday before troopers used tear gas to clear a dormitory.

The largest march Tuesday was turned back at the campus gates by troopers enforcing a court order forbidding demonstrations on the campus. The marchers gathered at a nearby store and sang songs.

Two earlier marches were halted at the gates without incident, and troopers chased about 50 Negroe youths across the campus after they had taunted and jeered the police.

NEGRO leader Charles Evers, organizer of the protests, conferred Tuesday in Jackson with the State College Board, which, he said, had asked him to present a formal list of complaints against Alcorn President J. D. Boyd.

Students have complained that Boyd, a Negro, does not pay laundry and cafeteria employes enough, that he imposed too strict a curfew on coeds and arbitrarily sends students home for minor rules infractions.

NEGROES' CAMP-IN IN CAPITAL ENDS

MISSISSIPPI

They Head for Mississippi After Johnson Leaves

4/8/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 7—Negroes who had camped for four days across the street from the White House folded their tents today and prepared to return to Mississippi.

A few minutes after President Johnson had left for Texas for the Easter weekend, Frank Smith, spokesman for the group, told a news conference in Lafayette Square:

"After a week in Washington and several days and nights in this beautiful park, we are returning to Mississippi, to our shanties, our tents and outdoor toilets. The people want to spend Easter, a day of renewed hope, with their children and neighbors."

The campers said they would spend the night in churches and homes of Washington friends and board buses for Mississippi tomorrow.

Mr. Smith said the departure of the President, who could see the campers across Pennsylvania Avenue from his bedroom window, had had nothing to do with their decision to abandon the camp-in. Administration officials, who found the sight of the small tent city somewhat unsettling, denied that any promises had been made for new antipoverty funds for Mississippi.

From Tents to Tents

The 90 Negroes, most of whom are displaced plantation workers, pitched four tents between tulip beds in Lafayette Square last Sunday to dramatize their efforts to obtain $1.3-million in antipovery funds for homes in Mississippi. A number of them have been living in tent cities there.

On hand to hear Mr. Smith were white right wingers who had been carrying on a heated dialogue with the campers, seven liberal Congressmen who stood in front of the cameras looking sad and sympathetic and an assortment of plainclothes security officers.

"Since we have been here we have seen progress of a kind," Mr. Smith read from his prepared statement. "The tulips have begun to bloom outside our tents. The people of Washington who had never known us have become our friends. But the officials we came to see, the very men who bear a public trust to hear us, have been only half listening."

The campers, he said, have become "spiritually fatigued" and "some are physically sick."

A physician said one of the group had developed amoebic dysentery and others had evidence of related diseases that was attributed to unsanitary conditions in the Mississippi tent cities.

"We may be back," Mr. Smith said, "because our faith in America has only been toughened, not tarnished."

More Data Sought

As the tents were coming down, Theodore M. Berry, director of the Community Action programs for the Office of Economic Opportunity, called a news conference in Jackson, Miss. He said that organizations seeking funds for housing had been asked to submit additional information and that a decision would be made as soon as possible.

"In the short history of the war on poverty, Mississippi has been awarded more than $32-million" for various projects, he said. In addition, he said, surplus food will be distributed to 500,000 residents of the state, almost a quarter of the population.

1966. MISSISSIPPI NYT 4/9/66

PROHIBITION VOID, MISSISSIPPI TOLD

State Repealed It by Taxing Liquor, a Judge Rules

JACKSON, Miss., April 8 — Mississippi's 1908 prohibition law — the last such law in the nation — was ruled today by a county judge to have been repealed by the state through the systematic taxing and regulating of illegal liquor.

Judge Charles T. Barber of Hinds County Court made the ruling in the Jackson Country Club raid case, in which $10,000 worth of exotic wines and liquors was carted past guests, including Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr.

Judge Barger also held in his ruling that any effort by the state to make it a crime to merely to possess liquor violated both the State Constitution and the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

He declared that it was "amp demonstrated" that there now "exists in Mississippi a state policy of encouraging, fostering, and promoting the sale of liquor under regulation by the state tax commission.

Decision Is Appealed

Paul Alexander, Hinds Count Attorney, immediately appealed the ruling.

The decisioncame as the State Legislature appeared unable to reach any decision on a bill sponsored by Governor Johnson to end prohibition on a local-option basis.

The effect of Judge Barber's ruling was viewed here as an impetus for a new approach to prohibition in the Legislature from the standpoint that possession of liquor could not be barred by the state while it was taxing the liquor.

Mississippi collected last year $4.5-million in revenues from two state taxes—a 10 per cent "import" tax and a 9 per cent sales tax—and had budgeted approximately $10-million from the same sources.

Judge Barber said in his 36-page ruling that to have ruled otherwise would have meant that "this court would have to bury its head in the hypocritical sands of the past."

He said he had found that the "intent" of the Legislature, through taxing laws on liquor dating back to 1944, constituted repeal of the prohibition law.

The taxing statutes, said the judge, "without question permit the licensing of a person to engage in and conduct the business of dealing in intoxicating liquors in the state of Mississippi."

$10,000 Bond Necessary

State tax commission officials had testified that to do business in the state, an illegal liquor operator had to file a $10,000 bond with the commission. The commission also has a systematic arrangement of payment of taxes on illegal liquor to the state, based on invoices that come from the Louisiana state revenue service.

Approximately 95 per cent of the liquor coming into Mississippi is from Louisiana because that state does not collect a state tax on liquor exports.

Judge Barber, an appointee of Governor Johnson, wrote:

"This court, like the ordinary citizen of this state, stands bewildered in the cross-fire of the prohibition statute on the one hand and the sanctioning and licensing statues on the other. The court is unable to reconcile this conflict in its mind."

He said there had been "clear and intentional discrimination" in the application of the prohibition law. He pointed out that "multitudes of conventions, including those of law enforcement officers openly serve liquor without fear of prosecution."

He said that "a phone call will bring delivery to one's home with a bill at the end of the month."

U.S. Court Orders Mississippi to End $2 State Poll Tax

JACKSON, Miss., April 8 (UPI) — A three-judge Federal Court outlawed today Mississippi's $2 poll tax as a requirement for voting in state and local elections.

The judges ruled that payment of the poll tax to vote was in conflict with the United States Constitution. Mississippi was the last state to be ordered to drop the levy as a prerequisite for voting in state elections.

A recent United States Supreme Court decision declared the poll tax invalid in Virginia.

Walter P. Gewin of Tuscaloosa, Ala., a judge in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, and two United States district judges, Harold D. Cox of Jackson, Miss., and Claude F. Clayton of Aderdeen, Miss., ruled in the case.

The ruling enjoined state officials from requiring or enforcing payment of any poll tax in municipal, county, state or national elections in Mississippi. The poll tax had been collected for many years in Mississippi, with the money going into a "Common School Fund" for educational purposes.

Poll taxes in Alabama, Arkansas and Texas were also recently voided in Federal courts.

The collection of poll taxes for Federal elections had been outlawed with the 24th Amendment. Mississippi and the four other Southern states had held on to the poll tax in state and local elections.

Civil rights workers had viewed the poll tax as a psychological hindrance to the registration of poverty-stricken Negroes and whites who might have otherwise qualified to vote in the state and local elections.

MISSISSIPPI

13 of Klan Held for Jury In Rights Slaying Case

Washington Post 4/13/66

HATTIESBURG, Miss., April 12 (UPI) — Thirteen members of one of the most militant Ku Klux Klan groups in the Nation were bound over to a Federal grand jury today in connection with the firebomb death of a Negro civil rights leader.

The ruling came after a daylong hearing before U.S. Commissioner Jack Pittman.

An FBI agent testified in the packed courtroom that the "White Knights" of the Klan met before the death of Vernon Dahmer and decided to get rid of him because he was "getting too many niggers to vote."

The Federal Government has charged the Klansmen with conspiring to violate Dahmer's civil rights. Murder is not a Federal offense unless the crime is committed on Federal property.

In addition to the 13 bound over to a grand jury, a 14th suspect, Charles Lowe, 23, is free on bond pending grand jury action in Texas.

J. L. Martin, local FBI agent, testified that at least three of the suspects — Cecil V. Sessum, 30; Lawrence Burd, 44, and Benjamin Moss, 52 — admitted being present at a secret Klan meeting when action against Dahmer allegedly was discussed.

Martin said Burd, a Laurel radio - television repair shop operator, quoted Klan leader Sam Bowers Jr., as saying Dahmer was a "big NAACP nigger and he wanted some good men to stop him because he was getting too many niggers to vote."

Martin said the meeting was held in a swampy area in nearby Jones County about two or three weeks before nightriders hurled "Molotov cocktails" into Dhamer's home in the predawn hours of Jan. 10. Dahmer, 58, was former president of the County branch of the NAACP.

13 KLANSMEN HELD FOR GRAND JURY

Mississippians Bound Over in Negro Leader's Murder

HATTIESBURG, Miss, April 12 (UPI)—Thirteen members of one of the most militant Ku Klux Klan groups in the nation were bound over to a Federal grand jury today in connection with the death of a Negro civil rights leader.

The ruling came following a day-long hearing before United States Commissioner Jack Pittman.

An agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation testified in the packed courtroom that the white Knights of the Klan met prior to the death of Vernon Dahmer and decided to get rid of him because he was "getting too many niggers to vote."

The Federal Government has charged the Klansmen with conspiring to violate Mr. Dahmer's civil rights. Murder charges could not be brought against the suspects by Federal authorities because murder is not a Federal offense, unless the crime is committed on Federal property.

In addition to the 13 bound over to a grand jury, a 14th suspect, Charles Lowe, 23 years old, is free on bond pending grand jury action in Texas. All were arrested last month after an intensive Federal investigation into the death of the 58-year-old Mr. Dahmer.

J. L. Martin, a local F.B.I. agent, testified that at least three of the suspects—Cecil V. Sessum, 30; Lawrence Byrd, 44, and Benjamin Moss, 52—had acknowledged having been present at a secret Klan meeting when action against Mr. Dahmer was allegedly discussed.

Mr. Martin said Byrd, a Laurel radio-television repair shop operator, had quoted Sam Bowers Jr., the Klan leader, as saying Mr. Dahmer was a "big N.A.A.C.P. nigger and he wanted some good men to stop him because he was getting too many niggers to vote."

Bowers, 51, of Laurel, was identified by the F.B.I. as the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights.

Mr. Martin said the meeting was held in a swampy area in nearby Jones County about two or three weeks before night-riders hurled Molotov cocktails into Mr. Dahmer's home in the predawn hours of Jan. 10. Mr. Dahmer was former president of the county branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Federal investigator said Sessum had asked Bowers what action should be taken against Mr Dahmer, and that Bowers had replied, "That would be determined at the time when they made the practice run or at the actual time when it would be accomplished."

Mr. Martin said Sessum had confessed having taken part in a "dry run" past Mr. Dahmer's house to get the layout of the area. Mr. Martin quoted Byrd as saying that Bowers had told the meeting he wanted only men willing to go on the actual firebomb attack to go on the dry run.

Mr. Martin also quoted Byrd as saying he had seen two of the suspects, Henry De Boxtel, 29, and Howard Travis Giles, 37, of Ellisville, shortly after he had heard on the radio that the Dahmer home had been burned.

Suspects Reported Seen

The agent said Byrd had told him Giles had said:

"I am in a hell of a fix. My car is down there by the house that was burned with two flat tires. The Feds are all over it."

De Boxtel allegedly advised Giles to report that his car had been stolen.

Mr. Martin also testified that Moss had told of having been called to the special meeting but deciding to bypass the dry run on the Negro leader's house.

The agen said Sessum had made his statement in the presence of several F.B.I. agents at the Hattiesburg headquarters of the F.B.I. However, he said Sessum had refused to sign the typed statement on the ground that it might endanger his life. Sessum looked straight at Mr. Martin during the agent's testimony. Several of the suspects, all dressed in neat dark suits, turned and looked at Sessum when Mr. Martin began to testify, but Sessum sat quietly and showed no emotion.

The other suspects are Clifton Eudell Lowe, 50, father of Charles Lowe; James Franklin Lyons, 33; Melvin Sennett Martin, 33; Charles Richard Noble, 23; Bill Roy Pitts, 22; William Ray Smith, 28, and Deavours Nix, 42.

British Consumers Urge Change in Shopping Hours

LONDON (Reuters) — Britain's Independent Consumers Association, whose magazine, Which?, advises the housewife on good buys in various commodities each month, has asked the Home Secretary to alter shop-closing restrictions.

It was suggested that the interests of shop employes be safeguarded by statutory limitation of their working hours, rather than by restrictions on shopping hours, as at present.

A survey among subscribers to Which? by the Research Institute for Consumer Affairs indicated that 60 per cent of women in full-time non-manual jobs would like shops to remain open until 10 P.M. on one or more days a week.

At present, shops generally close at 5:30 or 6 P.M. on weekdays, although in large towns a few may stay open until 7 or 8 P.M. This means that the majority of full-time women workers have to crowd their daily shopping into their lunch hours.

MISSISSIPPI SCORES U.S. IN SPITE OF AID

NYT 4/19/66

Group Finds Public Criticism and Private Bids for Help

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., April 18—A special task force set up in February by the Administration to supply inreased economic assistance to Mississippi has found the state a paradox.

While publicly condemning the Administration and Great Society programs, state political leaders are quitely accepting and seeking Federal help.

Mississippi has for some time been the nation's most subsidized state in terms of the return on its tax dollars—$3 received for every $1 paid in Federal taxes. It is now second only to Kentucky in the per capita receipt of antipoverty money.

Yet Mississippians frequently hear statements like that made a few days ago by Representative John Bell Williams, who is considered a possible candidate for Governor next year.

The antipoverty program, he said, "is the most colossal and collectively crooked raid on the treasury in this nation's history."

Decided by Johnson Aides

The Administration's decision to do more for Mississippi despite such opposition was made in Washington by the President's Economic Opportunity Council a few days after displaced plantation workers took over vacant buildings at Greenville Air Force Base and remained there until they were forceably removed. The council is the domestic equivalent of the National Security Council.

Council members found both acute need and a high potential for civil unrest in areas like the Mississippi Delta, a 14-county area of fertile soil where machines are fast replacing Negro workers.

The Labor Department sent a manpower specialist, Carl Shugaar, here to speed job training projects. Mr. Shugaar conducted a survey of three Delta counties and found poverty and unemployment much worse than previous statistics had indicated.

There has been little concern about unemployment in Mississippi because, for one thing, Government statistics have shown the state compares favorably with the national average, which has been declining. Mr. Shugaar said this was meaningless because the Government was measuring insured unemployment. Not counted were thousands of farm and domestic workers who had lost their jobs or were making a couple of dollars a day.

14,000 Interviewed

Fourteen thousand persons in Washington, Bolivar and Sunflower Counties were interviewed. They were said to represent a cross-section of the poorer farm and town dwellers. Of these, 64 per cent reported their annual income at $500 or less, or a family income of less than one-half of $3,000, which the Government has established as its poverty level.

The general attitude of these people, one official said, was disillusionment with both the local establishment and the Federal Government and a feeling that those who need help the most are not being reached.

"While they were telling you this," he said, "they would beg you to deny it, an indication that they had not lost all hope."

As a result of the Administration's efforts and cooperation by Gov. Paul B. Johnson, the Federal effort has increased sharply. A log jam of Mississippi projects in the Office of Economic Opportunity was broken. The O.E.O. has now funded $32-million in antipoverty programs for the state. Manpower training programs of the Labor Department have been allotted $12-million.

During the current six-month period, $24-million in surplus food will be distributed in Mississippi under the most liberalized program of its kind in the nation. Last month, more than 500,000 persons, or one-fourth of the population, were given food furnished by the Agriculture Department.

Free food has been available for some time but many counties in Mississippi said they had no funds to pay the distribution costs. The O.E.O. funded $1.6-million under a project called H.E.L.P. to cover the distribution costs for six months and give jobs to almost 500 people.

The quota is 27 pounds of food per person per month compared to a national average of 15 to 20 pounds. Mississippi is the first state to have either a surplus food or food stamp program in every county.

Something of the degree of poverty is indicated by the requirements for receiving food. A family of four must prove its monthly income does not exceed $155 and an individual $85.

Aside from humanitarian aspects, some political leaders are said to be working for increased Federal assistance because of the change in political climate due to the growing Negro vote. But they are not doing so publicly because it is not yet politically expedient.

In fact, the forthcomng race in which Senator James O. Eastland is being challenged by Representative Prentiss Walker, a Republican, is already showing signs of developing into a contest to decide which candidate is most opposed to the Great Society.

Dean of Faculty Named at Amherst

Dr. Prosser Gifford, assistant professor of history and director of the five-year bachelor's program at Yale, today was named dean of the faculty at Amherst College.

Dr. Gifford will combine his administrative duties with limited teaching at Amherst and active participation in the four-college Asian-African studies program carried on jointly by Amherst, Mount Holyoke and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts.

Under the Yale program that he heads, students spend a year living and working in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Dr. Gifford is a specialist in African history.

Professor Robert B. Whitney will continue as Amherst's acting dean until Dr. Gifford assumes his new duties in January, 1967.

Dr. Prosser Gifford

Bible Week Slated for October

The interreligious Laymen's National Committee has announced here that it has designated the week of Oct. 17 to 23 as National Bible Week this year, Religious News Service reports.

5/1/66

Republicans Ready to Hold First Primary of Century

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., April 30—Another precedent is being set by Mississippi's developing Republican party — its first primary election in this century in this state.

Two Republicans are in the June 7 primary for the party nomination for United States representative from the Fourth Congressional district in the November general election. It is the post being relinquished by the first Republican elected to Congress in Mississippi since the Reconstruction Era in 1964.

Up until the 1964 presidential election in which the Republicans polled 87 per cent of the votes, they have been ineligible for public payment of their primaries. As a result, the few candidates — and they have been few — they have fielded have been by committee nomination without opposition.

Prior to the 1966 legislative session — which enters its 18th week Monday — a party had to poll at least 33 1-3 per cent of the votes in the preceding presidential election to qualify for public payment of its primaries. Incidentally, the Legislature, made up mostly of Democrats, was forced to bail their party out of paying for its primaries as it mustered only 13 per cent of the votes in 1964. That was done by making the percentage apply to the last governorship election in which the Democrats polled 62 per cent and the Republicans 38 per cent.

ONE OF THE Republicans seeking the party nomination in the Fourth congressional district is the first Republican elected to the state legislature since the early 1900s. He is State Rep. L. L. McAllister of Meridian.

Opposing Rep. McAllister, a Certified Public Accountant, is Travis Buckley of Bay Springs, now serving as Jasper County prosecuting attorney, a post he won as a Democrat. Mr. Buckley represents most of the 13 men arrested

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in the death of Negro Vernon Dahmer at Hattiesburg last January. Those arrested have been identified as Klansmen by the FBI.

The Republicans are running candidates for Congress in all except Democrat Rep. John Bell Williams' Third district. Rep. Williams backed the Republican electors in 1964 and as a result, was stripped of his Democratic seniority in the Congress, but was retained within the caucus.

A LEAF WAS taken out of Sen. Robert Kennedy's Democratic book by the Republicans by entering a candidate for the First congressional district who resides in the second district. He is Thomas Hal Phillips of Kossuth, a brother of Rubel Phillips, the party's gubernatorial entry in the 1963 general election. He is opposing Rep. Thomas Abernethy (D. Miss.).

State Sen. S. B. Wise of Jonestown, holding his present office as a Democrat, has switched over and is the Republican candidate in the Second congressional district in opposition to Rep. Jamie Whitten (D. Miss.).

In the Fifth congressional district of the 76-year-old Democratic dean of the delegation, Wm. M. Colmer, the Republicans are offering James M. Moye, an optometrist of Laurel.

THE JUNE 7 Democratic primary has its own political problems.

The biracial Freedom Democratic party, not recognized under state law, has entered candidates for the five Congressional posts in the primary being held under auspices of the long-recognized Democratic party of Mississippi. However, the Freedom Democrats served notice they do not subscribe to the regular party's segregation principles nor go along with refusal to support the principles and policies of the parent Democratic national party.

Tangled Liquor Situation Awaits High Court Answer

5/8/66

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., May 7 — Mississippi's 1908 Prohibition law, ignored with official sanction in 59 of the 82 counties and staggering from two legal body-blows, is poised for a come-back or the knockout punch in the arena of the state supreme court.

The issue reached the court during the week after being declared void by Circuit Judge Russel Moore of Hinds county who sustained an earlier ruling by County Judge Charles Barber that legislative enacted taxes on the illegal commodity and state tax commission licensing of liquor dealers had repealed the 58-year-old law by implication.

The challenge arose from a February sheriffs raid on the plush Jackson Country Club which netted $10,000 in liquor and champagne which had been bought for use at a reception for the king of the annual Junior League carnival ball. Charles Wood, club manager, was arrested for possession.

COUNSEL for the club appealed the arrest on grounds the state's recognition of liquor through its taxing processes and control of dealers by the tax commission had repealed the prohibition law by implication. The club was upheld

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by County Judge Barber whose ruling on appeal to Circuit Judge Moore was affirmed leading the state appeal to the supreme court.

Supreme court affirmation of the lower courts would make liquor legal in all 82 counties with no state control law to step in. It would also void the taxes which net the state $4.5 million annually. It would be a wide-open situation.

Apparently with that situation likely, the dry-majority Senate Temperance Committee just before adjournment of the 18th week of the biennial assembly surprisingly reported a House-approved bill authorizing counties to hold local elections to "vote from under the 1908 prohibition law." The bill, which takes precedence over a Senate measure for a statewide referendum on legalization of strict enforcement, places control in the state tax commission and preserves the liquor taxes.

THE HOUSE county-option bill is ready for floor action with backers optimistic it will be approved.

Big question still looming is whether Gov. Paul Johnson would sign a county-option bill after stating on numerous public occasion she is committed to a statewide referendum to determine the question of legalization or strict enforcement. Under the governor's plan, it would take a statewide 'wet' vote before counties could call later local elections on legalization.

Basis of the optimism is that Gov. Johnson's late father-governor in 1942 permitted a bill authorizing counties to "vote in" beer to become law without his signature and the possibility the present chief executive might use that as an 'out' for letting the county-option measure become law without his signature. Prior to the 1942 beer "vote in" law counties that had outlawed beer under a 1934 legalization statute could not later reverse themselves. There was no law for "vote in" elections.

GOV. JOHNSON is reportedly concerned over the situation following the two court rulings. Incidentally, both the judges were originally appointed by Gov. Johnson, one to fill a vacancy and the other when a new circuit judgeship was created in Hinds county.

Two matters concern the governor. If the 1908 law is held void by the state supreme court, it means all 82 counties will be 'wet' with no control. The other is the loss of $10 million revenue in the new biennial period commencing July 1.

Plan to Abolish Primaries Passed to Gov. Johnson

5/15/66

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., May 14—Mississippi is on the verge of trying something new in politics — an open - election in which candidates of all affiliations, as well as those without party allegiance, will run on the same ballot with the two leaders entering a tell-tale runoff.

The legislature, winding up the 19th week of the no-time-limit biennial session, approved the plan which does away with political party primaries. The final 'OK' is up to Gov. Paul Johnson after he receives the proposal. His position is uncertain at the moment.

However, after he finished three races in 1963 — two for the Democratic nomination and then the general election in which he bested Republican Rubel Phillips the governor was all for an open-election. Since the issue has been before the legislature he has remained non-committal.

REASONING BEHIND the innovation in campaigning has not been made clear by its proponents. Some contend it is to let Republicans who have been masquerading as Democrats and voting in the latter's primaries — there is no party registration statute in Mississippi — run for office and continue to vote without identifying themselves partywise.

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Others see in it a possible avenue of making it more difficult for former Gov. Ross Barnett, who plans to run for another term in that office next year, to pull a Mrs. Lurleen Wallace. A poll by forces opposed to the former governor and almost everything he espouses placed him out front as of now. Fact is, the survey indicated two of those planning to seek the office—Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin and Treasurer William Winter —too far behind for comfort.

THEN THERE are those who feel the open-election may re-unite the national Democrats and the Mississippi Democrats against Republican foes and sustain the right of the congressional delegation to continued recognition in the national Democratic caucus. Although Mississippi's delegation runs as Mississippi Democrats, whose party organization has disclaimed allegiance to the parent group's policies and platforms, when they assemble in Washington they align themselves with the national leadership.

Originally, the plan was for candidates to run without any party identification. However, it was altered by the Senate to require candidates to identify themselves as to party or as independents.

Sen. Ed Pittman of Hattiesburg, whose uncle was defeated for mayor by a Republican last year, warned the plan would benefit the Republicans. Republican Sen. William Corr of Sardis, first member of that party elected to the state Senate since the turn of the century, took the position the open - election would cripple his group.

SEN. CORR said adoption of the plan would result in a court challenge since he said it is contrary to the state constitution calling for nomination by political party primaries. He said it would result in the federal courts writing Mississippi's election laws "and you know who would be the loser then."

Sen. W. B. Alexander of Cleveland, one of the sponsors, said the open-election would permit an elector to "vote for the man and not the party."

Sen. Talmadge Littlejohn of New Albany, said it would force "those who have been masquerading as Democrats and voting Republican in national elections to come forward and decide themselves as the Republicans they are."

Vote Plan Curbs Negro Advantage

5/22/66

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau, Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., May 21—Increased registration of Negroes as qualified electors under the federal voting rights act is the "why" of two new election bills approved by the General Assembly which ended 20 weeks in session Friday. Final adjournment is not expected for at least two weeks.

Both measures involve the elections of county officials in the 410 beats of the 82 counties — supervisors and school board members. Those officials are now elected by voters in their individual beats —there are five to a county— and not in countywide balloting.

Reason for the change is that in many beats (districts) Negro voters now outnumber the whites. The new system is designed to minimize the advantage of Negroes in the beats where they are now in the majority by permitting all voters in the county to make the selections.

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Retained under the new system, however, is that a candidate must reside in the beat he seeks to represent.

IN ORDER that the system outlined in the constitution of 1890 for beat election of supervisors and school board members may be retained in counties where white majorities remain, the county-wide plan is left to the supervisors to be put in effect. It is discretionary with the supervisors to change the system unless 20 per cent of the electors petition for its submission to the voters for their ratification.

If the new system is to be invoked, the supervisors must act before November as changes must be announced 12 months before the next general election for filling of the offices. Fact is, the new system must be authorized this year because under a legislative approved—but yet to be accepted by Gov. Paul Johnson—'open - election' plan next year's elections will be in October and not August as now specified.

The pending 'open election' system eliminates political party primaries for nominations with all candidates running on the same ballot, but with identifying party affiliation or independent status. The two high candidates enter a runoff three weeks later.

EVEN WITH countywide balloting on beat offices, some legislators anticipate the election of Negroes to county offices. That is likely in at least 19 counties where Negroes of voting age outnumber the whites. However, Negro registration, like that of the whites, has not kept pace with those qualified for elector status.

Some legislators are also predicting the possibility of Negroes winning legislative seats in next year's elections. In several since enactment of the Federal voting rights act and assignment of Federal commissioners to register Negroes, the complexion of the voter has changed.

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NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1,

Senate in Mississippi Kills Bill To Move Negroes Out of State

JACKSON, Miss., May 30 (AP)—A bill to relocate low-income Mississippi Negroes in other parts of the nation at state expense was put aside Monday by the state Senate.

A 19-to-15 vote to postpone the idea indefinitely ended all possibility that the measure would come up again before the session ends in about two weeks.

The bill, one of its authors, Robert Crook of Ruleville, said, "was designed to assist those persons in our state who have been displaced from agricultural work because of modern farm technology."

"It would be purely voluntary on the part of those who have a low per-capita earning because of their unskilled status," he said.

Mr. Crook never identified "these persons" as negroes but he left no doubt of his meaning.

"The single most fundamental problem that Mississippi has faced in the past is that certain of its citizens are nonproductive and primarily users instead of producers, he said.

"That is the reason that our taxes are among the highest in the United States and that our percapita earning is the lowest."

Mr. Crook said a relocation commission would have assisted persons "who desire to take advantage of better than 50 per cent higher welfare payments in Northern and Western states and to utilize Federal homestead lands that are in great abundance."

"This will also allow certain of our other states an equal opportunity to carry th ecross that the Southern states have had to carry for the last hundred years," he said.

"Most certainly the great critics of the South in the North will join hands with liberal Congressmen and help in assisting these people to become useful and productive members of their home states," he declared.

Senator Ed H[illegible]y of Canton, an area of recent civil rights disturbances and large turnouts of Negro voters, opposed the bill.

"We are all aware of what this bill intends to do, but do you think it is constitutional for public funds to be used for personal use as moving expenses?" he asked.

Senator George Yarbrough of Red Banks, president pro-tem of the Senate, took the floor to answer yes.

Bill Carraway of Leland in the deep Delta area, also opposed the measure. He asked: "Have you got a reciprocal agreement with other states where they can send us some of theirs?"

John Clark Love of Kosciusko called the bill "bad" and said he didn't know "of a single community in Mississippi that wouldn't help a family move."

Paul Lee of Carthage, who is a candidate for Congress, said: "You're coming up here today to say we ought to spend $150,000 to send people out of Mississippi when we have jobs for every able bodied man and woman in the state.

"This is a bad bill. . . . The fellows that vote for this bill had better start thinking seriously."

If the bill had passed, a $150,000 financing measure would have been offered to fund a relocation commission.

Ex-Marine Dies in Plane Crash

Special to The New York Times

FAIRFIELD, N. J., May 31—A 28-year-old student pilot was killed today when the plane he was flying crashed on a nearby golf course soon after taking off from Curtiss-Wright Airport here. The pilot was James Cheatham of 388 Orange Road, Montclair, a Marine Corps veteran who had taken up flying recently. The rented plane, a single-engined Cessna 150, plunged nearly six feet into the ground near the 16th tee of Green Brook Country Club shortly after 8:30 A.M.

PHONE PE 6-5100 . . . OPEN LATE THURSDAY NIGH

MISSISSIPPI

Poverty Meet Set Saturday

Jackson C-L 6/4/66

Poverty programs now in operation in the state will be discussed here Saturday at a statewide conference designed to inform Mississippians about federally - sponsored benefits.

The public conference is slated at 9 a. m. in the Heidelberg, according to Kenneth L. Dean, director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, which is sponsoring the meeting.

A dozen government officials will outline the program's progress and goals, Dean said, and answer questons about poverty programs in Mississippi.

"Deep in the Heart of Dixie" is the theme of the conference, because, in Dean's words, "In the heart of every Southerner there is a desire to help the victims of poverty."

Counties Ready to Decide Position on Legal Liquor

6/5/66

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to The Journal-Constitution

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JACKSON, Miss., June 4 — Mississippi is getting set for county legalization of liquor after 58 years of statewide prohibition and 22 years of official flouting of the statute with taxes giving the contraband quasi-legal recognition. Officials expect at least 20 of the 82 counties to ultimately vote from under the 1908 prohibition law which will remain in force in those political subdivisions maintaining the status quo.

The law, signed two weeks ago by Gov. Paul Johnson, becomes operative July 1. It permits 20 per cent or 1,500 electors of a county so desiring to petition for an election to vote from under the 1908 prohibition law.

Counties taking no action will remain dry and Gov. Johnson has emphasized that with the added enforcement authority—use of the highway patrol — given him they will "be dry without any compromise whatsoever."

First elections are expected the latter part of July as the law authorizes the county boards of supervisors to call one 15 days after receipt of a petition. Some counties are ready to circulate petitions as soon as the law goes into effect in order to secure an early vote.

ADMINISTRATION and enforcement of the law are vested in the Tax Commission which has the exclusive wholesale rights in the state. It will issue licenses and permits to retail package stores and operators of hotels, motels, restaurants, cafes, private clubs and lounges for by-the-drink sales solely within municipalities and tax commission "certified" resort areas of counties voting to legalize. A "certified" resort area is one with adequate law enforcement.

The first official action of the three-member governor - appointed tax commission looking to activation of the law was the selection of Earl Evans Jr., of Canton, former FBI special agent and one-time legislator, as director of the Alcoholic Beverage Control division created under the law. Mr. Evans resigned as director of the Commission of Budget and Accounting to take the directorship.

Meanwhile, the legislature has authorized the tax commission to borrow up the $3 million for its initial inventory of liquor which will be repaid from retail sales. Warehouses for the state's stock are being secured, with the first expected in Jackson at the Central Farmers Market where facilities are available.

AN ESTIMATED 40 agents are expected to be under Mr. Evans command. He is also authorized to call on the governor for use of the highway patrol in enforcement of the new law.

Officials said the state will not buy the estimated $1 million in liquor stocks held by the 18 wholesalers who have been recognized by the state and liquor on hand in the 1,700 retail outlets from which the state has been collecting $4.5 million annually in two special taxes — a 10 per cent import levy and a special nine per cent sales tax.

Fiscal officials estimate the state will take in $16.650 million in revenue in the approaching biennial period starting July 1. However, after deducting expenses of the wholesale operation and enforcement provisions, only $3.3 million new money is expected to accrue to the general fund in the initial two-year period. Profits from wholesale operations have been estimated at $6.880 million.

A TAX BILL which will replace the existing levies is to reach the legislative floors in the coming week —the 23rd of the general assembly. It proposes $7.20 a case excise tax on distilled spirits, $3.60 a case on sparkling wine and champagne and $1.32 a case on regular wines, exclusive of the state's 3½ per cent sales tax.

Gov. Johnson assured Mr. Evans the full cooperation in enforcing the law from the state level and hailed his appointment as "one of the strong original keys for the prospects of an impartial administration of the division."

MISSISSIPPI

VOTE CALLED 'FINE' BY FREEDOM PARTY

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., June 8—Encouraged by what it called "a fine showing" in Tuesday's primary elections in Mississippi, the Freedom Democratic party said it would run Negroes for county and state offices next year.

"We are not going to be like Alabama," said the Rev. Edwin King, chaplain at Tougaloo College, who was an unsuccessful candidate for a Democratic nomination to Congress. "We expect to elect 15 to 20 members of the State Legislature, four or five sheriffs, and a number of county officials."

Mr. King, who is white, is the Freedom party's "National Democratic Committeeman." He regularly attends meetings of the National Committee of the Democratic party, but he is not allowed to vote.

He said Negro leaders were somewhat disappointed that the total number of Negro voters yesterday in Mississippi did not come up to early estimates of 50,000. The shooting of James H. Meredith in northern Mississippi on Monday and the presence of armed deputy sheriffs near polling places kept many Negroes from voting, Mr. King said.

Many Negroes, he said, could not be convinced that the deputy sheriffs were assigned to keep order at the polls.

Freedom party candidates carried at least two counties in the elections yesterday that saw Senator James O. Eastland and four Representatives renominated.

Terrorists Kill 5 in Aden

MISSISSIPPI

Armed Pair Seized In Path of King

AC 6/9/66

By JAMES K. CAZALAS

COLDWATER, Miss. (UPI)—Police arrested two armed white men Wednesday when they stalled their truck in the path of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his 150-man Mississippi March.

The men were taken away, the truck moved and the marchers swung on to a point just outside Senatobia, Miss., where they broke up for the day.

They walked a total of six miles on the resumption of the 200-mile march from Memphis, Tenn., to Jackson which James Meredith started Sunday. King took it over after Meredith was wounded by shotgun blasts Monday.

The march got started late because of a furor over Meredith's release from William Bowld Hospital in Memphis. Negro leaders claimed he was evicted.

Meredith collapsed in tears while reading a rambling statement to newsmen, was taken out of the hospital in a wheelchair. He was to return to his New York City home Thursday to recuperate.

The day's brief march began late in the afternoon, when King led his followers over the Coldwater River bridge, with dozens of state, county and federal officers guarding them. This was about eight miles south of the spot where Meredith was shot.

Half a mile beyond the bridge, they walked into the little village of Coldwater.

Two white men in a pickup truck drove toward the line of marchers and stopped the truck only six feet in front of King.

Several state troopers rushed up and ordered the truck out of the way.

"I won't move," the driver said. The troopers yanked open the doors, grabbed the men and pulled them out. On the seat of the truck was a .22-caliber rifle.

It was the only incident of the brief march down Highway 51. About 15 of the marchers were white, and near the end of the line a nattily-dressed Negro man carried a small boy.

The march took up one lane of traffic, while state troopers funneled all cars into another lane.

Negro leaders charged that Meredith was given only five minutes to get out of the hospital Wednesday.

Hospital officials said Meredith's doctor signed papers authorizing his discharge Wednesday morning. He had been hospitalized recovering from the effects of about 20 16-gauge shotgun pellets.

Meredith's attorney, A. W. Willis, said that with only five minutes remaining before the checkout deadline, officials went to Meredith and told him "we expect to have our room."

David Hoxie, the administrator, claimed Negro leaders, including King, demanded that Meredith be treated "like the President of the United States."

RACES IN ACCORD IN FAYETTE, MISS.

M/Mississippi

Boycott Ends as Integration Comes to Rural Area

6/10/66 NYT

FAYETTE, Miss., June 9 (AP) — This tiny southwest Mississippi town appears to have surmounted its many racial problems.

A Negro economic boycott, which severely crippled Fayette's white merchants, is over. A long list of Negro grievances have been met by the whites.

White and Negro leaders worked out the problems over a period of months. Announcement of the settlement was fade yesterday.

Fayette is the county seat of rural Jefferson Parish, which has 2,489 whites and 10,142 Negroes, according to the 1960 census.

Stores have been fully desegregated over the period and Negroes have been hired in many establishments.

Civil rights "patrols" that jotted down names of boycott-breakers are gone. Plate-glass windows marred by soap-scrawled signs announcing "this store under boycott" have been washed.

Grievances Are Solved

Charles Evers, state field director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said that a 19-point grievance list, presented to the town last December, has been completely resolved. M Evers made the announcement at a meeting with town officials in City Hall.

"No longer will there be talk of what's best for the Negro or what's best for the white," Mr. Evers said. "We'll now discuss what's best for Fayette and Jefferson County. We're going to start working for what's right."

Mayor R. J. Allen said:

"What we need now is a little bit of forgiveness on each side. I would like to see Jefferson County as a place where the white and colored work together. Let's go forward as friends."

City parks and playgrounds have been desegregated, as are all public buildings. Nine of 10 service stations have closed the third rest room that formerly was reserved for Negroes.

The police force has been integrated and is now composed of one white patrolman and one Negro. Both have equal authority.

Mr. Evers said that city employes have been instructed to use courtesy titles when addressing Negroes, and merchants have promised that their workers will use such titles also.

"We're not going to answer to 'shine, boy, auntie, uncle, or such anymore" Mr. Evers said.

Roads in Negro districts will be improved and Negro funerals will receive a police escort when requested by the family of the deceased.

Mr. Evers, who last month purchased a commercial lot in Fayette, said that he would erect a grocery store, but doubted that he would have any white trade. "But, I'll never discriminate against any white person who wants work," he said.

Treasury Aide Resigns

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 9 — President Johnson has accepted the resignation of Merlin N. Trued as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs. No successor has been selected. Mr. Trued will join the Central National Bank of Cleveland Wednesday as senior vice-president for monetary affairs.

MISSISSIPPI

Rights Leader Fears March Will Hurt Dixie Negroes

AC 6/11/66

By GENE ROBERTS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

SARDIS, Miss. — The civil rights march to Jackson encountered sharp criticism Friday from a Mississippi Negro leader, who says he wants assurance that it will not be used to "exploit the state for money and publicity."

"I don't want this to turn into another Selma where everyone goes home with the cameramen and leaves us holding the bag," said Charles Evers, Mississippi field director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.

He charged that "someone" had signed his name to a march "manifesto" without his permission after he had declined to sign the document "because it was too critical of President Johnson."

"And I feel," he added, "that the money that's going to be spent on the march would be more beneficial to Negroes if it were spent on voter registration and voter education."

Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, defended the march which was organized after James Meredith was wounded while on a trek from Memphis to Jackson to dramatize an appeal for increased Negro voter registration.

"This will be the best thing that ever happened for Negroes in Mississippi," McKissick said. "It will show the plight of Negroes in Mississippi and help them stand up and show they are not afraid."

Meanwhile, civil rights marchers and Mississippi State Highway Patrolmen smoothed over a tense encounter Friday as both groups began trying to put some organization into the long trek into Jackson.

Tempers flared early in the day after patrolmen refused to let cars driven by civil rights

Continued on Page 2, Column 6

Rights Leader Fears March Will Harm Dixie Negroes

Continued from Page 1

marchers and newsmen stop within a mile of the marching column. The patrolmen said the step was necessary to keep motorists moving freely on Highway 51.

Marchers complained that the traffic discipline was so severe that it was preventing them from getting doctors and nurses, supplies and march leaders to the marching scene.

The marchers broke ranks and crowded around troopers who were ordering Robert Green of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to move on. Ralph Abernethy, one of Dr. Martin Luther King's top aides in the conference, succeeded in getting the marchers back into formation and then quickly arranged a conference with Charles Snodgrass, head of the investigative branch of the highway patrol.

Snodgrass complained that the marchers had been heckling his troopers, and Abernethy contended that the troopers had been calling the marchers "Niggers."

"I promised that I would take every step to keep the marchers nonviolent and he (Snodgrass) said that he would caution his men," Abernethy said.

MARCHERS DETOUR FOR VOTING DRIVE

Mississippi

Help 50 Mississippi Negroes to Register—Trek a Third of the Way to Jackson

6/12/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

BATESVILLE, Miss., June 11 —The civil rights march through Mississippi sparked political interest today among Negroes in Panola County.

The marchers rounded up 200 to 300 local Negroes, walked to the 88-year-old county courthouse and persuaded more than 50 Negroes to register to vote.

That was a small triumph for the marchers because Negro registration had been lagging here.

After a spurt of interest last year, applicants to register had dwindled to only a handful each month this year.

The hero of the day was a 106-year-old retired farmer named El Fondren. He walked shakily into the registrar's office leaning on a cane. He emerged 10 minutes later and was hoisted to the shoulders of two young Negroes and carried into the cheering throng.

Painless Registration

A civil rights worker asked him how it felt to register.

"It's all right," Mr. Fondren replied, seemingly surprised that it had been painless. "Registering is all right."

The marchers left Batesville at 11 A.M., as the sun began to bake the asphalt of U.S. 51, and headed south toward Jackson.

They had spent the night in local homes. This morning they met at a Negro church and walked about three-fourths of a mile to the courthouse, picking up local Negroes on the way.

After getting the local residents registered, the marchers walked about a mile and a half to U.S. 51 to resume their demonstration.

Outside the courthouse, the crowds were addressed by Rob-

Continued on Page 82, Column 1

MARCHERS HELP 50 REGISTER TO VOTE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

ert Green, an aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"This," Mr. Green said, "is the very courthouse of all the evil that has confronted Negroes throughout the South for years and years. This is the place where Negroes came only to pay taxes."

The march passed the 60-mile mark today. It began Sunday at Memphis as a personal pilgrimage of James H. Meredith, the Negro who desegregated the University of Mississippi in 1962.

Mr. Meredith was shot and wounded Monday near Hernando, Miss. He expects to rejoin the march, now being conducted by civil rights activists, late next week.

Some leaders of the march now think it may take three more weeks to reach Jackson —163 miles from here. The marchers intend to stop at several county seats and encourage voter registration as they did here.

Despite the recent lag, Negroes registered in Panola County more successfully than in most Mississippi counties during the last two years.

The county has about 7,000 whites and 7,000 Negroes of voting age.

A spokesman for the Justice Department said that in April the county had 6,419 whites and 2,060 Negroes registered.

Relaxed Atmosphere

The Mississippi march thus far has been more relaxed than the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965.

Where the Alabama marchers were protected by the United States Army, the Mississippi marchers are dependent on state highway patrolmen and local policemen.

Despite a few outbreaks of hostility between the high spirited civil rights activists and the grim-faced troopers, there has been little tension and not much evidence that the marchers are afraid. White hecklers have been few.

The whites have expressed their disgust in other ways.

Virtually all the white restaurants in Batesville were closed yesterday as the march entered the town.

A leaflet was distributed during the night bearing the signature of the Ku Klux Klan. The leaflet declared, "We have been invaded by the biggest band of renegades in this country today."

However, the Klan urged nonviolence.

"The best way to deal with this bunch of scum and alley rats is strictly a hands-off policy," the leaflet said. "Remember these people are just waiting for you to do something to one of them so they will have reason to raise all the hell they want to. Do not do anything to cause this."

Hundreds of Negroes watched this morning's procession from the shade of great oak, walnut and magnolia trees on Batesville's Panola Street. Many joined the march, and their courage was rewarded with applause from the marchers.

"Come on, don't just stand there," called the recruiters from the march. "Join your brothers."

The march was led today by two Mississippi Negroes, both officials of the predominantly Negro Mississippi Freedom Democratic party.

They were Robert Miles of Batesville, chairman of the Panola County Freedom Democratic party, and the Rev. J. C. Killingsworth of Enterprise, chairman of the Clarke County Freedom Democratic Party.

Governor's Plane for Meredith

Claude Sterrett, who was with James H. Meredith when he was shot, said here last night that Mr. Meredith would return to Mississippi on Thursday in an airplane to be provided by Governor Rockefeller.

Mr. Sterret made the statement before speaking at a mass street rally at 127th Street and Nenox Avenue. According to police estimates, 300 persons attended the rally "to protest the brutal shooting of James Meredith." The rally was sponsored by the Community Council on Housing.

Mr. Sterrett, who described himself as an associate of Mr. Meredith, said that Governor Rockefeller first offered the use of the plane to Mr. Meredith's wife, June, after the shooting. However, after Mr. Meredith returned to New York, the Governor repeated the offer to him, according to Mr. Serrett.

In his talk at the rally, Mr. Sterrett called for volunteers to accompany Mr. Meredith on his renewed march in Mississippi. He said that Mr. Meredith would require that the marchers "must be black and must be men."

Mr. Sterrett added that "Meredith wants you to know if he receives Federal aid and protection he will not carry a gun."

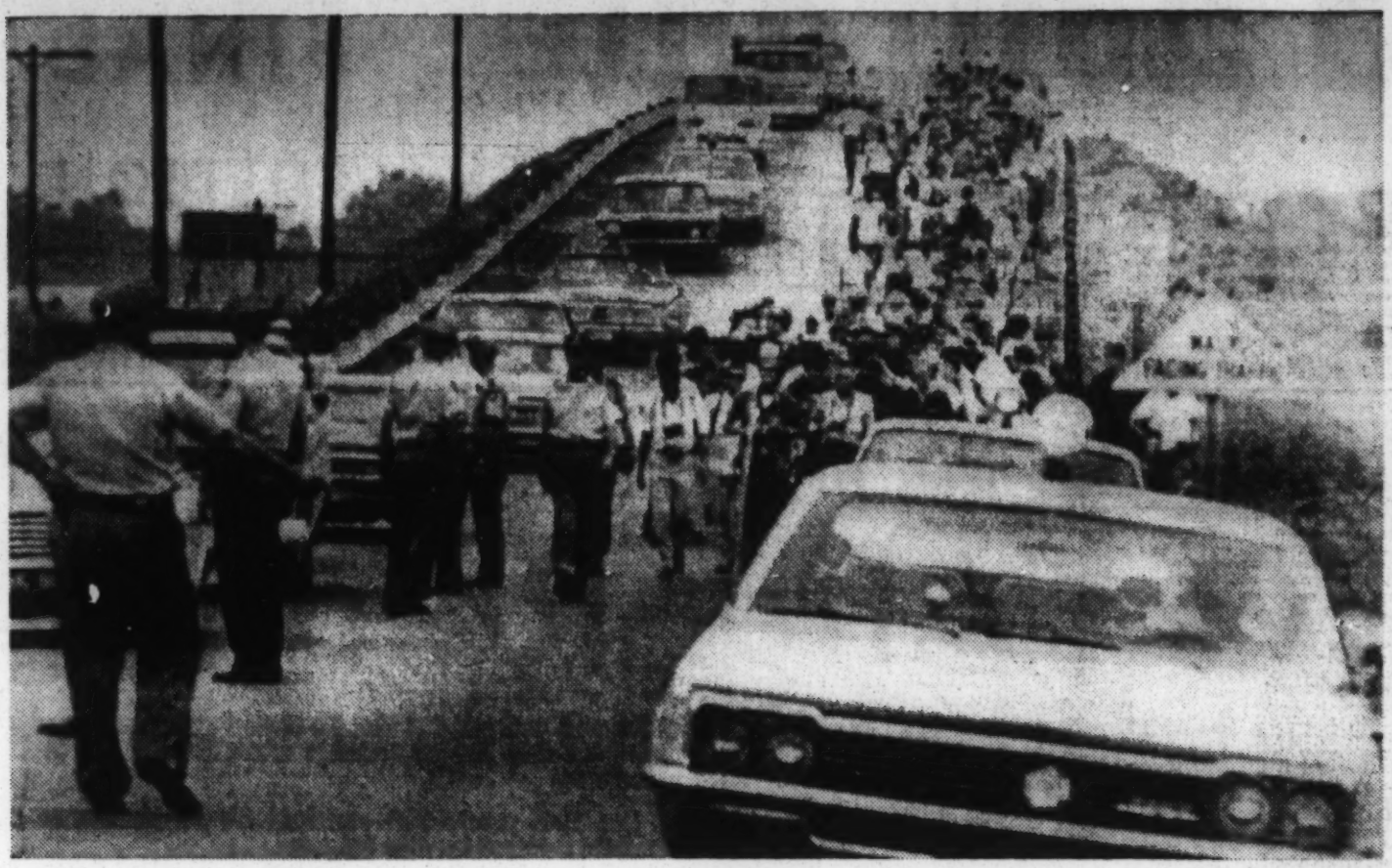
However, Mr. Sterrett also said, "We must join forces if necessary and take arms—we are at war."

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, asked the rally to "pledge yourself to walk down the road in Mississippi if you really believe. They're waiting to see how many from Harlem will come down and march. The only way to get freedom is to take it—no one is going to give it to you."

Associated Press Wirephoto

CENTENARIAN HAILED FOR REGISTERING: El Fondren being hoisted to shoulders of participants in the James Meredith march yesterday at Batesville, Miss., after he registered as a voter. He is a retired farmer.

MISSISSIPPI



Associated Press Wirephoto

TWO HIGHWAY PATROL CARS AND WALKING PATROLMEN LEAD WAY FOR MARCHERS
Walking in Mississippi on U.S. Highway 51; Officers Route Traffic Around Them

Negro Leader Questions Aims of Meredith March

BATESVILLE, Miss., June 11 (AP)—The Meredith "march against fear" staged a whooping voter registration rally—and stirred new debate among Negro leaders.

In a new tactic, the 250 Negroes and whites spent two hours in a heavily guarded, hand-clapping, singing demonstration in front of the white columned Panola County Courthouse in Batesville.

Leaving a line of Negroes awaiting to be registered, the column then swung out of town, back to U.S. 51, headed south toward Jackson on the seventh day of the trek. Jackson, the state capital, is 154 miles from Batesville.

"I don't feel marches from Memphis to Jackson are going to get Negroes registered," said

Johnson, Gov. Paul Johnson and Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach in telegrams that "We are going to offer protection (to the marchers) since the officers of the law won't give it."

About 40 highway patrolmen were among the police that guarded the Batesville rally. Groups of whites stood quietly watching as the demonstrators sang and clapped in the warm sunshine.

Negro leaders lifted Sam Flowers, a retired sharecropper, and carried him into the registrar's office as the first appli-

Christian Leadership Conference, meeting with Chicago civil rights leaders, said, "the cowardly attempt on the life of James Meredith has created a national emergency which has focused our immediate energies on Mississippi.

"It has always been basic to the civil rights movement that any act of violence toward the movement of civil rights workers must be met with a massive display of nonviolent direct action. Thus we must complete the march Meredith so bravely began," King said.

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U.S. FLIERS TO MEET REDS ON MOON?

SOFIA, Bulgaria, June 11 (AP)—Russia's Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space, predicts that the Soviet Union will beat the United States in the race to the moon.

"When U.S. spacemen go to the moon, they will surely meet Soviet people there," Gagarin said in an interview with the Bulgarian newspaper Narodna Armiya here. Gagarin came to Sofia for the seventh congress of the Communist-led World Federation of Democratic Youth.

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"I don't feel marches from Memphis to Jackson are going to get Negroes registered," said Charles Evers, state director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"INSTEAD OF spending all that money on airplane tickets and campouts, we should spend it on registration," he added. "That's what Meredith was shot for."

Evers, the dominant civil rights leader in Mississippi for more than a year, made his comments in Natchez, Miss., as the rally was under way in Batesville.

Told of his views, Negro leaders with the marchers promptly disagreed. Robert Green, education director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said:

"I would say this: We registered about 50 to 70 people in Batesville and I think the purpose of the march is to assist Negroes in overcoming the fear that has been so much a part of their lives." The county circuit court clerk said 53 Negroes registered.

James H. Meredith, who broke the racial bar at the University of Mississippi in 1962, started the march with a few companions in an effort to spur registration. He was wounded by birdshot near Hernando and is recuperating in the East.

THE MAN CHARGED with the shooting, Aubrey J. Norvell, 40, of Memphis, Saturday was granted a habeas corpus hearing to be held in Holly Springs next Tuesday, his attorney said. Norvell, charged with assault with intent to kill, had been jailed in lieu of $25,000 bond.

A militant Negro organization, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, told President Johnson, Gov. Paul Johnson and Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach in telegrams that "We are going to offer protection (to the marchers) since the officers of the law won't give it."

About 40 highway patrolmen were among the police that guarded the Batesville rally. Groups of whites stood quietly watching as the demonstrators sang and clapped in the warm sunshine.

Negro leaders lifted Sam Flowers, a retired sharecropper, and carried him into the registrar's office as the first applicant—following with El Fondren, who gave his age as "106 and nine months."

Circuit Court Clerk Ike Shankle, who doubles as registrar, asked Flowers his age. "I was born in August," said Flowers. But he didn't know which year. When he gave his age as 68, Shankle said, "that would make it 1897, is that about right?"

FLOWERS, unable to write, signed his name on the registrar with an "X."

Before he was hoisted up for the triumphant return to the crowd outside, Fondren, leaning on his cane, walked into the sheriff's office where a clerk asked: "Have you come for your dinner?"

She reached into a drawer, got out some silver and gave it to the old man. It was pretty much routine procedure, he said.

Mrs. Hazel Weed, the clerk, said it has been a long standing practice in her office "to give a little money from our Coke fund to those old folks who come into town once or twice a year. We've know these old Negroes all our lives. They don't have much. It helps a little."

Every one in the office contributes to the fund, she said.

She gave Fondren 50 cents. Mrs. Weed said the man's great granddaughter telephoned her later to say that Fondren is 107 years old.

King Postpones Rally in Chicago

CHICAGO, June 11 (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King has postponed a giant civil rights rally and march on Chicago's City Hall from June 26 to July 10 because of the "national emergency" in Mississippi.

The head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, meeting with Chicago civil rights leaders, said, "the cowardly attempt on the life of James Meredith has created a national emergency which has focused our immediate energies on Mississippi.

"It has always been basic to the civil rights movement that any act of violence toward the movement of civil rights workers must be met with a massive display of nonviolent direct action. Thus we must complete the march Meredith so bravely began," King said.

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Onward They March and It's No Fun

MISSISSIPPI

By JONATHAN RANDAL

Special to The New York Times

GREENWOOD, Miss., June 17 — The Mississippi whites come in the evenings to stare at the two 80-by-40-foot rented tents and mutter about "the circus."

Pitched almost daily, the tents have lodged hundreds of Negro and white civil rights activists participating in what has come to be called the "Meredith March" from Memphis to Jackson, Miss.

"This is no picnic — it's a grind," said Hal York, a 35-year-old waiter who took a leave of absence from Lindy's Restaurant in New York to join the march the morning after James H. Meredith was shot 11 days ago.

The march is not supposed to be fun, and it isn't. The rights workers return exhausted from a day of marching along hot Mississippi highways or from voter registration drives among frightened Negroes in hostile towns in the Mississippi delta.

Fitful Sleep

Packed into their stuffy tents — one for men, the other for women — the marchers sleep fitfully on blankets or in sleeping bags, often awakened by noisy late arrivals.

For many Northern liberal whites and a few Northern Negroes, the march provides a moral togetherness.

"When I'm marching I like myself," said Mrs. Barbara Kay, a Negro civil rights worker from Englewood, N. J. "It's more real, than playing bridge or having cocktails at home." One long-time civil rights aide said:

"The whites have brainwashed themselves to accept everything. They don't complain much."

Mail deliveries and telephone calls home are the exceptions for the marchers, who are isolated for their own good from the hostile white community.

Luggage is misplaced. Meals occasionally arrive late. Cars fail to show up for missions. Showers and baths are nonexistent at many stopovers.

Yet, discomfort and confusion are borne with the dash of combat infantrymen who are too proud to wear their decorations.

Nor have the white marchers bridled at what has been described as "Negro paternalism." One evening the Negro woman in charge of the kitchen detail explained to a mainly white audience in the tent that they should no longer throw away plastic spoons and forks.

"If I'm saying anything to offend you, she she said, "it's time you packed up because that would mean you are not sincere."

How many marchers have been offended and left is impossible to determine. Both local and out-of-state marchers drift in and out. Some arrive in groups of as many as 80. Others come alone. They stay for a few hours, or a few days, or join the small hard core determined to march into Jackson on June 26.

The hard core is formed around three major civil rights groups—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—which are represented permanently by field workers and intermittently by their leaders. Rival rights leaders move in and out of the march and almost never spend the night at camp.

The rank and file includes a sprinkling of white and Negro clergymen, a couple who want to "free Washington, D.C.," at least one Marxist and a 23-year-old girl artist who sketches the marchers.

Relatively few participants of last year's march in Selma, Ala., have appeared. The most prominent are the one-legged James Leatherer, who marches a few miles on crutches every day, and Henry Smith, a Mississippi Negro who wears his rose-colored singlet given the Selma demonstrators who marched from beginning to end.

Trudging along the left-hand shoulder of the road, the marchers are preceded by air-conditioned Mississippi highway patrol cars and followed by a truck bearing mobile toilets, a station wagon used as an ambulance and more patrol cars.

Marchers' outfits vary from T-shirts, jeans and Bermuda shorts to madras jackets, seersucker suits and even an old tuxedo worn by a Chicagoan.

Many Straw Hats

They wear an assortment of headgear that includes many straw hats and handkerchiefs and one Vietnamese peasant's straw hat sported by the wife of a Canadian professor.

Army surplus canteens slung on Sam Browne belts dangle from many hips, and almost everyone has taken to carrying a towel to wipe away the perspiration.

Many men wear heavy duty brown boots. The women favor sneakers and sandals, although three pretty Negro girl students from Rust College in Mississippi made a brief appearance in high heels.

Their departure from the march was greeted with laughter. But most of the time the sun is too hot for much laughter or singing.

Dr. Alfred Klinger of Chicago and his aides keep moving up and down the line handing out salt pills and sun tan lotion from what he calls his "psychological refreshment stand."

Still, one Negro civil rights worker managed to draw laughs when he made up an impromptu verse that went:

"All you Northern liberal
white folks
With all that excess fat,
A few days on the Mississippi
highway
Will sure take care of that."

Most of the marching songs are old civil rights standards by now. But some white marchers were momentarily upset when a Negro began singing a song apparently based on "Burn, Baby, Burn," the anti-white battle cry of Negroes in last year's Watts riot in Los Angeles.

The whites relaxed as the song, told in ballad form, turned into a plea to Negroes to educate themselves. It ended:

"Burn, baby, burn the midnight oil. Learn, baby, learn."

Marchers Scream For 'Black Power'

AC 6/18/66
MISSISSIPPI

By JAMES K. CAZALAS

GREENWOOD, Miss. (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and black nationalist leader Stokely Carmichael led a 600-man march on this delta town's courthouse Friday with their followers screaming for "black power."

King, who returned from Chicago to rejoin the Mississippi "freedom" walkers, told the noisy throng:

"We are tired of being beaten, murdered and shot down. This community happens to be a symbol. It was here that Randolph Blackwell of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was shot at, and we are here today to tell you we are not afraid."

Carmichael added his voice to King's.

"We have been marching too long. We have been beaten too long. We have been jailed too long."

On the way out of town they had to pass a gasoline station where an attendant was hosing down the service area. Some of the marchers stepped onto station property and as they did so the attendant lifted the hose and doused them with water.

He then raced into the station and returned with a billy club sticking from one hip pocket and a pistol jammed in the other.

Carmichael, who was near the rear of the line of march, started walking toward the attendant with an irate expression, but two highway patrol cars quickly rolled up and the troopers told Carmichael to go on.

The troopers talked to the attendant but did not arrest him.

Carmichael told his followers they should organize themselves so they can use their political power.

MARCHERS STAGE MISSISSIPPI RALLY

6/18/66

Dr. King Addresses 1,000 From Courthouse Steps

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

GREENWOOD, Miss., June 17—Mississippi civil rights marchers led 800 Greenwood Negroes on a protest march to the Leflore County courthouse today and for the second consecutive day had a close brush with violence.

The trouble came when a white service station attendant turned a water hose on the marchers, then ran and got his pistol and billyclub after a white marcher had yanked the hose from his hand and sprayed him with it.

More than a hundred Negro children fled screaming down Main Street at the sight of the pistol and club, but older marchers crowded around the gun-wielding man.

Andrew Young, one of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr's top rights aides, rushed into the milling crowd and persuaded the angry marchers to return to the march column.

Newsmen also had a close encounter with danger. It developed when the drivers of a truck that carries newsmen ahead of the marchers became curious over the contents of a bubble gum carton that had lain on the back of the truck for two days.

Poisonous Snake Killed

The driver untied the string, opened the carton and leaped back in fright as a two-and-a-half-foot water mocassin darted from the package and slithered near newsmen. Reporters and cameramen quickly killed the poisonous snake.

Tension again developed when Leflore County sheriff's deputies shoved marchers from the lawn of the Leflore County courthouse to prevent them from holding a rally at the base of the Confederate memorial.

Dr. King turned the marchers away from the grass after deputies had begun unsheathing their nightsticks.

"We're ready to let you fill up all the graveyards in Leflore County," Hosea Williams of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference told deputies before turning away with Dr. King.

"I'm so tired, so tired of all this," said Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Two hundred marchers accompanied by 800 Greenwood Negroes, then crowded onto a concrete walkway and spilled over into the street to hear addresses by Dr. King and other rights leaders from the courthouse steps.

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Helping the sheriff's deputies keep the marchers away from the Confederate memorial were six Negroes who townspeople said were trustees from the county jail. Sheriff's deputies denied it.

Many marchers and local Negroes were chanting "Black power, Black power," a cry taught them by Mr. Carmichael at a rally last night when he said: "Every courthouse in Mississippi ought be be burned down to get rid of the dirt."

But on the courthouse steps, Mr. Carmichael was less angry and said:

"The only way we can change things in Mississippi is with the ballot. That's Black power."

Dr. King Cites 'Black Power'

Dr. King, who had avoided use of the term, said "black power" was "the ability to make the power structure say 'yes' when it wants to say 'no.'"

"When we get this power," he said, "we will try to achieve a society of brotherhood."

Mr. Williams said the ballot also had other uses.

"Get that vote and put black faces in those uniforms," he said. "Get that vote and whip those policemen across the head with it."

Then he looked at the sheriff's deputies and said, "If we can die in Vietnam, we can die in Mississippi."

At another point in his speech, he turned to newsmen and said, "I don't think the newsmen can interpret me because they aren't black."

After the rally, as the marchers were walking through the downtown area on their way to Itta Beena, the service station attendant began spraying them with his water hose. Hal York, a white marcher from New York, grabbed the hose and turned it on the attendant, who refused to identify himself.

The police told the attendant to put up his pistol and nightstick, but no arrest was made.

Twice today, Byron de la Beckwith, whose two trials on charges of having murdered Medgar Evans, a rights leader, ended in hung juries, drove up to newsmen and asked if they had seen Charles Evers.

Charles Evers, Mississippi field director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is the brother of the slain man. At a rally late last night, Mr. Evers noted that Greenwood was the home of Mr. Beckwith and said:

"If I ever lay my eyes on him, if I ever get my hands on him, he'll be through harassing Negroes."

Oklahoma Marchers Tire

CHICKASHA, Okla., June 17 (AP)—A dwindling band of rain-soaked, footasore rights demonstrators switched to cars today to complete their 100-mile march from Oklahoma City to Lawton, Okla.

"I never thought it would be this tough," said State Senator E. Melvin Porter, a leader of the group.

About 70 demonstrators, mostly Negro teen-agers, left

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JUNE 19, 1966.

MOVEMENT

Mississippi March Puts Rights Drive Into Evangelist Phase

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

GREENWOOD, Miss., June 18 — As the civil rights march through Mississippi moved into the state's "cotton country" this week, a smiling white marcher looked at all the confusion about her.

"It's a grand show," said Anna Barth, 23 years old, of Chicago, "and it might drive some of the fear out of Mississippi."

Few of the marchers would argue with the observation made by Miss Barth, who is the granddaughter of Karl Barth, the theologian.

It has become increasingly clear this week that civil rights leaders, who once moved from town to town like circuit riders, have no entered their third evangelist phase.

Their foray into Mississippi can lay only a tenuous claim of being a march. Instead, as it ends its 12th day, it is becoming the oldest floating civil rights movement in the business.

It is unlikely that even one marcher will be able to say that he trod the entire, circuitous route to Jackson from the spot near Memphis where James H. Meredith was shot on June 6. At times the march has dwindled to as few as 34 marchers, while 100 to 200 civil rights volunteers fanned out ahead to act as advance men and to urge Negroes to come out and join the march, to attend the nighttime rallies, and to register and vote.

But at times it has swelled to as many as 1,000 singing, shouting marchers as Negroes flocked out of their homes to join in the walking or to crowd around the two circus tents that the marchers erect at night for sleeping.

It's a new concept—a civil rights movement on foot — and no one planned it. It simply evolved.

Today the march began as usual, with some marching and others fanning out ahead of the column. Not far from the starting point two and a half miles from Itta Bena, the marchers passed a falming cross—the symbol of the Ku Klux Klan—and some of them crowded about it to pose for newspaper photographers and television cameramen.

Remain Impassive

Every day the marchers attempt to demonstrate to Mississippi Negroes that they are not afraid of the white man. Twice they have encountered

groes must make allof the major policy decisions in civil rights activity and do the organizing of Negroes into a powerful political power base in Mississippi, other parts of the South and in Northern slums.

While most of the civil rights organizations still believed white liberals could be useful to the movement at times, the student committee (known as "Snick") doubts the wisdom of allowing whites to participate in the march, and feels that if they want to help they should organize poor whites and draw them into a loose political coalition with Negroes.

Complaint on oMney

This has led Dan Akron, a 17-year-old white youth from Biloxi, Miss., and Chicago, to mill about the campsite at night complaining that "Snick has cut me out."

Sitting near him yesterday was James Phipps, a young Mississippi Negro liberal, who complained, "If yo usay a couple of radical words around Northern white liberals they cut off the money they been sending to the movement."

"But we ain't going to win our freedom from the Southern white man," he said, "and then loose it agai nto the Northern white man."

Marchers come, spend a couple of days around the marching column and the campsite, and then pass on again, saying that they hope to return agai non Jue 26 for the entrance into Jackson.

Among the marchers have been Mrs. Aleen Kessler, a 72-year-old white housewife from Cleveland, who said she has been wanting to march for years but did not do it until "the shooting of Meredith became the last straw." Hank Werner of the Milwaukee Organizing Committee — a peace group—drifted in and out.

A. Robert Cohen, 23, of Philadelphia was in and out of the march for a while talking of "independent" Marxism, the kind, he said, which is not affiliated with a party. Carl W. Peetz, who is white and from New York, piled into a car with six others and drove 26 hours to join the march for two days and demonstrate that there is "interracial harmony."

Dr. Homer A. Jack, director of the department of social responsibility of the Universalist-Unitarian Association, was here to "loo kover the march" and to determine whether to urge Unitarian ministers to join in.

He said he found the march to be "amorphous and open-ended," but that he felt it was true to "nonviolent principles" and that whites were welcome.

The march is diverse and unorthodox, Dr. King has conceded, but he says it will "continue to roll on to Jackson, awakening the Negroes of Mississippi."

The march is so fluid and was so hastily organized in the aftermath of the Meredith shooting that food sometimes fails to reach the marchers. Twice this week, lunch was delayed and on one occasion breakfast never arrived at the campsite.

"We've got all kinds of food stacked up against a wall in Memphis," said Stoney Cook of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, "but no one has taken time to go get it. They would rather stay here where the action is and march and awaken Mississippi Negroes and get them out to register."

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Remain Impassive

Every day the marchers attempt to demonstrate to Mississippi Negroes that they are not afraid of the white man. Twice they have encountered white men with pistols. Twice they have remained impassive while law enforcement officers shoved them—once from the highway to free the flow of traffic, and again from the courthouse lawn in Greenwood.

At night, the parade ends and the camping site suddenly takes on the atmosphere of an old-fashioned, Southern tent revival.

Last night, hundreds of Negroes flocked around the tents at a public park for Negroes in Greenwood to hear the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Again and again their voices rang out, telling Negroes that their only salvation lies in the ballot, and that they must register and then vote together to elect Negro officeholders and put Negroes into the police and sheriff's uniforms now worn by whites.

After the speechmaking, the marchers passed collection plates among the audience, as white evangelists have done thousands of times in the South, and collected $342 for food and camp supplies. The money came, Mr. Williams said, "from the poorest people in the country."

When the audience drifted away, a marcher switched on a transistor radio and let the throbbing rhythms of rock 'n' roll music cut through the night air. Cleveland Sellers, the student committee's bearded project director, began dancing on the dewy grass, doing "the frug."

It is like that at night around the campsites. Often a white marcher will tune up his guitar and begin plucking out the newest civil right song, "Burn, Baby Burn," which was written by Jimmie Collier, a staff worker in Dr. King's Chicago movement.

'The New Direction'

It tells the story of a Negro youth who woke up one morning and wanted to fight, but all he had was a match and so he said,, "Burn, baby, burn." But Dr. King came to town and converted him, telling him to "burn, baby burn—burn that midnight oil and learn, bary, learn."

But for the most part, the marchers simply talk about what is becoming manifest during the march as "the new direction of the movement." It is the growing feeling that Ne-

6/19/66

Failure to Act on Revamp Puts Issue Before Courts

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., June 18—The legislature's failure to reapportion itself or provide the machinery for that accomplishment in the 23-week record - setting biennial session leaves realignment of the 82 counties to a 3-judge federal court composed of Mississippians.

There is no alternative short of a special legislative session before October which Gov. Paul Johnson said he will not convene. The governor's position is that the legislature had the opportunity — and time—to do the job and didn't.

October is the "unofficial" deadline given the legislature by the court to make the change which must be completed before next year's elections for state offices from governor down to constables in the 410 districts of the 82 counties.

THE LEGISLATURE completed its biennial session work last Saturday midnight after a desperate effort, spearheaded by House Speaker Walter Sillers of Rosedale, to outline a course by which it would reapportion along the "one man-one vote" guidelines laid down by the U.S. Supreme Court. It failed.

Before the session convened on Jan. 4, a suit was filed by the biracial Freedom Democratic party for federal court reapportionment to give equal value to each individual's vote. Hearings were delayed to afford the legislature an opportunity to reshape its representation on the premise it is a matter first for the legislature, and failing, then for court intervention.

Basis of the pending suit is the population inequities stemming from assignment of one representative to each of the 82 counties and allocaton of the remaining 40 on a population formula. The 52 senate seats are based on geography without regard for population.

The state constitution of 1890

MISSISSIPPI

provides that the legislature may, by two - thirds vote in each branch, adopt a reapportionment plan but it is subject to ratification by the voters. A plan based on the "one man-one vote" formula was offered the house, but was rejected.

A new approach was taken after Speaker Sillers had conferred with the three federal judges—Circuit Judge J. P. Coleman, the former governor, and District Judges Harold Cox and Dan Russell. Mr. Sillers said the "judges listened while I did all the talking."

FROM THAT MEETING came a proposed amendment to the constitution to permit the legislature, by three-fifths vote, to reapportion without the necessity of its submission for voter ratification. The move was to gain its adoption and submission to the voters in August with assurance from Governor Johnson a special session would be convened in September before the "unofficial" October deadline.

The House approved the amendment, but it ran into difficulty in the Senate. It was on the floor three times, once lacking one vote of the required two-thirds for adoption, and then being finally defeated shortly before the final work session last Saturday midnight by two votes.

MISSISSIPPI

AP 6/19/66

2 Marchers Swap Blows In Quarrel Over Campsite

BELZONI, Miss., June 18 (AP)—A fistfight broke out between two Mississippi civil rights marchers Saturday after leaders decided not to demonstrate over a Negro college refusing use of its campus as a campsite.

Other Negroes quickly broke up the fight after a few blows had been struck and the marchers went into Belzoni for a nighttime voter registration drive.

They paraded through the streets chanting "Black power now! Black power now!" and urged local Negroes to join in a march to the courthouse.

The heavy Negro population in the community of 4,200 was further swelled by the influx of field hands, in town for Saturday night.

Glenn Freedom X of Washington, D.C., a bearded member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, walked through the crowd saying, "Everybody go everybody go. Don't be afraid, don't be afraid."

FOUR FEDERAL registrars waited in the basement of the post office. In the first hour, 50 Negroes were in line.

Freedom X, who refused to give any other name, was in the fistfight with Lester Hankerson of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

With no big name leader present, secondary officials had held a roadside conference on whether to proceed to Belzoni where property of the Green Grove Baptist Church was offered as a tentsite. Mississippi Valley State College, at Itta Bena, had refused to let the marchers stay there overnight.

Freedom X and several other workers from the militant SNCC demanded the marchers return to the college and stage a demonstration. Hankerson's group favored continuing to Belzoni for the rally. The fight followed.

The marchers rode into Belzoni after covering 15 miles.

KING HAD left the march earlier for a speaking engagement in Detroit. Neither Floyd McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality nor Stokely Carmichael, head of SNCC, were in the march line.

As the marchers rode in trucks south from Greenwood to start Saturday's walk, they passed a flaming cross, the fiery symbol of the Ku Klux Klan. They stopped at the spot and knelt in prayer.

"I think it is a disgrace," said Alphonso Harris, a Southern Christian Leadership Conference worker from Albany, Ga.

"It is evident that the whites in the delta have no respect for the rights of Negro citizens," said George Raymond of Canton, Miss. "Obviously, it means we don't have any protection if they can burn a cross in daylight."

It was the second day the marchers have encountered open hostility. In Greenwood Friday, a man sprayed water on the march column, a sound truck played a Klan song and children waved confederate flags in their faces.

The marchers—about 100 of them — set out Saturday not knowing where they would spend the night. Permission had been refused to use the grounds of Mississippi Valley State College, a Negro school in Itta Bena, for their tents. The school's president sent a one-sentence letter denying permission.

WHILE THE procession plodded down State Highway 7 toward Belzoni, 27 miles south of Itta Bena, three members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) met with Dr. J. H. White, the Negro president of the college.

Bob Smith, a SNCC leader, told newsmen afterward the group made five requests: To be allowed to pitch the tents on the campus, a hot meal, use of cooking and shower facilities and that Negro leaders be allowed to speak on the campus.

"At every point we were refused," Smith said.

JACKSON IN SIGHT ON RIGHTS MARCH

Mississippi

City, 75 Miles Away, Said to Be Reachable by Sunday

6/21/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

MIDNIGHT, Miss., June 20—The civil rights march through Mississippi moved within 75 miles of Jackson today and marchers said they would reach that city by Sunday.

While planning ahead for Jackson, the state capital, which is their destination, the marchers walked 12 miles, desegregated the courthouse rest rooms at Belzoni in Humphreys County, and continued to increase voter registration among Mississippi Negroes.

A spokesman for the Justice Department estimated that the marchers had persuaded 2,500 to 3,500 Mississippi Negroes to register to vote since they began walking 14 days ago.

Until the march, voter registration had been at a standstill in the state since April.

Many Not Registered

Between August (when the Federal Voting Rights Act was passed) and the end of March, about 100,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi. This raised the total of Negroes who had registered to 120,000 to 130,000 and left about 300,000 of voting age still unregistered.

After a night and morning of canvassing by marchers in Humphreys County, about 150 Negroes were registered by Federal voting examiners. This was about a third as many as the Federal examiners had registered in the entire six months that their office had been open in the county.

In Granada County, voter registration nearly tripled while the marchers were there. There were 697 registered Negroes there when the marchers entered, and about 2,000 during the weekend when a voter registration team left to rejoin the marching column.

Today, the marching column dwindled to 150. Plantation workers, who swelled it to 1,200 persons yesterday, returned to the cotton fields where they receive from $2.50 to $4 a day for hoeing cotton and from $6 to $10 a day for driving tractors.

As the marchers passed a cotton field east of Midnight—a small cluster of sun-baked stores, houses and cotton gins along Route 49—George Simmons leaned on his hoe and smiled.

"It's a fine thing, a fine thing," he said of the march. He was convinced, he said, that somehow the march would result in a wage increase for him and his wife, Lizzie.

His hopes rose during the weekend when he heard a rumor that one plantation owner had already increased wages to $5 a day for hoeing.

But if the story is true, it has had no effect yet on Mr. Simmons's wages. He said he received $3.50 a day for working in the fields, and that his wife got $3 for chopping along beside him.

To arouse enthusiasm among the plantation workers, the marchers began carrying freshly manufactured pennants today that said: "Mississippi March—1966—For Federal Registrars, Aid to Farmers, Jobs."

60 Patrolman on Hand

But some marchers carried signs of their own design. "No Viet Cong Ever Called Me 'Nigger,'" said a placard carried by Vince Young, a 41-year-old Negro, who is a member of the Brooklyn branch of the Congress of Racial Equality and a bus driver for the New York Transit Authority.

The marchers started the day by walking from a campsite in Belzoni to the Humphreys County courthouse there, where they had hoped to gather around the Confederate memorial for a rally.

But they changed their plans when confronted by 60 highway patrolmen—the largest force of patrolmen thus far in the march—and eight Negro trustees from the Parchman State Penitentiary.

The patrolmen and the trustees were summoned by the Humphreys County Sheriff's Department to help enforce signs that warn of a $25 fine for anyone who walks on the grass surrounding the monument.

Robert Green of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference told the marchers that he thought that the sheriff's department had brought in the trustees to pit Negro against Negro.

And at his suggestion, the marchers turned away from the grass and walked up the sidewalks and into the courthouse, where they desegregated the rest rooms.

Then some of the marchers fanned out through the town to persuade Negroes to register to vote. One who went to the Federal voting examiner's office was David Carpenter, a 75-year-old retired sawmill worker.

"Well, I couldn't read and neither write," said Mr. Carpenter is explaining why he was registering for the first time, "and time was when I couldn't register."

White Man Shot as Battle Flares in Mississippi March

MISSISSIPPI AC 6/22/66

PHILADELPHIA, Miss. (UPI). Negroes and nightriding assailants traded bullets Tuesday night. A white man was wounded in the first gun battle between civil rights workers and segregationists.

The battle erupted after a fist fight between whites and Negroes here and a new stand by militant civil rights leaders calling for "black power" and second thoughts on the past "non-violent demonstrations."

Earlier Tuesday, a memorial march led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in honor of three slain civil rights workers in Philadelphia erupted into a stone-throwing, fist-swinging battle.

BULLETS FLY

Philadelphia police said a white man, Stanley Stewart, was wounded in the fusilade of bullets that whined from passing automobiles into the headquarters of a civil rights group.

Stewart was taken to the Neshoba County Hospital and treated for superficial wounds and released.

The FBI has entered the case.

Ralph Featherstone, a field secretary for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, said more than a dozen shots were fired into the local headquarters for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. He said some of the 25 persons inside the brick building returned the fire with pistols.

SHOOTING CONFIRMED

Philadelphia police confirmed that they had reports of shooting in the area.

Featherstone said the shots were fired from three automobiles.

After the second car passed, he said, the civil rights workers returned the fire. He said they believed they hit the third car.

A half dozen marchers and 10 white onlookers engaged in a wild, tumbling brawl that police had to struggle to break up.

The marchers were jeered and stoned, and became the target for whites hurling firecrackers.

Several television camera crews were roughed up and their equipment shattered. A teen-age marcher was brushed by a speeding truck.

King said he held the federal government and the state of Mississippi totally responsible for the violence.

A contingent of the Mississippi "freedom" walkers had come to Philadelphia to conduct a memorial march for James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman, three civil rights workers slain here June 21, 1964.

With King in the lead, the marchers made their way to the Neshoba County jail where they found their way blocked by a line of deputies armed with slapsticks, billy clubs and hatchet handles.

About 300 whites lined the streets, heckling the marchers.

King, speaking over the exploding firecrackers, told the crowd:

"We are not afraid. We are going to work together for freedom. We are here to save America. We are here to save you. Why don't you whites understand this?"

Then about 10 firecrackers exploded together, King started chanting: The Lord is our Shepherd, The Lord is our Shepherd." Others took up the chant.

Associated Press Wirephoto

IN PHILADELPHIA, MISS.: Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, left, one of 18 accused in case of three civil rights workers killed in 1964, blocks march led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., right, and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

NYT 6/22/66

A Mississippi Mob Stones Negro March Headed by Dr. King

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., June 21—A jeering white crowd attacked a line of Negro marchers led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. here today.

Fist fighting raged for about three minutes before the police halted the attack. When the march resumed, whites hurling bottles and stones surged after it.

Two television cameras were smashed and their operators manhandled. Several photographers and a writer were jostled or struck.

"This is a terrable town," Dr. King said as he led the angry, frightened marchers back to the Negro community. "There is a complete reign of terror here."

Later, after flying to Indianola, Miss., for a rally, he said he and other rights leaders would return to Philadelphia and "straighten the place out," using "all our nonviolent might."

The march and a service here today were a memorial demonstration for three civil rights workers killed near Philadelphia in 1964.

Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, one of 18 white men accused of a conspiracy that resulted in the slayings, was confronted by Dr. King today.

"You are the ones who had Schwerner and those fellows in jail?" Dr. King said to Mr. Price.

"Yes, sir," the deputy replied.

The three rights workers, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman of New York City and

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

White Mob Attacks Negro Marchers Led by Dr. King in Philadelphia, Miss.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

James Chaney of Meridian, Miss., were released from the Neshoba County jail before they were slain on June 21, 1964.

Their bodies were buried in an earthen dam near Philadelphia.

Deputies Watch Melee

During the melee today, only one Mississippi highway patrol car was on the scene. Philadelphia's 10 policemen, including two Negroes, and a group of Neshoba County deputy sheriffs watched most of the violence without moving to stop it.

At least two Justice Department lawyers and an undetermined number of Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were present as observers.

About 20 persons left the Mississippi march begun by James H. Meredith this morning and traveled to Philadelphia by automobile to join Dr. King. They left the march at Louise in the Mississippi Delta.

The march here began from Mount Nebo Baptist Church, in the Negro community. About 250 Negroes and a handful of white civil rights workers marched toward the Neshoba County Courthouse to hold the memorial service.

They walked a dozen blocks down dusty, red clay streets into the downtown section.

The first indication of trouble came as they strolled, singing and shouting civil rights slogans, up a hill toward the courthouse square.

A white man in a black sedan drove past the line of march. Suddenly, he applied his brakes and skidded toward the marchers.

Then two young white men in a red convertible roared down the line, missing the demonstrators by inches. The driver braked, the tires squealed, and the car lunged toward the march.

No one was struck by either car.

A young white man and two white girls sped past in a blue convertible. They stopped, and the girls yelled insults.

"I wouldn't dirty my goddamned car with you black bastards," one shouted.

A Swinging Club

Moments later, a pick-up truck with two white men cruised past the line. While one man drove, the other swung a wooden club at the marchers. Negroes in the line said later some had been struck.

The truck brushed near the marchers, and a young Negro fell to the pavement, his face twisting. Some witnesses said the truck struck him. Others said it did not.

The marchers burst into angry shouts.

Two or three policemen were at that point. They did nothing to stop the harassment by automobile.

A large van came next. Richard Perez, a cameraman for the Columbia Broadcasting System, stood in its path with his back turned. Oden Kitzmiller, his sound technician, grabbed his collar and jerked him aside as the van roared past.

When the marchers reached the county jail, a block from the courthouse, Dr. King and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, executive vice president of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led a prayer service. The marchers knelt under the scowl of Deputy Price and about 10 other men armed with pistols and nightsticks.

Whites Block Street

About 100 white men gathered, closing each end of the narrow street beside the jail. A few wore business suits and carried clubs.

As the demonstrators prayed and listened to speakers, one young white man turned a waterhose on them.

A heavy-set white woman, identified as the wife of the jailer, turned the water off. She shook a finger in the youth's face and scolded him.

As the marchers walked toward the courthouse square, the same young man grabbed a television camera, jerking it and the cameraman to the ground. The camera was damaged. The cameraman, George Romilly of the American Broadcasting Company, was not hurt.

The police made no move to stop the youth as he fled.

Dr. King said to Police Chief Bruce Latimer, "We have a serious problem with law enforcement." He said the police had done nothing to protect the marchers.

Chief Latimer replied he was doing all he could.

The marchers held a short memorial service in the street in front of the courthouse after Deputy Price refused to let them on the courtroom lawn.

By then, more than 300 whites, almost all men, had gathered. They jeered during the speeches and songs.

Dr. King, raising his voice, said:

"In this county Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Mickey Schwerner were brutally murdered."

"I believe in my heart that the murderers are somewhere around me at this moment."

Marchers murmured agreement.

"They ought to search their hearts," Dr. King said.

"I want them to know that we are not afraid. If they kill three of us, they will have to kill all of us."

The Negroes applauded. The whites hooted.

"I am not afraid of any man," Dr. King said. "Whether he is in Mississippi or Michigan, whether he is in Birmingham or Boston. I am not afraid of any man."

Perspiration glistened on his brow.

Singing and Yelling

The Negro marchers sang, "We Shall Overcome." The white yelled derisively.

The tension burst into violence as the marchers headed back to the Negro community.

A camera was pulled from Wendell Hoffman of C.B.S. so violently that his shoulder was wrenched. Other whites knocked to the ground the equipment of Gene Sellers, the sound technician in the crew.

Some 25 white men surged over the television men, swinging, and then flailed into the line of march, their eyes wild with anger. The Negroes screamed.

One white man brandished a five-foot wooden club. Another held a hoe. Negroes separated him from his companions and mauled him.

Several young Negro men struck back with their fists.

Many of the whites remaining on the square moved slowly toward the fighting. After two or three minutes the police broke up the center of the melee, and the march moved on.

Dr. King was 100 yards away, leading the column.

Dr. King Plans Return

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

INDIANOLA, Miss., June 21 —The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that he and other civil rights leaders would return to Philadelphia this week "with a large segment" of their Mississippi marching force and "straighten the place out."

"We will use all our nonviolent might," he said after flying here for a rally at which he described today's violence in Philadelphia.

"We got to go back—it's the meanest town in the country," he told other civil rights leaders in a quick strategy conference. "If they get by with what they did today, Negroes will be scared to death."

"We can't take this lying down," agreed Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Mr. McKissick suggested that the march through Mississippi be divided into two parts, with one part going by truck to Meredian for a 41-mile march from there into Philadelhpia along Route 19.

It is the same route that three civil rights marchers — Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney — took two years ago today when they drove into Philadelphia and Neshoba County and were slain.

The remaining marching column would continue on its way to Jackson by way of Canton.

55 Miles From Finish

The march, now in its 15th day, covered 18 miles and reached Yazoo City today, about 55 miles from Jackson, its final destination.

Dr. King said that Mr. McKissick's suggestion "sounds good." He said that he wanted to "start the march to Philadelphia" tomorrow or Thursday "at the latest," so that those marchers could finish in time to rejoin the main marching column for its entrance into Jackson on Sunday.

Today's rally in Indianola, the birthplace of the White Citizens Council, was in sharp contrast to the rally and demonstration in Philadelphia.

There were no incidents as marchers left the marching column 40 miles away, traveled into Sunflower County by car and turned out 350 Negroes to hear Dr. King and other leaders at the site of the new Sunflower County court house in Indianola.

More than 100 whites stood quietly on the sidewalk as the Negroes, while waiting for Dr. King, began shouting "black power—black power."

"When people say, 'what do you want?', don't say 'freedom,' say 'black power,'" said Charles McLaurin, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Then he shouted, "What do you want?"

"Black power," shouted Negro women, children, teen-agers and bent old men in overalls.

But when the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, one of Dr. King's top aides, arrived at the rally, he also asked Negroes what they wanted. When some yelled "black power," he commanded, "say freedom."

"Freedom," the Negroes shouted.

U.S. Asked to Guard Mississippi March

6/23/64

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

YAZOO CITY, Miss., June 22—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and two other civil rights leaders asked President Johnson today to send Federal marshals to protect a second march on the courthouse at Philadelphia, Miss., on Friday.

The request was made in a telegram from Dr. King, Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

It pointed out that a march on the Neshoba County Courthouse yesterday, led by Dr. King, had been attacked by angry whites unrestrained by the local police.

Philadelphia policemen and county officers made no move

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Frank Edwards has a recorded message for you. Call REctor 2-8030. Advt.

DR. KING ASKS U.S. TO PROTECT MARCH

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

to stop white assailants until Negroes began to fight back.

The three rights leaders also said a lawsuit would be filed in the Federal District Court of Judge W. Harold Cox at Jackson, asking him to order the city and county police and the State Highway Patrol to protect Negroes and rights workers at Philadelphia.

"Our movement demands our going back [to Phiadelphia]," Dr. King said.

He repeated his assertion that Philadelphia had had "a complete breakdown of law and order" yesterday.

It was not clear whether the county, which was the scene of a triple civil rights murder two years ago, would become the center of a major, continuing civil rights movement.

One leader close to Dr. King speculated that Philadelphia might be turned into "another Selma," once the James H. Meredith protest march in Mississippi is concluded on Sunday at Jackson.

Leaders of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the student committee and CORE continued to discuss the town's future today and tonight.

More than 200 marchers continued their trek through the Mississippi countryside today. They held a voting registration rally this morning at the Yazoo County Courthouse, then headed down State Highway 16 toward Canton, the last major town before reaching Jackson.

Mr. Meredith, the Negro who desegregated the University of Mississippi, began the march on June 6 a few miles south of Memphis. He left it after being shot from ambush.

NEGRO BAPTIST AIDE HITS 'BLACK POWER'

CHARLOTTE, N. C., June 22 (UPI)—Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, a large Negro organization, said today that cries of "black power" did not speak for millions of his race.

Dr. Jackson called on Negroes to "develop different attitudes" when tensions threatened to provoke violence.

He said the church should offer "more than just pressure," that "it must generate power" for good in communities.

Dr. Jackson was here to address more than 9,000 delegates at the 61st convention of the National Sunday School and Baptist Convention that claims 5.5 million members.

Asked at a news conference to comment on the Mississippi civil rights march, Dr. Jackson said that what should be emphasized about the shooting of James H. Meredith was that it was "white officials who arrested the criminal, white physicians who administered to his needs.

He said:

"There are thousands of Americans, white and Negro, who believe in freedom. That should give hope instead of despair. Black power statements do not speak for millions of Americans."

3 Hurt in Louisville Blast

LOUISVILLE, Ky., June 22 (AP)—A 15,000-gallon tank exploded at the Stauffer Chemical Company today, injuring three employes and touching off a chlorine gas scare that led to some evacuation. Approximately 25 families were removed from the Indiana bottomlands across the Ohio River and the Coast Guard halted traffic after reports that a gas cloud "was hanging in the middle of the river." The threat was brief.

MISSISSIPPI STRIFE STUDIED BY F.B.I.

Philadelphia Uneasily Calm After Incidents of Violence

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., June 22—An uneasy calm returned to Philadelphia today after yesterday's outbreaks of violence in which Negro marchers were beaten and a white man was shot.

White teen-agers drove through the business district today with Confederate flags fluttering from their cars. Negroes stayed close to the homes in the Negro "quarter" as agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation began looking into the outbreak of shooting in the section last night.

Federal sources said the investigation so far had shown that one shot had been fired by a white man into a Negro recreation hall and that Negroes had fired back "with more than 20 shots" at cars that were cirlcing their homes.

Civil rights workers said, however, that whites fired at civil rights headquarters and at Negro homes and businesses "about 20 times" and that Negroes countered with still more shooting.

Mayor Comments

While the F.B.I. was pursuing its investigation, Mayor Clayton Lewis was dismissing yesterday's violence. "There isn't anything to it—it's just those rabble-rousers, a bunch of foreigners, that came in here," he said.

Police Chief Bruce Latimer said he was concerned over the possibility of renewed violence in the event that civil rights marchers should return to Philadelphia.

"But I'm an old Army man," he added, "and I always expect the worst to happen and then I'm not surprised. I am working night and day to keep things down."

Violence erupted here yesterday when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and others from the civil rights march through Mississippi came here to hold a civil rights rally and a memorial service for three civil rights workers—Andrew Goodman, Michael H. Schwerner and James E. Chaney—who were slain here two years ago.

A white mob attacked the marchers and news cameramen, and a Negro youth was run down by a truck but not seriously injured. This was followed by last night's shooting in the Negro district, an area that is known by whites here as "the quarter."

Copra Production Rise Noted

Copra production in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate during the first quarter of 1966 rose to a record 7,333 tons—an increase of 1,680 tons over the same period in 1965, South Pacific News reports. A bonus of $20 Australian a ton paid by the Copra Board is thought to be partly responsible for the increase, although shipping has been more freely available in 1966. In addition, several copra-making societies are now in full production. It is hoped that the year's figures will reach a record 28,000 tons.

POLICE SEIZE 11 IN RIGHTS MARCH

MISSISSIPPI

Club Negro in Canton, Miss. —State Pledges Protection in Philadelphia Today

6/24/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

CANTON, Miss., June 23—Law enforcement officers arrested 11 civil rights marchers today, seized their camping tents and clubbed and kicked a Negro marcher who rushed toward them with flailing arms.

The incident developed when civil rights workers attempted to pitch three circus tents, used to house more than 200 members of the civil rights march through Mississippi, at the McNeil Elementary School without permission of the Canton school board.

[In Washington, President Johnson, responding to a request by rights leaders for Federal marshals in Philadelphia, Miss., said he had been assured by Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi that state troopers would provide adequate protection Friday.]

Charged With Trespassing

After the 11 marchers had been arrested, march leaders quickly raised $1,350 bond and won their release, along with their tents.

Ten of the marchers, including Hosea Williams, a top aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., were charged with trespassing.

The other marcher was charged with assault. He calls himself Glenn Freedom X, but was listed on the police blotter as Torrance Gurley, 25 years old, of Washington.

The arrests came as Dr. King and other rights leaders began selecting a team of 60 for a

Continued on Page 21, Column 2

Police Seize 11 Rights Marchers in Canton, Miss.; State Pledges Protection in Philadelphia

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

rally and demonstration in Philadelphia, where a white mob attacked Negroes and news cameramen earlier this week.

Dr. King and Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, were turned down in Federal District Court in Jackson by Judge Dan Russell when they requested a temporary restraining order, which would have ordered state troopers, Neshoba County sheriff's deputies and the Philadelphia Police Department to provide them with protection tomorrow.

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, meanwhile, were inquiring into a shooting incident in Canton last night in which a white man, Wallace Lonsreer, 26, of Canton sufefred superficial gunshot wounds on his left arm.

C. O. Chinn, 46, Canton and Madison County project director for the Freedom Democratic party, was charged with "assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill."

The rights official who was released under $7,000 bond, denied that he had done the shooting.

He said that he and "several other" rights activitis were "standing around" rights headquarters about 10:30 P.M. when "whites passed and threw a homemade fire and smoke bomb that hit a car and bounced off."

Mr. Chinn said that he and the others had pursued the fleeing carload of whites and stopped their car at a service station, where they were met by a volley of soft-drink bottles.

"I ducked down in my car so the bottles wouldn't hit me and was lying there when the shot went off," he said.

Mr. Chinn was among those arrested for attenpting to pitch tents on public school property.

After a tent crew left the school property, Mr. Williams, accompanied by Mr. Chinn, returned to the school grounds to confront the police.

"This is our ground," said Mr. Chinn. "We get no cooperation from white people."

"If you don't move the truck, we'll tow it away and it will cost you," said Sheriff Jack C. Cauthen of Madison County.

Mr. Williams refused to move the truck, arguing that "our marchers don't have any other place to stay."

Eighteen city policemen and sheriff's deputies took 10 of the civil rights workers into custody and as they were walking with them to the police cars, Mr. Gurley (Glenn Freedom X) moved quickly toward the arresting officers.

"He was flailing his arms, but he didn't hit anybody," said a Federal representative who watched the incident.

"I have never seen such a handling of a man," the Government man said. "Clunk, a club hit him on top of the head. Wham, they punched him in the solar plexus. And they kicked him when they got him in the car."

"That guy was on my back," Sheriff Cauthen said. "And when my boys move one, they move him the fastest way they can."

Mr. Gurley has been involved in at least two arguments and one fist-fight with fellow demonstrators during the 17-day march.

Deputy Sheriff Carl W. Holly said that during the scuffle, "somebody bit me or something, and I went over to the Health Department later and got a tetanus shot because I didn't want to get the hydrophobia."

"We don't believe in what happened in Philadelphia and if we can prevent that from happening here we intend to do so," said Sheriff Cauthen.

President Gets Assurance

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 23—President Johnson received assurances today from Governor Johnson that the state would provide protection tomorrow for civil rights demonstrators in Philadelphia, Miss.

The President has no direct contact with the Governor, but Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach talked with him by telephone on the President's behalf.

President Johnson relayed the Governor's assurances by telegram to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King and two other rights leaders asked the President yesterday by telegram for Federal protection for a march on the courthouse at Philadelphia.

Unrestrained by the local police, whites attacked rights marchers there last Tuesday.

Robert H. Fleming, deputy Presidential press secretary, said the wire sent by Dr. King, along with Mr. McKissick national director of the Congress of Racial Equality and Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was received by the President late last night.

"The President wired Dr. King that he is informed that additional units of the Mississippi highway patrol were dispatched to Philadelphia on Tuesday," Mr. Fleming said.

"The President also told Dr. King that the Governor had given assurances that law and order will be maintained and advised Dr. King that John Doar, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, will continue to be available in Mississippi until the end of the march."

Mr. Fleming did not release the text of the President's telegram "because we do not choose to put it out."

MARCHERS DEFY MISSISSIPPI CROWD

Hold Rally in Philadelphia, Site of Tuesday Attack—Police Restrain Whites

6/25/66

BY GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., June 24—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and 300 civil rights marchers returned to downtown Philadelphia today and braved a speeding car, three bottles, two eggs and hundreds of shouts of "nigger."

The taunts and the missiles came from among 1,500 to 2,000 whites who stared over the shoulders of more than 100 heavily armed state highway patrolmen and local law enforcement officers.

After the bottles were hurled, Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, waved his arms at the jeering whites.

"The people that are gathered around us represent America in its truest form," he shouted angrily. "They represent a sick and resisting society that sits in the United Nations and gives lip service to democracy."

Dr. King More Conciliatory

Dr. King was more conciliatory. He declared, "We are going to build right here a society based on brotherhood and understanding."

"Go to hell," a white man screamed. "Go to hell."

"Nigger—you're a nigger," a woman joined in.

[Civil rights workers marched again Friday through Canton, Miss., scene of a tear gas incident Thursday night.]

The marchers were surrounded by whites as they held their rally at the Neshoba County Courthouse, where only three days earlier a white crowd had attacked a rally audience and news cameramen.

Dr. King said he nand many others had returned to Philadelphia today to show "that we can stand before you without fear after we were beaten and brutalized the other day."

Today, Philadelphia policemen, including some who had stood by while the marchers were attacked on Tuesday, joined the state troopers in

Continued on Page 15, Column 2

Marchers Return to Philadelphia, Miss.; Police Restrain Whites

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

keeping the white crowd back from the rally.

In turning down the marchers' request for Federal marshals at today's rally, President Johnson said Governor Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi had assured him that the highway patrol would protect the marchers.

The crowd of whites began assembling two hours before the rally. There were motorcyclists from Meridian, 41 miles away. Farmers sat on the sidewalk, resting their backs against storefronts, while waiting for the marchers to come.

Not since last fall's Neshoba County Fair, one auxiliary policeman observed, have so many people been gathered in one place in Neshoba County.

White men, women and children were to the right and left of the rally audience, straining at ropes that the local police had placed at the intersections near the courthouse.

Whites stared grimly from storefronts directly in front of Dr. King as he talked, and they peered down at him from the second story winows in the courthouse.

And when the rally was over and the marchers had returned to the Negro "quarter" of this small city of 5,000, a handful of whites were waiting there to yell "nigger."

One white man, a male companion beside him, whipped a gleaming white Thunderbird around a corner. The car sped into the front of the marching column and roared to its rear, forcing newsmen and marchers to scramble for their lives.

An auxiliary policeman spun around and leveled his shotgun at Negroes who were shouting, "Get him."

But a state trooper thrust his gun toward the windshield of the Thunderbird. The car had raced through the marching line at speeds possibly as high as 40 miles an hour, and the driver had then suddenly slammed on the brakes to avoid crashing into two cars that blocked the unpaved clay street.

While the troopers held the driver and his companion at gunpoint, reinforcements arrived, pulled the men from the Thunderbird and took them into custody.

The march started from the Negro quarter, about a mile up dusty clay streets from the business district, andmovedinto the downtown area, flanked by law enforcement officers wearing riot helmets and tear gas packets and carrying riot guns.

A man wearing a shirt tailored from a Confederate flag made an obscene gesture with his hand at the 51 reporters and news cameramen who accompanied the marchers. He shouted, "'Look at 'em, look at 'em."

Two uniformed guards who had been hired by C.B.S. to protect its sound and camera crew moved in closer to the cameramen.

Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and Deputy Cecil Price, who are awaiting trial in Federal Court on charges growing out of the slaying of three civil rights workers here two years ago, outlined a march route around the courthouse for the marchers.

Sheriff Rainey talked with a chew of tobacco in his cheek. And Deputy Price yanked a cigar from his mouth as the marchers approached.

Mayor Lends Megaphone

Mayor Clayton Lewis told the marchers that he did not want "any trouble," and then lent his electric megaphone to the march leaders for their speeches. Floyd B. McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality, shouted through it at the marchers:

"Please keep off the grass."

Missiles began coming from the crowd as the Rev. Clint Collier, a Negro minister from Neshoba County, prayed. One egg went over the heads of the marchers. Another egg and three bottles fell short.

One bottle bounced off a church directory sign that had been erected on the courthouse lawn by American Legion Post 136 as part of its "Back to God Program."

Another bottle bounced and struck Murray Kempton, a columnist for The New York Post, on the foot but did not injure him.

At one point the shouting and the jeers almost drowned out Mr. McKissick, who pointed to the white crowd and said, "There is a sickness in this society."

The taunts followed the marchers away from the courthouse, which is shaded by magnolias and oaks.

"I got a dog," a young white man yelled at the marchers, "who would turn up his nose at you."

Meredith on Way

MEMPHIS, June 24 (AP)—James H. Meredith, accompanied by the comedian Dick Gregory, left today by car for Canton, Miss., to rejoin the march that he started June 5.

Mr. Meredith, whose journey into Mississippi was interrupted a day later when he was wounded by shotgun pellets, did not say whether he was now armed.

MISS.

NYT 6/25/64

Katzenbach Regrets Tear Gas Incident But Bars Criticism

WASHINGTON, June 24 —Attorney General Nicholas deb. Katzenbach said today that he regretted the use of tear gas against civil rights marchers in Canton, Miss. last night.

"It always makes the situation more difficult," he told reporters who questioned him at the White House, where he was attending a ceremony at which Young America Medals were awarded.

The Attorney General would not condemn the action, however, and said that a study was being made of it.

He said that the civil right marchers had been offered thre alternate camp sites but ha insisted on camping on scho grounds after the school boa had denied them use of the grounds.

Another Justice Department ource said that the Mississippi Highway Patrol had reported hat it had removed the marchers from the school grounds o prevent local sheriff's deputies from intervening.

Mr. Katzenbach reported several times to President Johnson during the day and also talked by telephone with Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi.

Robert H. Fleming, deputy White House press secretary, said that Mr. Katzenbach had assured the President that order was being maintained by state troopers this morning.

As the day wore on, Administration officials were keeping a close and anxious watch on developments at Canton, Philadelphia, Miss., and along the line of march on U.S. 51 to Jackson.

Officials at both the White House and the Justice Department refused to discuss what plans, if any, there might be for Federal intervention to give the marchers protection in case of mounting violence.

Mr. Fleming said that the President had "no specific reaction" to the tear gas incident and added:

"The President knows it is going to take time to produce understanding down there but he thinks the effort should be made."

RIGHTS WORKERS MARCH IN CANTON

MISS.

Boycott Is Urged After Use of Tear Gas by Police

6/25/66

By HOMER BIGART

Special to The New York Times

CANTON, Miss., June 24—Civil rights workers marched again through the streets of this Black Belt town today.

Their eyes still smarting from tear gas, their bodies weary from sleeping on the concrete floor of a Roman Catholic mission gymnasium that gave them refuge, the marchers sang out to Negroes on porches and sidewalks urging total boycott of white stores and white employers.

It was what the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a leader of the Mississippi march on Jackson, which tonight reached the northern suburbs of the state capital, proclaimed a "blackout" for Canton.

Another tear gas confrontation appeared likely, for Negro leaders have vowed they would pitch their tents on the grounds of a public school.

Last night the police used tear gas to rout some 2,000 Negro and white demonstrators who were erecting tents on a Negro school ground.

Order From City Attorney

The order to use force came from Robert Goza, the city attorney, who said the Negroes had been warned several times against camping on school property and that they had been offered an alternative site.

In Washington, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said that the demonstrators had been offered three sites by the city of Canton. But Mr. Goza said he knew only of one.

That offer came, he said, from "a highly respected colored merchant named George Washington."

The city, he said, was willing to provide electricity at Mr. Washington's site. Water was also available there, he said.

However, the site was turned down. "They wanted to put us way out with the cows and pigs," the Rev. Richard McSoley, professor of social justice at Georgetown University said.

The Negro elementary school was closed for the summer vacation. However, Mr. Goza said today that at no time was school property to be used for such obviously noneducational purposes as camping. This was a long established rule, he said.

Enter Business District

The marchers today entered the white business disrtict that flanks the Courthouse, a red brick and white pillared edifice regarded by natives as the architectural gem of Madison County.

They passed out leaflets denouncing the tear gas incident.

"Our tax dollars helped to buy that tear gas."

"Don't buy anything downtown."

"If you work for the White Man, don't go to work Friday."

"Hit them where it hurts."

"We've come too far to turn back now!"

The boycott seemed effective. Negroes comprise more than 50 per cent of the county population. When they stop buying the white merchant suffers quickly.

Two previous boycotts here have won the Negroes some concessions, including clerical jobs in the stores.

Besides urging boycotts, the marchers tried to stimulate voter registration.

At the Courthouse, however, they were turned back by deputy sheriffs with riot guns.

"You got legitimate business in here?" demanded Sheriff Jack Cauthen. "Otherwise, no."

The sheriff, after some discussion, decided to let into the grounds only those Negroes from Madison County who wanted to register.

Six women and two men were allowed to pass. But before they reached the Courthouse steps the bell tolled noon and the registrar's office closed for lunch.

Then everyone marched to a store two blocks away where

AT 101°, A PROTEST BECOMES SWIM-IN

Mississippi

Negroes at Grenada, Miss., Splash Instead of March

NYT 7/13/66

Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., July 12—With the temperature at 101 degrees, the leaders of a civil rights protest movement decided against a street march here today and held a "swim-in" instead.

About 50 Negroes splashed in Grenada Lake, a United States Corps of Engineers project that has been technically integrated but little used by Negroes. There were no incidents. It was the second "swim-in" in two days.

Two dozen whites left the water before the Negroes entered. Some stood angry and perspiring on the bank for an hour until the Negroes left, then got back in the water.

Civil rights leaders spent the day in the air-conditioned sanctuary of Bell Flower Baptist Church discussing strategy. Hosea Williams, a top aide to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., called for a boycott of white stores.

"Clothes don't make the man," he told 130 Negroes.

He urged them to cancel their charge accounts and wear old clothes until Grenada became "an open city."

Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and local friends of the organization have pledged to make an example of Grenada for the rest of Mississippi. They have demanded an end to racial segregation in all phases of public life.

White leaders seemed bewildered. They went out of their way to please Dr. King and the James H. Meredith marchers when they passed through Grenada last month. Then, when civil rights workers stayed behind to start building the civil rights movement, the white attitude shifted.

Officials issued a curt statement yesterday saying all "demands, threats and intimidation" would be ignored. About 90 demonstrators have been arrested in two weeks.

Twenty-five state troopers broke up a Negro gathering Sunday night with nightsticks and gun butts. Two white civil rights lawyers and an employe of the Federal Community Relations Service were fired on with a submachine gun Saturday night.

The hardened attitude has added fuel to the Negro protest.

"We're going to have a movement in Grenada, Miss.," Mr. Williams told 250 Negroes last night. They cheered wildly.

The Leadership Conference has brought in 10 staff members and four volunteers, including several white persons.

The organization is putting emphasis on its white volunteers. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the chief advocate of the concept of black power, is de-emphasizing white support.

Dr. King has rejected the term "black power."

George Alan Smith Resigns As ANTA's Executive Head

George Alan Smith has resigned as executive administrator of the American National Theater and Academy, a post he assumed last September.

Donald Seawell, chairman of ANTA, said Mr. Smith's resignation was accepted "with great reluctance by myself and by every member of the executive committee."

Mr. Smith said that he was leaving to finish two books he is writing, and to become an independent consultant in the arts. Before joining ANTA he was a member of the special studies project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Patrol Clubs Smash Negroes Demonstrating in Grenada

MISSISSIPPI

AS 7/11/66

GRENADA, Miss. (AP)— Steel-helmeted highway patrolmen, wielding billy clubs and gun butts, drove off some 300 Negroes demonstrating outside the Grenada County jail, as sheriff's deputies scattered 100 jeering whites.

But civil rights leaders planned new demonstrations today — a swim-in and a read-in — in their test of public accommodations in this town of 7,914, halfway between Jackson — the Mississippi capital — and Memphis, Tenn.

The trials of some of the 43 civil rights workers jailed for staging a sitdown demonstration on a Grenada street come up today in city court.

Many of the Negroes dispersed Sunday from the jail area had come on a sympathy march for the 43.

Also scheduled today was a preliminary hearing for two white men arrested after shots struck near a federal official and two others as they were about to go into a Negro church late Saturday night.

A column of patrolmen, armed with shotguns, carbines and tear gas grenades, were marched into one group of about 200 Negroes standing near the jail at dusk Sunday.

The troopers were ordered to disperse the crowd after about 50 Negroes first refused to move from the jail house lawn, then shifted to a nearby spot where 150 Negroes were gathered.

The 50 — the ones who staged the sympathy march — infiltrated the larger group as police brought up a bus to take them away.

Patrolmen clubbed to the ground and arrested one Negro man who fought back when the troopers moved in.

When the first group had been scattered, the riot squad turned on another group of some 100 Negroes who were watching from a courthouse parking lot across the street.

The bystanders were still being hit with billy clubs and rifle butts by highway patrolmen when county policemen were ordered to disperse the noisy crowd of whites.

The whites fled and none were hit.

The 50 sympathy marchers, who actually rode in cars to the jail from a church after refusing to accept a police permit for a parade, clustered on the lawn of the new brick jail for 90 minutes before being told to leave.

Earlier, Sheriff Suggs Ingram announced that the two white men arrested had been charged with attempted murder. Later he said his announcement "was premature."

None of the three white men attacked was injured.

The sheriff said the shots were fired at Henry Aaronson, 32, of Jackson, Miss., an attorney with the NAACP legal defense fund; James L. Draper, 51, of the Federal Community Relations Service; and Oliver Rosengart, 24, a New York University law school student.

Sheriff Ingram declined to release the names of the arrested men until he completed his investigation.

Aaronson said he and the other two men were about to enter the Bell Flowers church for a meeting with local civil rights leaders when they saw two men, one with a "submachine gun."

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GRENADA REJECTS 51 NEGRO DEMANDS

Mississippi Officials Pledge Fair Law Enforcement

MISS881199

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., July 11—City and county officials stiffened their resistance today to an attempt by Negroes to have all phases of community life opened to them.

Answering 51 demands by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its local affiliate, the officials said in a statement:

"All persons are hereby notified that demands, threats and intimidation are not proper, appropriate or acceptable means of accomplishing anything, and any and all such tactics will be ignored.

There will be no concessions of any type or degree made to anyone whatsoever, likewise there will be no acceding to any such demands."

The officials pledged fair, firm and impartial law enforcement and denied charges of police brutality.

Troopers Doubled

About 175 Negroes were dispersed yesterday by 25 state highway patrol troopers using gun butts and nightsticks. The number of troopers on standby orders has been doubled.

Meanwhile, two white man were arraigned before a justice of the peace and charged with assault and battery with intent to kill in a submachinegun attack Saturday night on a white civil rights lawyer and two companions outside a Negro church.

The charge carries a maximum prison term of 10 years. A preliminary hearing will be held Wednesday.

The arraigned men were identified as B. C. Bennett of nearby Montgomery County and Bobby Todd of Grenada, both in their 30's. Mr. Todd was released on $2,000 bond and Mr. Bennett on $1,000.

Also today, 14 Negro youths desegregated Grenada Lake, a reservoir built with Federal funds. Several white swimmers left when the Negroes entered.

Elsewhere, 22 Negroes tried unsuccessfully to desegregate a swimming pool. The management turned them away at the entrance, telling them they would have to apply for membership.

Kiwanis Club Runs Pool

The pool is operated by the Grenada Kiwanis Club on a lease from the city. An applicant for membership in the pool club must be approved by two members of the Kiwanis Club.

The statement by the white officials represented a reversal of policy.

When the James H. Meredith civil rights march went through northern Mississippi last month, Grenada distinguished itself by its moderate attitude toward th demonstrators.

Officials acceded to a number of demands by the marchers, led at that time by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Negro voter registrars were hired to help process new Negro voter applicants.

About 20 civil right workers stayed in Grenada after the marchers had left. They reported a few days later that the Grenada county government had dismissed the Negro registrars and that attempts to desegregate public accommodations had met resistance.

Forty-two of 43 demonstrators who staged a sitdown in the street Thursday after being refused admission to a theater remained in jail in lieu of $100 bond each. Hosea Williams, assistant to Dr. King, went to Atlanta to try to raise bond money.

Young Democrats Launch Third-Stream Movement

7/17/66

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau, Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to the Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., July 18—A biracial organization of young Mississippi Democrats, recognized as the official youth affiliate of the senior national committee, is getting in line to become the party's "ears and eyes" in the state.

A crash organization program is underway by the group headed by Hodding Carter III, Greenville newspaper editor-son of the Pulitizer prize winner, and Cleveland Donald Jr., recent Negro graduate of the University of Mississippi.

Leadership in the Young Democrats group make it a point to explain that their organization "has no connection with either the all-white Mississippi Democratic party or the all-Negro Freedom Democratic party."

Its course is chartered directly into the National Democratic party.

THE YOUNG Democrats have more or less "taken the ball" from the senior Mississippi party leaders in opening their ranks to white and Negro alike. Despite the 1964 national convention mandate to the senior Mississippi Democrats to open ranks, they have made no move in that direction.

The Young Democrats expect to be "heard from" in next year's state elections for offices from governor to constables in the 410 beats in the 82 counties. However, they will center on the governorship with an eye to the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

Mississippi governors hold the title of titular head of the state party and as such usually head the national convention delegation. However, in 1964 Gov. Paul Johnson did not attend, but sent a more or less hand-picked delegation.

ALL EXCEPT four of the 1964 delegation failed to gain seats when they reneged on agreeing to support the party

MISSISSIPPI

nominees. Several of the four who remained are in the Young Democratic organization.

Despite the statewide organizational efforts of the young party members, the old-guard senior state group is standing "still" and without a state headquarters.

However, the Republicans are active having maintained a state party office for several years and is fielding candidates for the senior United States senatorship and four of the five congressional posts in the November general election.

THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS are not taking any part in the congressional elections, standing by for next year's state primaries.

Outside help is being given the Young Democrats by leaders in the national party. A fund-raising dinner was given for the Mississippians in Washington earlier this week hosted by Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York, and congressmen Charles Weltner of Georgia, George Grider of Tennessee, and John Brademas of Indiana.

THE FOUR national Democrats were recent visitors to Mississippi. Sen. Kennedy addressed a Young Democrats sponsored meeting at the University of Mississippi; Congressman Grider appeared at Oxford at a Jefferson-Jackson day fund raising dinner sponsored by the University of Mississippi Young Democrats club; Congressman Weltner addressed a Young Democratic rally in Jackson, while Congressman Brademas, a former University of Mississippi student, spoke at Young Democrats sponsored meetings in Jackson and Biloxi.

Indicative of the activity of the Young Democrats, the group has opened a state office in Jackson and employed three field men to travel the state in establishing local chapters.

A second annual state convention is planned in Jackson Aug. 27 with a name-national Democrat to be selected as its keynoter.

7/28/66
J.D.N.

Tougaloo Red Hits At Eastland

Editor, Daily News — In the July 21 edition of the Jackson Daily News I am mentioned by Senator James Eastland as one of "11 known Communists" who "participated and influenced" the recent Meredith-Mississippi March ("Eastland Names Reds in March").

It is not my intention in this letter to deny Eastland's "exposure". I am indeed a "known Communist" — a Marxist, a revolutionary socialist, an open advocate of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and its replacement with a world Socialist order. . .Eastland's intrepid snoopers could have saved the taxpayers' money, for in my two years of civil rights activity in this state I have never attempted to hide my polical convictions or my affiliations. Far from denying the charge, I am greatly honored to have been denounced on the Senate floor as an implacable foe o fthis most qualified representative of degenerate racism.

Eastland's latest blast is a heartening sign to the Negro people and the poor people of the state, for it shows that the old plantation master from Sunflower County is trembling at the spectre of thousands of Mississippians rising up to smash his beloved system of racist oppression.

Eastland, who constantly talks of Mississippi's "excellent" race relations, has the tricky job of explaining the mass support of the Meredith-Mississippi March among the state's Negro population, culminating in an enthusiastic rally of some 20,000 at the Capitol in Jackson. The best he can come up with is a handful of alleged Communists who happened to be among the tremendous crowd.

Sorry Senator, but the thousands of Mississippi people moved to action in recent events in the state know they are not "infiltrated." This was the Mississippi peoples' work, "agitated" by you and your kind and the decadent system you so ably represent.

The Senator screams "Communists are staging a revolution in this country." Speaking from the Senator's home state, I say yes indeed Mr. Eastland, there is a revolution being staged here, and although "Communists" can hardly be credited with staging it, it is a revolution [illegible]

the nation; to destroy the vile racism nurtured by Eastland and his ilk that blinds men to their common interests in struggle and has denied the most basic of human rights to vast numbers in this state; to destroy the attitude of subservience to a "law and order" designed to prepetuate a reactionary racist order, and to instill the revolutionary will to organize and flight among the opressed masses of this state. There is a revolution afoot here, which will consign all the Eastland's and everything they represent to their long deserved place on the garbage heap of history.

Eastland sees the handwriting on the wall, and fights back with any weapon he can get his hands on; for he knows that a society free of racist oppression means the social, political and economic death of all the James Eastlands of the world.

As a "known Communist" I am proud to be a participant in this revolution that will someday forever silence the James Eastlands.

Phil Lapsansky
Box 95
Tougaloo, Miss.

Editor's note — As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Sen. Eastland is one of the foremost authorities in the nation on the Communist conspiracy. Sen. Eastland has repeatedly warned of subversive influences in racial riots and demonstrations in the North and the South. In his speech citing Communist influence in the Meredith march to which reference is made above, Sen. Eastland identified a Phillip Lapsansky as "a current member of the Socialists Workers' Party, which organization has been cited by the U. S. Attorney General as subversive in accordance with Executive Order 10450." J. M. W.

tisan support of all those who work for a society free of racism, violence and exploitation of man by man.

There is a revolution afoot here to destroy the naked rule of the rich, which has made Mississippi the poorest state in

MISSISSIPPI

Eastland Names Reds In March

J.D.N. 7/21/66

Says 11 Communists In Meredith's Walk

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Communist participation in the James Meredith-Mississippi march was exposed by Sen. James O. Eastland today in the Senate.

Eastland named 11 known Communists who participated in the march.

"After Meredith was sprayed with birdshot on June 6, Mississippi was invaded by outside agitators including Communists," he said. "These Communists actively participated and influenced this march."

Eastland named Edward Crawford, chairman of the New York council to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as one of the Communists taking part in the march.

"This is the kind of thing that is behind the riots and shootings in the northern cities," Eastland told the Senate. "Communists are staging a revoltuion in this country."

Among others named by Eastland on the Senate floor were Earl Harris, a registered member of the Communist Party; Blyden Jackson, former campaign manager for Herbert Aptheker, member of the National Committee Communist Party, USA; Bennett Johnson Jr.; Clarence Jones, who held a position with the Labor Youth League, identified by Eastland as a subversive organization; Phillip Lapsansky, member of the Socialist Workers' Party; Oliver Leeds, member of Communist Party; USA; Stanley Levison, secret member of Communist Party, USA as late as 1963; Derrick Morrison, member of the Socialist Worker's Party of Detroit; Ann Mary O'Brien, former member of Labor Youth League and C. T. Vivian, member of Communist Party, Peoria, Ill., prior to 1947.

Eastland warned that such infiltration should not go unnoticed by the public, and he promised further exposure of Communists invoved in the march as well as other civil rights activities.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MISSISSIPPI NYT 7/25/66

Negroes Start Communal Farm To Escape Mississippi Poverty

94 Move Into 'Freedom City' After Machines Take Over Their Jobs on Plantations

By ROY REED

GREENVILLE, Miss, July 24—Ninety-four Negroes who are no longer needed on white men's plantations set up communal housekeeping today on a 400-acre farm they may some day call their own.

They hope that it will become a center of agriculture and small industry. It is eight miles south of here, near the town of Wayside, in the heart of the Mississippi River delta.

The new residents arrived in trucks today from Edwards, Miss., where they had lived in an abandoned college since mid-winter. They intend to rise at 5 A. M. tomorrow to start hoeing soybeans, cooking, sewing, and governing themselves.

Desperate Experiment

It is a desperate experiment. Unlike some past attempts at communal living, it is based on neither intellectual curiosity nor idealism.

The people moving into "Freedom City," as it is called, are puzzled, unlettered, almost inert. When their farm jobs were taken by machines, they stayed in the Delta rather than migrate to the cities of the North to find work.

Isacc Foster 24 years old, is the leader of the new community. He said he was not sure the people were entering with much hope of success.

"Mainly, they're coming here cause there's no place else to go," he said.

The new community was an idea of the Detla Ministry, a civil rights arm of the National Council of Churches.

The Delta Ministry is trying to lift Delta Negroes from their growing poverty. A survey last spring by the Mississippi Employment Security Commission found that 66 per cent of the Negroes working age in Washington and Bolivar Counties in the Delta were unemployed.

The Delta Ministry had a hand in an abortive attempt by 110 Negroes and civil rights workers to move into empty buildings at the deactivated Greenville Air Force Base in January.

It also had a part in an unsuccessful farm labor strike against a plantation at Tribett in May, 1965.

Consequently, many Mississippi whites regard the Delta Ministry workers as leftists and "outside agitators."

Some white neighbors reportedly tried to dissuade Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Keel from selling their farm near Wayside to the friends of the Delta Ministry.

The farm is being purchased through the Delta Opportunities Corporation, which is to hold it in trust for the Poor Peoples

The New York Times July 25, 1966

Negroes in Delta area move into a cooperative (cross).

his father defied the wishes of some white neighbors and tried to buy land so he could break out of the sharecropping, day-labor system. He was mysteriously shot and killled, and members of his family believe he was murdered because of the land.

Isaac Foster accomplished something that few other Delta Negroes have done; he completed high school. He was 21 when he graduated. He was never able to attend school more than 70 days a year.

He joined the staff of the Delta Ministry after civil rights workers from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party persuaded him to break the hold of plantation life.

Others have more difficulty breaking out, Mr. Foster said yesterday. Most plantation Negroes have little schooling. They are taught no skills beyond cotton chopping. They live in almost total dependence on the white "bosses" who provides furniture, food, housing and the schedule of daily work.

"I don't know if they will ever learn to work for themselves," Mr. Foster said. A major problem, he said, will be to teach the residents of "Freedom City" to accept the responsibilities that once rested with the "boss man."

The children may be a problem, too. Taking their place in a cycle of listlessness, they have been subjected to little discipline. Few were required to go to school, because school was pointless for a man born to hoe cotton, Mr. Foster said.

Openly Pessimistic

Mr. Foster will appoint committees for cleaning, cooking, sewing and working the land, but he is openly pessimistic. He and others tried at Edwards to teach basic literacy and the rudiments of cooperative living. They had limited success.

Walter Abney, 25 and his

To Escape Mississippi Poverty

94 Move Into 'Freedom City' After Machines Take Over Their Jobs on Plantations

By ROY REED

GREENVILLE, Miss, July 24—Ninety-four Negroes who are no longer needed on white men's plantations set up communal housekeeping today on a 400-acre farm they may some day call their own.

They hope that it will become a center of agriculture and small industry. It is eight miles south of here, near the town of Wayside, in the heart of the Mississippi River delta.

The new residents arrived in trucks today from Edwards, Miss., where they had lived in an abandoned college since midwinter. They intend to rise at 5 A. M. tomorrow to start hoeing soybeans, cooking, sewing, and governing themselves.

Desperate Experiment

It is a desperate experiment. Unlike some past attempts at communal living, it is based on neither intellectual curiosity nor idealism.

The people moving into "Freedom City," as it is called, are puzzled, unlettered, almost inert. When their farm jobs were taken by machines, they stayed in the Delta rather than emigrate to the cities of the North to find work.

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Consequently, many Mississippi whites regard the Delta Ministry workers as leftists and "outside agitators."

Some white neighbors reportedly tried to dissuade Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Keel from selling their farm near Wayside to the friends of the Delta Ministry.

The farm is being purchased through the Delta Opportunities Corporation, which is to hold it in trust for the Poor Peoples Conference, a self-help organization inspired by the Delta Ministry.

The farm and equipment cost $160,000. A downpayment of $40,000 was required, and the Delta Ministry received donations from the North and the East. Most of the money came from one unidentified donor, who provided $71,000.

The farm includes a modest residence, a large frame building that the occupants will use for their communal cooking and eating, five used tractors, a used combine and two used trucks.

The families will sleep in 24 plastic prefabricated houses that were ereved last week in a circle 200 yards down the blacktop road from the farmhouse. They were bought for $500 each from a manufacturer in Miami. Including the cost of shipping and building wooden floors, the cost of each was about $800.

Mr. Foster said the residents hoped to learn enough skills to start a modest industry, perhaps quilt-making, to be run by the women while the men work in the fields.

Mr. Foster was president of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union that struck the plantation at Tribett. He is an athletic(handsome bachelor, the seventh of thirteen children, who was raised on a plantation in nearby Sunflower County.

When Mr. Foster was a child, his father defied the wishes of some white neighbors and tried to buy land so he could break out of the sharecropping, day-labor system. He was mysteriously shot and killled, and members of his family believe he was murdered because of the land.

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Walter Abney, 25 and his wife, Dorothy Mae, 28, were among those moving in today. Mr. Abney explained that they had left a plantation in Sunflower County after the boss man "cussed" him for failing to help a white friend of the owner cut firewood.

Mr. Abney cannot read or write. He knows no skill higher than chopping cotton. Like others in "Freedom City," he has low mechanical skill and will be of little help if a tractor breaks down. He cannot drive an automobile.

But he seems to be spurred, slightly, by some combination of resentment against his former "boss man" and a vague hope that life will be better in "Freedom City."

He said he would like to learn to read and write. He was asked why.

"Well," he said, his dark face suddenly studious, "if anybody walks up and ax me to spell my name, or spell this and that . . ."

He thought a moment longer, then added that reading and writing might also help him, somehow, to get a job. But that obviously was a distant dream.

For the present, he was not worried. He had a place on this good, black soil, and the new soybeans were pushing through the ground at his feet.

"They up to a good stand," he said, regarding the beans with a warm smile. "We got a good rain last week."

NEGROES PROTEST ATTACK BY WHITES

MISSISSIPPI

Grenada, Miss., Marchers Return to Conflict Site

8/11/66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., Aug. 10—Negroes staged demonstrations here today to protest last night's outbreak of attacks by whites.

Some 100 civil rights demonstrators marched into the business district without incident this afternoon and later ate in six of the city's normally all-white restaurants to test compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mel Zarr, assistant counsel of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., announced, meanwhile, that his organization would seek contempt citations against state and local law enforcement officers who stood by laughing and chuckling last night while whites attacked civil rights marchers.

The officers are under a 19-day-old Federal court injunction that ordered them to refrain from interfering with marchers and directed them to give marchers protection.

"I had my hands full protecting myself and trying to keep things down." said Grenada County Sheriff Suggs Ingram today over an orange drink at Kent's Rexall Drug Store here.

The sheriff, a former barber who weighs 248 pounds and is 6 feet 2 inches tall, said he had 110 state and local officers under his command at the scene and "many others" on stand-by.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock last night, a crowd of about 150 whites threw bottles, bricks, steel pipes and firecrackers at some 300 demonstrators.

One 19-year-old staff worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was carried to the hospital with blood streaming down her face, and at least a dozen other Negroes were also injured—none of them seriously.

The attack sent demonstrators fleeing from the town square with the whites in pursuit.

At one point state and local officers stepped in between the whites and the demonstrators, turned their backs to the white crowd, and rested their guns on their hips with the gun barrels pointed over the heads of the Negroes.

Whites continued hurling missiles over the heads of the officers.

Demonstrators Warned

Many of the officers, including Sheriff Ingram laughed as the missiles struck the Negroes, then issued angry warnings to the demonstrators after two Negroes hurled missiles back at the whites.

Sheriff Ingram said today that some whites in last night's crowd had been drinking, and that he made no arrests "because I didn't know who was drinking and who wasn't drinking, and besides that was a problem for the city police."

State highway patrolmen declined comment on last night's violence. However, a Federal official said state patrolmen had been instructed by patrol headquarters in Jackson to take their orders from Sheriff Ingram.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Suthern Christian Leadership Conference moved into this light industrial and farming center of 4,500 whites and an equal number of Negroes in mid-June to continue a Negro voter registrration drive begun during the civil rights march through Mississippi this spring.

Many of the civil rights workers have since been arrested for "disorderly conduct" and other charges. And Monday night, law enforcement officers broke up a street rally with tear gas on the ground that Negroes were blocking traffic.

HOUSE PANEL VOTES C.I.A. BENEFITS BILL

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9 (UPI) — The House Armed Services Committee approved Tuesday increased fringe benefits for personnel of the Central Intelligence Agency, including subsidized vacations for them and their families.

The committee voted in closed session to send to the House floor legislation revising personnel policies for the agency. Improved retirement and medical benefits made up the bulk of the bill.

Also included was a provision to enhance life for C.I.A. employes serving overseas at so-called "hardship" posts. It would authorize the Government to pay travel expenses for the agent and members of his family for periodic vacations.

The agent, according to the bill, would vacation in a locale where he could relax and get away from the "conditions" that prompted the need for relaxation. The time spent would be deducted from the employe's regular leave quota. He would be permitted such trips once every two years or twice every three years.

Mississippi Highway Chief Faces Contempt Over March Handling

MISSISSIPPI AC 8/13/66

OXFORD, Miss. (AP) — The head of the Mississippi Highway Patrol and officials of Grenada, Miss., were ordered Friday to appear in federal court Aug. 24 to show cause why they should not be held in contempt for failing to protect civil rights marchers.

Judge Claude Clayton ordered the hearing following a motion by two civil rights lawyers asking that the officials be held in civil contempt. The motion alleged that the defendants violated a July 22 court injunction.

During three voter registration marches this week, Negroes in Grenada were targets for firecrackers, rocks and metal bits. More than 225 state officers were used to push back angry white.

The civil rights attorneys also asked Judge Clayton to broaden the injunction to prohibit officers from arresting or harassing civil rights workers when they are not engaged in a demonstration.

Named defendants in the contempt of court motion were Col. T. B. Birdsong, highway patrol head and four of his patrolmen, Grenada County Sheriff Suggs Ingram, Grenada Mayor J. D. Quinn, City Manager J.E. McEachin, Police Chief J. T. Ray and Constable Grady Carroll, all of Grenada.

The four highway patrolmen named as defendants were Giles Crisler, T. Y. Griffin, C. W. Eubanks and Paul McKelroy.

In response to another motion, Judge Clayton ordered returned $4,300 in bail bond money put up by 43 Negroes arrested July 7 on charges of parading without a permit. Clayton earlier ruled that Grenada's parade permit ordinance was unconstitutional.

Grenada, 42 miles south of here, was quiet Friday. An economic boycott, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, remain in effect.

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Watchdog Agency Now Eyes New Target---Subversives

AC 8/21/66

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau, Memphis Commercial Appeal

Special to The Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 20—Mississippi's 1956 legislative created Sovereignty Commission has turned from segregation to subversives.

Recognizing that its original role as an official "watchdog" of segregation has been put on leash by federal enactments, the commission at long last has accepted desegregation as "the law of the land."

At its first meeting last week since Gov. Paul Johnson took office in January of 1964, the commission shifted its policy to that of "watchdog" over subversive individuals and organizations that advocate civil disobedience. In that role it will exploit information about their movements in an effort to "reduce the effectiveness of their attempts to create turmoil in Mississippi."

IN ORDER to check on subversive individuals and allied organizations, the commission set aside $70,000 of its $200,000 two-year budget for in-

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vestigations and another $72,000 for its public relations activities.

Actually, the commission ended its segregation "watchdog" activities when Gov. Johnson took office and declared in his inaugural message to the legislature that "if I must fight it will not be a rearguard defense of yesterday . . . it will be an all-out assault for our share of tomorrow."

Later in February of 1965 the governor told the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that Mississippi accepts the 1964 Civil Rights act as the law of the land "and now asks those who have criticized our former position and actions to get off our back and get on our side."

GOV. JOHNSON's position drew caustic criticism from strong segregation groups who accused him of "surrendering." In that group was the Citizens Councils professional leadership whose sponsored radio-television forum had been given $195,000 in public funds for its private efforts at maintaining segregation.

When the first biennium of Gov. Johnson's administration began on July 1, 1964, one of its first acts was to stop the monthly donations started under former Gov. Ross Barnett to the councils' forum.

Rather than take a scattergun approach to its new "watchdog" role, the commission spelled out those it plans to investigate as "those individuals or groups who have a history of communistic beliefs or backgrounds on record with the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the House Un-American Activities Committee or the office of the U.S. Attorney General."

THE NEW POLICY was recommended by Erle Johnston Jr., commission director and publisher of a weekly newspaper at Forest, who like the governor, was accused by prosegregationists of "surrendering" and who was largely responsible for cutting off funds to Citizens Councils' sponsored forum.

In an address Thursday before the Mississippi Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives, Director Johnston said the stand taken in 1964 and 1965 by the governor "set the tone for an administration designed to be progressive and beneficial for all Mississippians, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."

"We recognize that eventually there must be restoration of racial communication to attain reasonable agreements in those areas where solutions are available," Mr. Johnston said. "This means that the white leadership of each community must be willing to face and discuss the problems that arise with the full support and confidence of their fellow citizens."

At the same time, the commission director said "the colored residents of a community must produce responsible spokesmen willing to talk cooperation instead of coercion."

Intensive Study to Shape New Educational Program

9/11/66

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 10—Gov. Paul Johnson's recommended comprehensive study of education designed to coordinate it with the realities of the world and away from fragmented organizational hierarchies and arbitrary divisions, is under way.

The study from organized pre-school training through the most advanced degrees and the research laboratory is being made by the nationally-recognized management counselling firm of Booz, Allen and Hamilton of Chicago. Cost of the first phase is $92,500.

Legislative authorization for the study was given after Gov. Johnson said "Mississippians can never hope to live as fully or as well as their fellow Americans until we do whatever is necessary to provide superior educational opportunities."

"THE TERM 'quality education' has become so trite that it grates upon my senses and I suggest a more meaningful, specific term, 'coordinated education,' " he said.

The initial phase of the project is designed to produce recommendations for the establishment of a modern 'management system' to assure that Mississippi taxpayers get the best achievable results for every dollar invested in education. It is to be completed by Jan. 1, 1967.

Phase One will cover the coordination and management of every level of education in the state, including the organization structure and management of the State Department of Education and the Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning.

MISSISSIPPI'S 1964 created Research & Development Council was designated to supervise the study and to contract with a competent professional organization for the services and skills required. In order to make it objective, an outside firm with no loyalties to or connections with any Mississippi school of institution was selected.

Gov. Johnson said with the facts professionally analyzed, along with financing alternatives, "the people will be able —for the first time—to measure realistically the size of the educational improvement task that lies before us."

The second phase, yet to be authorized, calls for a general plan for the future development of education in Mississippi to serve as a guide to the key government and education officials immediately and in the years ahead. It will identify needs and indicate the programs, personnel, facilities and financing required to meet those needs.

GOV. JOHNSON said when all phases have been completed "the work will have resulted in an objective evaluation of the existing educational system, recommendations for more efficient organization and management and a comprehensive master plan for the development and financing of the educational system of the future."

"It is this master plan and a modern management system and an organizational structure capable of carrying it out which conceivably could propel Mississippi to national leadership in the vitally important work of providing practical answers to the society's changed and changing educational requirements," he said.

The Mississippi study will be headed by Jack C. Page, a vice president of the firm and chief of its new regional office in Dallas, Texas.

POVERTY UNIT'S LINK TO BOYCOTT STUDIED

8/30/66 MISS

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29 (UPI) — Antipoverty officials today ordered an investigation of reports that a Federal Head Start project had helped in a boycott of white merchants in Shubuta, Miss.

The boycott has been waged along with civil rights demonstrations that began Aug. 6 when Shubuta officials do not meet demands listed under the letterhead "Shubuta Head Start Committee."

Theodore M. Berry, director of community action programs for the Office of Economic Opportunity, said no antipoverty programs were authorized to include boycotts. He ordered an investigation.

The demands were sent to the mayor and alderman last month with a cover letter from the Shubuta Community Planning and Improvement Committee.

"As a matter of policy, we are not making grants for the purpose of fostering economic boycotts," Mr. erry said. "But that does not preclude individuals in a private capacity from participating in lawful civic endeavor."

Mayor George S. Busby has said that the signers of the letter, leaders of the demonstration and staff members of the antipoverty program are the same persons.

U.S. SUES OFFICIALS TO PROTECT PUPILS IN GRENADA, MISS.

MISSISSIPPI

Charges Police Stood By as Negroes Were Attacked —Injunctions Sought

9/14/66 NYT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13—The Justice Department brought suit today to require officials in Grenada, Miss., to protect Negro children from whites who are opposing school integration there.

In a suit filed in Federal Court in Oxford, Miss., the department charged that local public officials, including the sheriff and chief of police, stood by yesterday while a crowd of whites beat Negro school children.

[Protected by Mississippi highway patrolmen, Negro pupils attended newly desegregated schools in Grenada for the second day of classes without apparent difficulty, The Associated Press reported. More than 100 white adults clustered in the area jeering.]

According to a statement released here by Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, District Judge Claude F. Clayton was asked to grant both a preliminary and permanent injunction, ordering the Grenada officials to protect the children in the future and to arrest and prosecute those who assaulted or threatened them.

City Is One Defendant

Named as defendants were the City of Grenada; J. D. Quinn, its mayor; Gilbert Allen, Francis Criss Jr., H. J. Ray Jr., Rogers Burt, L. D. Boone Jr., and John Brewer, of the Grenada City Council; J. E. [illegible] City Manager; Pat Ray, chief of police, and Bugg Ingram, Grenada County Sheriff.

The complaint alleges that the city officials were aware of "an imminent danger" that whites would harass, assault and interfere with Negro students seeking to attend local schools that were ordered desegregated by Judge Clayton last month.

According to the suit, Chief Ray, Sheriff Ingram and other law enforcement officials watched yesterday as the children were assaulted. It alleged that unless an injunction was issued, Grenada officials would continue "in their willful failure and refusal" to protect the children and their parents.

The move by the Justice Department, taken under its power to safeguard the integrity of the Federal judicial process, is expected to be only the first legal step by the department to meet the violence in Grenada.

In past situations of official indifference to racial violence in the South, the department has frequently secured Federal criminal indictments under one

Continued on Page 38, Column 6

U.S. SUES OFFICIALS IN GRENADA, MISS.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

or more Reconstruction civil rights laws.

One of these, a law that provides a 10-year prison sentence and $5,000 fine for conspiring to deny a person's civil rights, has been used by the Government against whites who use violence to oppose court-ordered integration.

Earlier, six New York Congressmen had joined with eight other members of the House of Representatives in a telegram to Mr. Katzenbach, urging that Federal indictments be brought against the guilty persons.

"We are shocked by reports that even little children have been beaten while exercising their constitutionally protected right to attend public school," the telegram said.

It was signed by Richard L. Ottinger, Adam Clayton Powell, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, William F. Ryan and James H. Scheuer, New York Democrats, and Seymour Halpern, New York Republican, and by George E. Brown Jr., Philip Burton, Don Edwards and Augustus F. Hawkins, California Democrats; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii Democrat; John Conyers Jr., Michigan Democrat; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota Democrat and Henry B. Conzalez, Texas Democrat.

Troopers Protect Negro Pupils At Integrated Grenada Schools

MISSISSIPPI 9/14/66

GRENADA, Miss., Sept. 13 (AP)—Protected by 50 Mississippi highway patrolmen in riot gear, Negro pupils entered newly desegregated schools here for the second day today without apparent difficulty. More than 100 white adults clustered in the area jeering.

The whites, who yesterday beat Negro students and newsmen and threatened others, turned on newsmen again today.

A window of one man's car was smashed on the street outside the school by the angry whites. Other cars were rocked and kicked.

A white man, mistaken for a reporter, was beaten to the ground as he talked with Constable Grady Carroll. The man, Henry Aaronson, a lawyer for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., his head bloody, was led away by officers.

"You better get the hell out of here right now," white toughs yelled at Jack Thornell, a photographer for The Associated Press. "We ain't going to have no picture taking here for that Yankee press."

A force of highway patrolmen, carrying tear-gas cannisters, riot guns and gas masks, moved in at this point and scattered the whites. The men and women reformed in small knots from the two Grenada (Gree-NAY-duh) schools.

The patrolmen earlier had been stationed about one block from the schools, where the Negro children encountered club-wielding white adults after class yesterday.

The patrolmen, part of a force of 175 sent into this tense north Mississippi town last night, had orders to protect the Negroes. About 100 Negro pupils desegregated the schools yesterday under Federal court order.

The 175 burly officers, in full riot dress, took over last night. They dispersed one hostile crowd early today. A white man who argued was slugged unconscious and carted off in an ambulance.

The crowd dispersed reluctantly, with cries of "Nigger lovers" and "I thought you were a good Mississippian!"

Several hundred whites, shouting defiance of both state and Federal authority, held a furious session last night in the City Hall auditorium to demand that the patrol be withdrawn.

"If you get that State Highway Patrol out of here there won't be a nigger left in Grenada," cried one man.

Mayor J. D. Quinn avoided replying to an angry query as to which official had called for patrol aid. But he said the move had been necessary, otherwise troops or United States marshals would have been sent in.

Under state law, the Highway Patrol may not go into a law enforcement situation off the highways unless local authorities invite them or the Governor orders them in.

Some 30 patrol cars were in this town of 8,000 residents yesterday — but they were not called in early to aid the city and county officers, most of whom merely watched the beatings.

Katzenbach Sues to Protect Grenada, Miss., Negro Pupils

MISSISSIPPI
AC 9/14/66

By The Associated Press

The Justice Department charged authorities at Grenada, Miss., Tuesday with wilfully failing and refusing to protect Negro children attending desegregated schools from assault by an angry crowd of whites.

The department entered a suit which Atty. Gen. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said asked U.S. District Court in Oxford, Miss., to order Grenada officials to provide protection for the children. The suit also asks that the officials be ordered to arrest and prosecute those who assault or threaten the children.

The department said that unless such an order is issued, Grenada officials will continue "in their wilful failure and refusal" to protect the children and their parents.

In other racial developments, Negroes at Bogalusa, La., voted to stage a protest march despite a city ordinance banning such demonstrations after Negro pupils complained of harassment by white pupils. And about 300 Negroes staged a destructive demonstration at Des Moines, Iowa, after a football game.

A. Z. Young, president of the Bogalusa Civic and Voter League, told Negroes, "When you get some money, don't spend it on wine, get a gun."

Several hundred whites protested federal orders integrating schools before the city's school board. Police had dispersed armed groups of whites and Negroes at Bogalusa Monday.

White persons beat Negro pupils and white newsmen in Grenada Monday, and turned on newsmen again Tuesday.

White toughs yelled at Jack Thornell, an Associated Press photographer, "we ain't going to have no picture taking here for that Yankee press."

A car window was smashed outside a school. Patrolmen moved in at the scene where Negro children earlier encountered club-wielding white adults.

About 100 Negro pupils have desegregated schools at Grenada under federal court order.

The Des Moines violence broke out after a high school Cerebral Palsy benefit game attended by about 12,000 persons. The Negroes broke windows and destroyed property within an eight-block area.

The destruction took place near Good Park, where several similar incidents of violence took place this summer. Police said they were unable to determine what started it.

Gov. Harold Hughes said the disturbance was "an irresponsible act by a group of delinquents."

Authorities at Pointe A La Hache, La., are trying to decide what to do about one of five schools integrated under a federal court order.

The five schools had an enrollment of 5,400 before integration. Now, they have a total of about 1,200 whites and 140 Negroes. But there are no teachers at Woodlawn High, where 31 Negroes are attending.

The entire Woodlawn faculty joined the staff of a proposed private school, and the 250 white pupils at Woodlawn remained at home.

MISSISSIPPI 9/15/66

6 Whites Are Seized in Grenada as Negroes Attend Classes Peaceful

Associated Press Wirephoto

Calm prevailed yesterday as Negro students passed armed highway patrolmen on way to high school in Grenada, Miss.

By HOMER BIGART
Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., Sept. 14 —Local policemen, under Federal court order to protect Negro children attending previously all-white schools, arrested six white men today. All six are natives of Grenada and one of them, Jerome Shaw, owner of a cotton gin, is a prominent segregationist. The police and city officials, cited by the Justice Department for "willful failure and refusal" to protect Negro children and their parents, were under a temporary restraining order issued last night by Federal District Judge Claude F. Clayton in Oxford, Miss. Among other things, the order restrained them from "failing to arrest all persons who violate the criminal laws of Mississippi, or ordinance of the city of Grenada by assaulting, threatening, harassing or intimidating Negro students and their parents." Assistant Attorney General John N. Doar, who spent today collecting evidence here, plans to seek a preliminary injunction tomorrow on the protection of school children. So many city officials have been called

Continued on Page 22, Column 3

6 WHITES SEIZED IN GRENADA, MISS.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

to the Federal courthouse in Oxford for tomorrow's hearing that Judge Clayton took the precaution of ordering all Grenada schools closed for the day.

School Superintendent Gayle Wilborn said Judge Clayton ordered the suspension because "he was concerned about what might occur while these officials were absent from the city."

For the first time since schools were desegregated Monday, Negro children went to classes today unmolested by white mobs. They were escorte dby a large force of state highway patrolmen, who were under stern orders from Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. to disperse what the Governor called "toughs and hoodlums." More than 30 Negro children were injured by mobs on Monday and yesterday.

The local police, meanwhile, went into action. Police Capt. W. C. Turner said the following had been arrested:

¶Jerome Shaw, 60 years old, a cotton gin operator, charged with disturbing the peace and destroying property. He was accused of attacking two cars carrying Negro children to the John Rundle High School yesterday. The children told reporters later that they saw "a middle-aged fat man" flail at the cars with a baseball bat. They said they were showered with glass when a rear window was smashed and that some of them were struck by the bat. Mr. Shaw was released in $400 bail.

¶Donald Bain, 19, charged with assault and battery yesterday near the school. He is accused of attacking a 12-year-old Negro boy who is in Mound Bayou Hospital suffering severe facial lacerations.

¶Archie Campbell, 20, and Robert Hall, 20, charged with having concealed weapons. A home-made blackjack, a logging chain and a rubber hose were found in the car they were driving. Young Campbell was later charged additionally with "fighting and disturbing the peace" at the school yesterday.

¶Harold Gee, 40, a construction worker, charged with "fighting and disturbing the peace" last night when a white crowd tried to break up a parade of Negroes around the square.

¶Jack Richardson, 38, charged with "fighting and disturbing the peace" during the same incident.

The City Council, under mounting pressure from moderates to speak up for law and order, issued a statement today saying it had been for law and order all the time. It was issued by Mayor J. D. Quinn.

"Law and order will be maintained in Grenada," the statement said.

"This is the position of the City Council. It has been the policy of the past and will continue to be the policy in the future. All persons violating any laws will be vigorously prosecuted in the courts. In no other way can order exist in Grenada. Full cooperation of all law enforcement agencies will eliminate lawlessness and insure peace and tranquility in our community."

Named in U. S. Suit

The entire six-man council along with the Mayor, Police Chief Pat Ray, Grenada County Sherrif Suggs Ingram and City Manager J. E. McEachin have been named as defendants in the Government's suit for an injunction.

This morning 87 Negro children marched to the formerly all-white schools without incident. The State Highway Patrol had sealed off the area near the Rundle High School and the adjacent elementary school, allowing no one but school children to enter. Segregationist crowds were nowhere in evidence.

Later about 12 Negroes picketed stores on the city square, continuing a boycott of white merchants that began in June. They carried signs demanding jobs and they encountered considerable heckling.

Down the street, Constable Grady Carroll, who wants to be sheriff of Grenada County, aired his personal views to television cameras.

Asked to comment on the mob assaults on newsmen while local police allegedly stood by without offering aid, Constable Carroll said that some reporters deserved a "cleaning."

"When they tell a lie they need a whuppin," he said.

From whom?

"From anyone who wants to give it to them," Constable Carroll said.

Texas Canyon Draws Visitors

CANYON, Tex. (AP)—The amphitheatre in Palo Duro Canyon has attracted thousands of visitors with its production of the musical drama "Texas." But the canyon itself has been an attraction for many people throughout the years. For instance, Mr. and Mrs. L. J. Jones of Hereford, Tex., who celebrated their golden wedding this year, went honeymooning in the canyon in 1916. They traveled in a covered wagon.

Maryknoll Office Terms Cut

MARYKNOLL, N.Y. (Religious News Service)—The Vatican has given the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers) permission to reduce the term of office of its superior generals from ten to six years. The authorization was granted by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at the fifth General Chapter of the Catholic order here recently.

Negro Boy Tells of Attacks By Angry Mississippi Mob

MISSISSIPPI

AG 9/16/66

OXFORD, Miss. (AP)—A Negro teen-ager who attended a newly integrated Grenada school Monday told Thursday of being struck by a soft drink bottle thrown by screaming whites and of seeing a friend nocked to the ground and stomped.

"People were shouting, 'Stomp that Nigger, kick that Nigger, kill him," continued Tommy Williams Roberts, an eighth grader. "Then the sheriff walked slowly over and broke it up."

Roberts' testimony about the opening day of school came during a federal court hearing on a Justice department demand that Grenada authorities be made to protect Negro pupils.

A newspaper editor, a reporter and two FBI agents also testified along with several Negro parents and students.

REOPEN TODAY

Judge Claude Clayton ordered the hearing resumed. After conferring with Grenada authorities and Justice department lawyers, the judge said Grenada schools could reopen Friday.

The schools at Grenada, a north Mississippi town 45 miles southwest of here, did not hold classes Thursday. Clayton had told them to close because he said he feared for students' safety with many officials required at the hearing.

Joseph B. Lee, editor of the Grenada Sentinel-Star, testified that he attended meetings of the city council called to discuss problems that might arise with "colored people being put into the schools."

"The city council is vitally interested in maintaining law and order," he said. Lee added that the council "had a dread of what might happen."

WINDOW SMASHED

Felix Freelon, a Negro, told of driving his son and several other boys toward the high school. He said a crowd of screaming whites with clubs stopped the car. He told of one man smashing a window with a blackjack and "coming after me."

Freelon said he ran from the car to a policeman but the officer said he was busy.

The Justice department wants Judge Clayton to issue a preliminary injunction which would strengthen the restraining order he issued Tuesday night requiring Grenada authorities to furnish protection to Negro pupils.

The witnesses described vividly the beatings of the Negro pupils and newsmen administered by white adults armed with ax handles, chains, tree limbs and lead pipes.

Mrs. Mary Peyton said she felt her son would have been killed had he alighted from a car outside the school. She said the crowd of whites met the car as she approached the high school.

POLICE ACCUSED

Two policemen watched, she said, but made no effort to break off the crowd when they began throwing rocks at the car.

When her son tried to get out of the car, the whites rushed over and he jumped back into the vehicle, she said.

"They would have killed him," said Mrs. Peyton, "I'm afraid that's what would have happened."

James Bonney, Associated Press newsman from Jackson, described the beatings of Negro pupils and newsmen.

Bonney told of seeing Robert Gordon, United Press International newsman from Jackson, being attacked in front of the school. Booney said Gordon, with blows hitting him from all sides, ran to the school property where an officer was on duty.

The officer ordered Gordon off the school property and when he turned back, the whites began beating and kicking him again, the witnesses said.

GRENADA POLICE ARE CALLED LAX

Mississippi

U.S. Suit Says Authorities Watched the Beatings

9/16/66

By HOMER BIGART

Special to The New York Times

OXFORD, Miss., Sept. 15—Government witnesses testified today that the Grenada city and county police had made no attempt to stop mob attacks on Negro school children and newsmen near that city's newly desegrated schools on Monday and Tuesday.

Hearings opened on lawsuits that have been filed by the Federal Government and a civil rights group requesting a preliminary injunction to require authorities in Grenada to protect the pupils. The suit charges the local police and city officials with "willful failure and refusal to protect Negro children and their parents."

The Government called as its first witness James Bonney, a reporter for The Associated Press.

Mr. Bonney said he had witnessed attacks on two Negro boys, a white photographer and a white reporter by toughs armed with ax handles, chains and sticks.

All attacks, he said, took place near city and county policemen. But, he said, he saw no attempts by the police to restrain the assailants or arrest them.

In one incident, he said that Robert Gordon, a reporter for United Press International, tried to escape from a mob by running across the school ground ises by a county policeman. Then the mob caught Mr. Gordon again and knocked him to the strett, Mr. Bonney testified.

Rescued By Policeman

Finally, two policemen came up and rescued Mr. Gordon. Mr. Bonney said that one of the policemen told the mob: "O.K. boys, he's had enough."

Under cross-examination by Thomas A. Watkins of Jackson, counsel for the City of Grenada, Mr. Bonney was asked if the crowd was not too big for two police to handle.

"They could have made a start" Mr. Bonney said with a smile.

The witness said he had seen about six or eight other police officers near the school.

Had Mr. Bonney tried to stop the attacks, Mr. Watkins demanded.

"I'd had suffered the same fate," Bonney replied. "I would have been of no assistance."

Mr. Watkins asked if Mr. Bonney had done nothing to call police attention to the attacks.

"That wasn't my responsibility," Bonney said.

Why had not Mr. Bonney attempted to make a "citizen's arrest," Mr. Watkins wanted to know. There was suppressed

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"That wasn't my responsibility," Bonney said.

Why had not Mr. Bonney attempted to make a "citizen's arrest," Mr. Watkins wanted to know. There was suppressed laughter in the courtroom and an objection from a Government attorney, J. Harold flannery.

Question From Bench

Judge Clayton asked Mr. Watkins, "You're not seriously suggesting that's what he should have done?"

Mr. Watkins said that he merely wanted to point out that Mr. Bonney had done nothing to suppress the attacks.

This afternoon, the Government brought to the stand a number of Negro parents and children who said they had been stoned and struck by the crowd while police cars stood nearby.

One girl said that when she approached a police officer with a complaint, she was told, "I'm busy, I'm busy now."

Another witness, Mrs. Mary Peyton, a Negro, said her car had been stoned as she drove her son to school.

She testified that a constable, Grady Carroll, standing nearby, witnessed the stoning and the smashing of the window in the car but did nothing.

The hearings are brought by the Government and by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. They are before Federal Judge Claude Clayton.

Governor Pledges Help

Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi said today that State Highway Patrolmen would remain in Grenada, to stop any new disturbances aimed at preventing news covarage of school integration there.

In a telegram to Elmer W. Lower, president of A.B.C. News, Governor Johnson said the Highway Patrol would remain in Grenada "so long as the situation demands."

He said all law officers there would "use every means to quell violence."

"This office wants all of your news personnel to have every opportunity to report straight facts on matters of interest to your viewers."

MISSISSIPPI

26 9/17/66

GRENADA OFFICIAL GETS JAIL TERM

Constable Is Given 4-Month Sentence for Contempt

By HOMER BIGART
Special to The New York Times

OXFORD, Miss., Sept. 16—Constable Grady Carroll of Grenada was sentenced to four months imprisonment today by Federal Judge Claude Clayton for contempt of court arising out of a civil rights case.

The contempt charge arose out of an attack last July by Mr. Carroll on Peter Eichenberry of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. Mr. Eichenberry was attempting to serve a subpoena on Constable Carroll when he was assaulted.

Judge Clayton interrupted the second day of hearing on a request for an injunction against Grenada City and County officials to sentence Mr. Carroll. During the testimony of the last two days, Constable Carroll has been cited frequently as a police officer who stood by while Negro children and newsmen were beaten by white mobs on Monday and Tuesday in front of newly desegregated schools.

At today's hearing Mayor J. D. Quinn and Police Chief Tat Ray testified that they thought their small police force—14 men—was sufficient to cope with the opening of the desegregated schools on Monday.

Judge Clayton seemed to be startled by the Mayor's testimony. "What you are saying," said Judge Clayton, "is that you were relying on a handful of policemen, assuming that the State Highway Patrol would come to your rescue if something happened."

No Inkling of Violence

Mayor Quinn and Chief Ray insisted they had no inkling that white mobs would appear at the schools.

A newsman who was beaten by a white mob on Monday in front of Grenada's newly desegregated John Rundle High School testified today that the local police made no arrests of the men who struck and kicked him.

He told a Federal Court hearing that the mob continued the assault after two city policemen had lifted him from the ground and held him by both arms.

A man poked him in the groin with an ax handle while the policemen held him, he testified.

But under cross-examination, James R. Reid, a photographer for The Memphis Press-Scimitar, said he did not mean to imply that the police were deliberately rendering him defenseless.

Mr. Reid said that a policeman said to him:

"Boy, you're going to get

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But under cross-examination, James R. Reid, a photographer for The Memphis Press-Scimitar, said he did not mean to imply that the police were deliberately rendering him defenseless.

Mr. Reid said that a policeman said to him:

"Boy, you're going to get killed. We've got to get you out of here."

By that time, he said, the mob had taken all his equipment. The policeman led him a block away from the mob and told him to run to the police headquarters and stay there, he related.

Negative Used in Evidence

He said that when his camera was returned to him it had been opened and some of the film had been destroyed. Ten of the negatives were salvageable, however, and one, submitted as evidence by the Government, showed a policeman in the background while the mob was beating up another Press-Scimitar photographer, Jack Cantrell.

Mr. Reid said that he saw the mob go into action around 12:25 P.M. when Negro children emerged from the school. He was standing in the yard, he said, and he heard "screaming and yelling and a man said 'Hot dog, they kicked one of them."

Then he said he noticed that Mr. Cantrell was being attacked by the crowd. Mr. Cantrell was knocked to the ground, "kicked and stomped" Reid said. He began taking pictures of the attack on Cantrell but the crowd saw him and he heard a yell: "There's another one. Get him."

"Four or five white adults, one a huge fellow, struck me on the head and body. They started taking my camera. I told them they could have the film and for a moment I thought we could negotiate. But then another assault wave—15 or 20 men—came running up and they all began hitting me. Police Chief W. C. Turner and two policemen appeared near me."

Pupils Remained in School

School Superintendent J. F. Wilborn, said that after the mob had assumed threatening proportions the Negro children were given permission to stay in the school auditorium.

Many of them, including a handful who had tried to run through the mob but had returned in fright, remained in the auditorium until the mob dispersed.

Then, Sheriff Suggs Ingram told them it was safe to leave and that they would be given an escort home.

Mr. Wilborn testified that Sheriff Ingram advised the children to leave by a rear door but that the Negroes had replied:

"No sir, we're going out the front door like white folks."

Thirty Negro children and their parents were injured by mobs Monday and Tuesday before the State Highway Patrol restored order.

Superintendent Wilborn produced records showing that 87 Negro children attended the previously all white John Rundle High School and the adjacent Lizzie Horn Elementary School Monday and that only 48 showed up Tuesday. On Wednesday, when the combined force of 300 Highway Patrolmen and game wardens had re-established security, the number of Negro children appearing at the desegregated schools rose to about 100, Mr. Wilborn said.

He said about 150 to 160 Negro children had chosen to attend the two schools.

A Church Voices Sorrow in Grenada Over Mob Violence

MISSISSIPPI—

By HOMER BIGART

Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., Sept. 18—There was a public display of contrition here today over the beating of Negro school children by white mobs last Monday and Tuesday.

At a call from the minister in the First Methodist Church, more than half the members of a congregation of nearly 500 came before the altar to kneel and pray for forgiveness. Some were weeping.

In the sermon, the Rev. C. B. Burt lashed out at the "bestiality" of the white adults who whipped and stomped the Negro children as they integrated two schools.

Mr. Burt said he had witnessed some of the mob action. He said he had seen Negro children stumble in terror as they tried to evade pursuit from a crowd brandishing clubs and chains. "I could hardly believe my eyes," he said.

Among his congregation were the former Grenada city manager, J. E. McEachin, who resigned while under attack for his moderate stand on civil rights, and Bradford Dye, Grenada's prosecuting attorney, who is also under attack but who refuses to resign.

No one walked out in protest when Mr. Burt delivered the strongest rebuke yet heard from a Grenada native against the violence that has put the city

Continued on Page 37, Column 5

GRENADA CHURCH EXPRESSES GRIEF

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

under Federal injunction to protect the Negro children.

Mr. Burt recalled that, as a chaplain in World War II, he had entered Buchenwald a few hours after the Nazi concentration camp was liberated. There he had seen "corpses stacked up for the furnaces," as well as "more than 50,000 living dead."

"I can tell you my heart was not filled with compassion for the German people," he said, "and yet I never saw an American soldier mistreat a German child."

Word that Mr. Burt intended to speak out against the violent element had spread through this town of 8,000 and the large red brick Church was filled to capacity.

Mr. Burt said he did not suspect that any of his congregation had taken part in the violence. But he wanted the members to ask themselves if they had done enough to forestall the "brutality."

As for himself, he said, he felt "a deep sense of guilt and shame" for not having been more outspoken on behalf of righteousness, law and order.

The churches of Mississippi have done too little to prepare the people for inevitable social change, he said, while the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Church has lost one of its finest young preachers to other states.

"Somewhere, somehow, the church has failed when there is this kind of hate and bestiality in a city of this size," Mr. Burt said. "Where was the church when these seeds were planted?"

Mr. Burt warned that Grenada was "in desperate trouble and will be for days to come."

He said "mean and vicious rumors" were being circulated against the "moderates" of Grenada. Two members of his congregation had even been accused of "hiding behind a hedge and taking pictures" of the mob, he said.

On Friday, Mr. Burt testified as a Government witness in the hearings at Oxford, Miss., that resulted in the issuance of the injunction. In his sermon, Mr. Burt said he had received an anonymous telephone call in which a man had asked:

"I just wanted to know if you went to Oxford to testify for the niggers."

"I testified just as any decent law-abiding citizen," Mr. Burt said, "but this man seemed to think I'd committed an act against the people."

None of the larger Protestant denominations has desegregated here and Mr. Burt said he did not think his own congregation was "ready" for it. Yet rumors abounded that "preacher Burt is going to integrate his church," he said.

TROOPERS GUARD GRENADA NEGROES

M/Ssissippi

Second Week of Integrated Schooling Begins Calmly

9/20/66

By EDWARD C. BURKS

Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., Sept. 19—The attitude of Grenada's shaken white population ranged from subdued or sullen to prayerfully hopeful today as about 160 Negro school children began their second week of integrated schooling without incident.

A good many whites in the community are seething with resentment, not only because of the school desegregation but also because of a week-long economic boycott by Negroes. Dr. King's visit appeared to be putting Grenada's fragile peace to a harsh test.

In addition, the hearing of the first-dozen cases by a city judge involving whites charged with assaults last week was scheduled. This, too, created an air of tenseness.

There were indications that some of the cases might be continued until next week.

Officials Enjoined

Federal District Judge Claude Clayton has issued a permanent injunction ordering local officials to protect the Negro school children from attacks or expose themselves to contempt of court charges.

Commenting on the judge's rebuke, delivered last weekend to city officials for what was termed their failure to prepare for the crisis, one official said today: "When the judge got through you thought you could crawl through the eye of a needle."

Judge Clayton's remarks had a great impact here, but the arrest of 13 whites, including a justice of the peace, on Federal charges that could bring maximum punishment of a 10-year sentence and a $5,000 fine, has been by far the most powerful restraint.

The town expects that other arrests in connection with last week's beatings may be made by Federal authorities.

This morning, under leaden skies, the Negro school children gathered at the Bellflower Negro church for instruction before marching to the downtown high school and elementary school outside which the assaults took place last week.

Negro enrollment at the two schools now constitutes 10 per cent of the total.

Instructions to the children were given by Hosea Williams, Dr. King's aide in charge, and by leaders of a California pacifist organization known as the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence.

Joan Baez in Lead

Then the children marched off, with Joan Baez, the folk singer, an officer of the pacifist group, up front with one of the little girls.

The marchers moved three blocks as television and press cameramen, who crowded the street, recorded every move. Then they turned into a street of large, handsome homes of whites. There the only thing approaching an incident took place.

A man outside an imposing white house shouted harshly for the crowd to make way, and as he did a woman with a child in her car backed furiously out of the driveway, honking her horn and forcing the line of march to break quickly. Then she drove off.

Near the schools, the marchers met 20 troopers gathered at a corner. A burly patrolman told Miss Baez that only students and parents could continue on to the schools, because of a school board request.

"Why?" Miss Baez and Ira Sandperl, director of the pacifist institute, demanded several times.

"This is America," Miss Baez protested.

She said she wanted to enter one school because the mothers of five Negro children had urged her to carry application forms to transfer their children to the former all-white school. The deadline for registration, already extended once, expired Sept. 9, but the Negroes want it extended again.

Finally a captain cut off the debate, answering another "But why" question with: "Because we say so."

Earlier, nine of the children were sent back from the high school. The school authorities reported the pupils had not been registered before the Sept. 9 deadline. A similar number reportedly were sent from the elementary school. School authorities said these children would go to the Negro school.

Miss Baez told reporters she was marching because of the guilt she felt for white Americans and the shame she felt that Negroes had been assaulted last week.

United Press International Telephoto

ACCOMPANIMENT BY JOAN BAEZ: Negro pupils, heading for integrated school in troubled Grenada, Miss., are led by Joan Baez, the folk singer, who is shown being stopped by a state highway patrolman. She was kept from entering the school site.

U.N. Peace Force Leaders Fear Outbreaks in Cyprus

NICOSIA, Cyprus, Sept. 18 (AP)—United Nations peace force chiefs expressed fear today that there might be fresh outbreaks of shooting between the rival Greek and Turkish factions.

At Arsos, 15 miles southeast of Nicosia, the capital, more than 300 Greek and 300 Turkish inhabitants exchanged gunfire about midnight.

There were no casualties.

Tension has been high in Arsos for 10 days since the murder of a Turkish Cypriote and a reprisal attack in which one Greek Cypriote was killed and two others wounded.

There was also tension in about a dozen villages in the mountains of northwest Cyprus, where Turkish Cypriotes denied a Government charge that they had set more than a dozen forest fires.

291 Pledge Law, Order At Grenada

MISSISSIPPI
A C 9/21/66

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

GRENADA, Miss.—Nearly 300 prominent white citizens of Grenada issued a statement of principles Tuesday promising to use "all of our influence to the support of law and order."

The statement condemned last week's violence by white mobs against Negro school children and called on officials to give their fullest support to upholding the law, regardless of the circumstances or persons involved.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led a peaceful march of about 160 Negro school children for several blocks to the vicinity of two of the schools that were desegregated last week.

King praised them as "young pioneers of freedom" and told them: "Go on with your disciplined kind of non-violence that will bring the whole nation and this whole community to your rescue."

The white community's statement of principles was signed by 291 white men and women, including bankers, industrialists, professional men, ministers, city officials and housewives.

"We believe that the effective education of our children is absolutely essential to their well-being," it said, "and we insist that an atmosphere conducive to learning be maintained in and around all schools."

Grenada's Leaders Score Attack on Negro Children

MISSISSIPPI

By EDWARD C. BURKS

Special to The New York Times

9/21/66

GRENADA, Miss., Sept. 20—Nearly 300 prominent white citizens issued today a statement of principles promising "all of our influence to the support of law and order."

The statement condemned last week's violence by white mobs against Negro schoolchildren and called on officials to give their fullest support to upholding the law at all times, regardless of the circumstances or persons involved.

This was the first strong public declaration by a substantial body of responsible white citizens in this mill town of 9,000 since the beatings that accompanied school desegregation last week.

It was issued while the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was here to rally Negroes and their children with moderate but firm language.

This morning the Negro leader led a peaceful march of about 160 Negro schoolchildren for several blocks to the vicinity of two of the schools desegregated last week.

The marchers started from the Bell Flower Baptist Church after Dr. King had addressed them. He praised them as "young pioneers of freedom" and gave this advice:

"Go on with your disciplined kind of nonviolence that will bring the whole nation and this whole community to your rescue."

Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference is making one of its key drives for Negro rights here. However, the conference and the local Negro

Continued on Page 32, Column 3

GRENADA WHITES VOW TO OBEY LAW

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Freedom Movement were turned down in their attempt to meet with top city officials to discuss the racial crisis.

In response to a telegram signed by the Rev. Sharper T. Cunningham, head of the Grenada County Freedom Movement, and by one of Dr. King's lieutenants, the City Council called a special session at 8:30 A.M. and then wired back its refusal.

The council's reply said that "official policy of the city is that every citizen of Grenada, regardless of race, color or religion, will be afforded the benefit of all the rights provided by law and will be protected in the enjoyment of these rights."

Following last week's violence, approximately 150 state troopers and 100 state fish and game wardens were rushed here to keep order. Most of them are still on the scene. Some city officials have indicated that they were willing to talk to local Negro leaders, but they have been adamant in their refusal to deal with Dr. King or his lieutenants.

Dr. King left the city by automobile for Memphis this afternoon, failing to appear for a news conference that had been scheduled earlier. He made no comment during the day on the statement of principles that had been signed by 291 bankers, industrialists, professional men, ministers, city officials and housewives.

The statement was most specific on the subject of the school situation, where all 12 grades were desegregated by a Federal Court order last week.

"We believe that the effective education of our children is absolutely essential to their well-being," the statement said, "and we insist that an atmosphere conducive to learning be maintained in and around all schools."

The state police have been protecting the schools, and no incidents of importance involving students have been reported.

Boycott Criticized

The effective Negro boycott of white merchants since July was described in the white citizens' statement as injurious to proper relationships and the best interests of the community.

But the statement concluded: "We are firmly committed to the proposition that both races can continue to live in this community on mutually satisfactory terms."

Among the signers were all city councilmen, Bradford J. Dye, city prosecutor; S. E. Krueger and W. W. Odom, top executives of Grenada Industries, a hosiery mill that is the town's largest plant; G. M. Moore and H. J. Ray Jr., top executives of the two banks, and J. M. Boyd, one of north Mississippi's largest contractors.

Associated Press Wirephoto

TO SCHOOL IN GRENADA: Youngsters in Mississippi town are escorted to integrated school by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in the town to rally Negroes.

Dr. King arrived last night to address a capacity audience of nearly 1,000 Negroes packed into the First New Hope Missionary Baptist Church.

He told the enthusiastic group: "We're going to remain working here until Grenada comes to terms with its conscience. We plan to go all out to make Grenada a model city."

Thirteen whites have been arrested on Federal warrants charging them with conspiracy in the mass attacks on the Negroes last week. One Negro child, 12-year-old Richard Sigh, whose leg was broken during the assaults, remains in the hospital.

Man, 58, Killed by Cab

A 58-year-old man was killed early yesterday morning when he was struck by a taxicab as he tried to cross Broadway at 68th Street. The police said the man, Charles Miller, of 77 West 68th Street, was hit shortly after 2:30 A.M. by a cab driven by Manuel Rodriguez of 1781 Lexington Avenue. Mr. Miller was taken to Roosevelt Hospital, where he was pronounced dead on arrival. Mr. Rodriguez was released after questioning.

MISSISSIPPI PACT ON POVERTY ENDED

Head Start Group Is Ousted by U.S. for Irregularities

10/4/66

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3—The Office of Economic Opportunity announced today that it had terminated Mississippi's Head Start project, one of the most politically controversial operations of the antipoverty program.

The poverty agency said its decision was not based on political and civil rights considerations, though these have sharpened the dispute over the project between militant civil rights supporter and segregationists. The decision was based, the agency said on serious deficiencies and irregularities.

An internal agency report last week said about $654,000, more than 10 per cent of the grant made to the Mississippi pre-school training project last February, should not be approved as valid expenditures because supporting documents and information were lacking. No criminal charges are being made

A new, biracial group, organized under the influence of the White House, is expected to succeed the ousted Mississippi group, which operated in 20 counties.

The poverty agency said, however, that it was inviting applications from other qualified and responsible groups and hopes to expand its work to parts of the state so far untouched by the antipoverty program.

Head start is a health and school orientation for children of 3 to 5. It has a high degree of parent involvement and appears to be the most popular of the antipoverty projects.

The Mississippi project was known as CDGM, meaning Child Development Group of Mississippi. The sponsor was Mary Holmes Junior College.

Successor Agency

The successor agency will be run by a 12-man board headed by a Negro and a white as co-chairmen.

One is Aaron Henry, a Negro from Clarksdale. Mr. Henry is a civil rights pioneer who was one of the founders of the militant Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. He ran for governor in 1964 on that party's ticket, but has since left the group.

The other is Owen Cooper of Yazoo City, an official of the Mississippi Chemical Corporation. One of the members of the newly chartered group is Hodding Carter 3d, editor of The Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville.

The politically delicate task of setting up the new body was handled by Harry C. McPherson Jr., special counsel to the President, and Douglas Wynn, Greenville lawyer.

Meantime, Clyde C. Ferguson, Dean of the Howard University Law School, has complained to Sargent Shriver, director of the poverty agency, that some of his students, working as summer employes of the agency, had been "misused" in connection with the Mississippi investigation.

Mr. Shriver replied with a general denial and said he would investigate further. Howard is a Negro university in the District of Columbia.

Several of these students reported that they had been instructed to disguise themselves in their "movement clothes"—dress that would identify them with a civil rights organization — and find derogatory information about CDGM. One said he was directed to fly to Jackson, walk down the airport's left ramp, stop at the information booth, and ask for "Zed."

He said he did so and was told to find out whether any persons in CDGM were, or had been, members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or of a group advocating "black power," or the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. If they found such information they were to report it and then find out if these individuals had used CDGM equipment.

SHRIVER OPPOSED ON FUND CUTOFF

MISSISSIPPI

Reuther Unit Scores Decision on Mississippi Head Start

NYT 10/6/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5—A political issue is building up over the decision of Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, not to refund Mississippi's 28-county Head Start project for pre-school children.

The Citizens Crusade against Poverty, a national organization, is going to lead the fight against that decision. Walter P. Reuther, chairman of the crusade, expressed his concern in a statement today and said:

"I feel that it is extremely unfortunate that the Office of Economic Opportunity has announced a decision not to refund C.D.G.M. [Child Development Group of Mississippi] at the very time that a distinguished board of inquiry is making its investigation into this situation and is preparing to make its findings public."

Mr. Reuther said he had asked for a meeting with Mr. Shriver on Friday to tell him what the crusade's board of inquiry had found on its visit to Mississippi. He said the board would meet Saturday to droft its final report.

Also, said Mr. Reuther, he has called an emergency meeting of the crusade's executive committee next Monday in Washington to review the report.

A Mississippi meeting to protest the agency's decision has been called for Saturday in Jackson.

The crusade's staff here has accused Senator John A. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, and other segregationists of using their political power to kill the antipoverty project.

Mr. Shriver's office said the decision was based solely on failure of the project to measure up to minimum managerial needs. O. E. O. spokesmen specifically denied reports of White House interference.

A new biracial group has been chartered in Mississippi and will apply for Head Start funds. Hodding Carter 3d, editor of The Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, a member of the group, also denied published reports that the White House had something to do with its formation.

"If there were any conversations with the White House," he said, "they occurred too late in the process to influence us."

Mr. Carter said also that his group had not been formed as a rival of C. D. G. M. but only as a standby so that the poor children of Mississippi would not be deprived of Head Start advantages in the event C. D. G. M. was not refunded.

MISSISSIPPI TEST ON POVERTY SET

New Biracial Group Gets Its First Head Start Funds

10/13/66

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 12—A newly chartered biracial group—Mississippi Action for Progress—formed to take over Project Head Start and possibly other antipoverty activities will test this state's prospects for improved race relations in the conduct of Federally financed programs.

MAP has been criticized by backers of the controversial Child Development Group of Mississippi, a civil rights-oriented organization. Its Head Start program has been terminated by Washington after a turbulent year of political conflict with Senator John Stennis, Democrat, and other Mississippians in Congress.

The new organization's first grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity was announced last night. It is $3-million, the first installment of $10-million reserved for Head Start projects.

Militant civil rights workers here have charged a "sellout" by Negro leaders who have joined in forming the Action for Progress group.

Appeasement Charged

The economic opportunity office rejected the Child Development Group's request for a new $20.3-million grant to extend its operations after Federal investigators had reported evidence of mismanagement. Friends of the group charge that the appeasement of Senator Stennis is back of the decision.

Champions of Action for Progress describe it as a "blue ribbon" group of white and Negro leaders. The group was quietly organized several weeks ago when the economic opportunity office first indicated that the Child Development Group would not receive further funds.

Action for Progress is the first state-recognized organization bringing together moderate and liberally inclined white business and civic leaders of the state and Negro leaders with a substantial following.

Its present board of 12, to be expanded to 18, is headed by Owen Cooper of Yazoo City, one of Mississippi's most powerful white industrialists, and Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose organization has been fought in the past by Mississippi politicians.

Other members on the board include G. L. T. Smith, Jackson Negro businessman and longtime leader in the civil rights movement; Dr. W. P. Davis, white Baptist minister and president of the Mississippi Baptist Seminary for Negroes; Leroy, Percy, Greenville banker and land owner whose family is part of the pioneer stock of the Delta country; Hodding Carter 3d, Greenville newspaperman, Democratic leader and liberal spokesman; Oliver Emmerich, McComb editor and publisher; Oscar Carr, Clarksdale cotton planter; Charles Young, Meridian Negro businessman and chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Conference; the Rev. M. W. Lindsey of West Point and James Gilliam of Clarksdale, a Negro Masonic leader.

Six members of the board will be drawn later from the poor in the poverty "target areas" in the state.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson, who is committed to a campaign pledge that he will never appoint a state biracial commission, has nonetheless endorsed the board and approved its incorporation charter.

That white leaders in Mississippi would sit down with widely known Negro integration leaders was unthinkable in the recent past. "It's still difficult to get people who have a lot to lose even at this stage of the game to do it," said a key figure in the group.

But the reaction in still-segregationist Mississippi to the new group has been unbelievable.

"I've only had one nasty letter," said Mr. Cooper, the chairman of the group, and "otherwise I have had nothng but a favorable reaction."

214 Jailed For March In Grenada

A 10/25/66
MISSISSIPPI

GRENADA, Miss. (AP) — Police arrested 214 Negro marchers — most of them school-age children — Monday when they refused to stop at barricades around integrated Grenada schools.

Sheriff Suggs Ingram said 101 of the demonstrators were sent to the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman, about 45 miles west of here.

They were transported to Parchman in large stake-body trucks.

Ingram said those sent to the prison were all 15 and older and included 10 civil rights leaders and 91 parents and pupils.

Those arrested were charged with obstructing normal use of public sidewalks and refusing to obey an order to disperse.

Police said the marchers refused to turn back at highway patrol barricades two blocks from the school where patrolmen have been stopping everyone but pupils and their parents since early September, when violence against Negro pupils and newsmen accompanied the opening of schools.

Some of the younger Negroes arrested were later released to their parents, Ingram said.

There were no reports of violence and a number of those arrested remained in city and county jails.

City-County School Supt. Gayle Wilborn announced the school board filed suit in federal court at Oxford seeking a preliminary injunction "against persons interfering with school operation."

A hearing, he said, was scheduled for Monday before U.S. District Judge Claude Clayton.

The school system has suspended 287 Negro students, including almost all attending the integrated John Rundle High and Lizzie Horn Elementary schools, until Nov. 1.

The one-week suspension came Saturday after a walkout of Negro students the day before and the announcement of a Negro boycott of schools.

Shriver Here, Disagrees With Mississippi Group

AC. 10/25/66

War on poverty chief Sargent Shriver spent most of Monday in Atlanta meeting with a Mississippi group whose funds he had cut off. He found the meeting "productive" but the group termed it a "failure."

A plea by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on behalf of the Child Development group of Mississippi failed to convince the Office of Economic Opportunity director to refinance the group which conducted Head Start programs in 28 counties, but he left promising to work with them to "overcome serious deficiencies" in their program.

Shriver left about 3:30 p.m. to return to Washington, but the meeting continued into the night and the CDMG board announced its "keen disappointment at the failure of today's negotiations with Mr. Shriver."

"We expressly regret OEO's misinformation, intransigence and lack of understanding of Mississippi's problems," the board said.

'ALMOST INCREDIBLE'

Shriver called their statement "almost incredible" after what he considered a reasonable exchange of opinions and "candid exploration of areas of misunderstanding," but he reaffirmed OEO's determination to meet more with the group and see if it could be brought up to standard for refinancing.

CDMG leaders also expressed their intention to continue to meet, even though Monday's meeting couldn't even bring a statement of agreement on how it went.

Shriver said the money could not be resumed without "comprehensive reorganization."

"They would have to get rid of some of the people they've got and hire some new and different ones — professionals," he said.

KING BACKS

Dr. King called the program "one of the finest in the country —a paragon of what a community action program should be."

Calling the cut-off a response to political pressure by Sens. James Eastland and John Stennis and Gov. Paul Johnson, King said, "I see certain controls that don't look good to us."

King said he had come to express his "absolute support of CDGM," and added that he hoped funds would be restored "so that it will not be necessary to demonstrate or anything of that nature."

He said people on Head Start payrolls had been using their work time as well as government equipment for civil rights activities and had failed to handle contracts properly, control funds or follow OEO policies.

PURELY FISCAL

Shriver, however, called the decision to cut off CDGM "purely fiscal, administrative and programmatic . . . It was not political . . . There was evidence of people not doing their jobs properly."

'HONESTY, TRUTH' NEEDED

MISSISSIPPI

Dean Blasts Negroes Who Use CR Issue For Political Gain

Jackson Daily News 10/28/66

The time has come to criticize Negro leaders who are using civil rights issues to gain economic and political power to control large numbers of people, the executive director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations said here Thursday.

Kenneth L. Dean of Jackson, in his director's report to the annual meeting of the biracial council, said that at least three Negro leaders in Mississippi are "taking on the characteristics of irresponsible political powers who would use economic and political powers to keep people from being free."

Dean declined to name the three Negro leaders.

He said that the Council on Human Relations should "plan its program on the basis of honesty and truth without regard to race."

Earlier in his report he had said that three things are vital if Mississippi is to improve its national image. He said they are:

—Desegregation of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol.

—Complete desegregation of local draft boards.

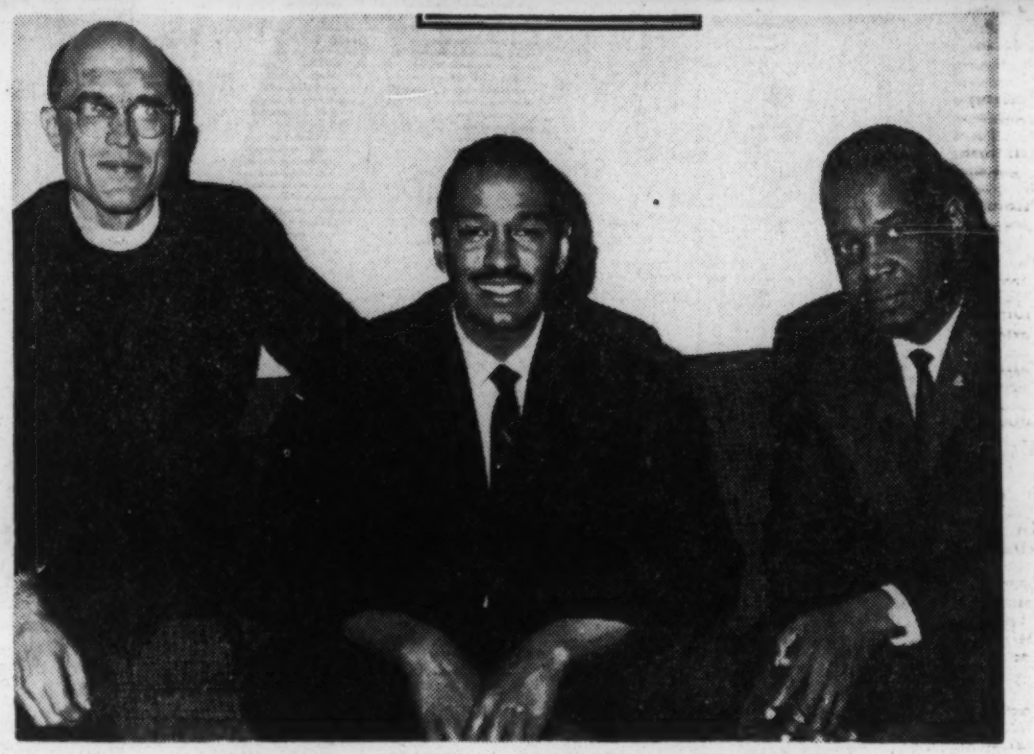
—Complete desegregation of the Mississippi Economic Council.

Concerning the highway patrol, Dean said. "There is no reason not to have people from every racial group involved in promoting the safety of the people of the state. Contrary to popular belief, the first interest of the highway patrol is to make our highways safer places for travel.

"It would be particularly helpful to our nation image if we would desegregate the patrol because many people think of the oversized white patrolman as representing all the negative force that has been attributed to our state. Desegregation of the patrol would give more people in the state a feeling of participation in the preservation of safety and in maintenance of law and order in our state."

Dean said that there are at present "at least two positions open on every draft board across the state. The issue of military service is becoming more and more a critical point

Continued on Page 16A



HUMAN RELATIONS SPEAKERS

Michigan Democratic Congressman John Conyers Jr., center, talks with the Rev. Duncan Gray of Meridian, left, and state NAACP President Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, prior to his address to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations Thursday.—Daily News Staff Photo by Charles Gerald.

(Conyers story p. 2)

DEAN

Continued from Page 1A

of discussion with undercurrent racial interest.

"It is right that Negroes should be involved in the decision making process regarding military manpower. I know of no better way to increase the level of patriotism in our state. Mississippians take great pride in this kind of loyalty. It would increase this feeling and be a symbol of good faith if desegregation of draft boards could be accomplished."

The Council director said that the Mississippi Economic Council "has done some of the more responsible work in our state in recent years. People from national concerns are constantly asking me about the MEC and if they are still leading the way in the promotion of better human relations. The last annual meeting of the MEC made a step i nthat direction.

"I recall that one speaker pointed out that the time has come for us to move and he was careful to point out that money is not segregated at the banks. The point has direct significance for the MEC and it would help the state considerably if the MEC could see fit to translate this into its own structure and program. Many local chambers of commerce have desegregated with little or no trouble."

CDGM

Correspondence

Were We Wrong about Mississippi?

Sirs:

In publishing the October 15 story entitled "Shriver Drops CDGM" [Child Development Group of Mississippi] *The New Republic* has lent itself to a continuing and scurrilous attack on the motives and good faith of the NAACP and its leaders, particularly those of Roy Wilkins.

The statement that "The White House called Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, who in turn got in touch with Aaron Henry," is a plain, unvarnished lie. Moreover, the author or authors of it know it is a lie, and they have fabricated it in order to cast a slur on the NAACP. Mr. Wilkins has not discussed CDGM with either Aaron Henry or anyone in the Administration.

Like many others, both groups and individuals, who have been deeply concerned about the future of CDGM and of the Headstart program in Mississippi, I have had conversations with Aaron Henry and with officials of OEO over the past six weeks. Our position has been to support fully that of Aaron Henry, our state president in Mississippi, of Charles Evers, our Mississippi field director, and of the NAACP state executive board, all of whom have been explicit in urging (1) that OEO renew its grant to CDGM, and (2) failing that, that some alternative machinery should be set up in order that the programs might continue. The executive board reaffirmed this position as recently as October 2, 1966. No representatives of the NAACP have met, secretly or otherwise, with Senator Stennis.

The true intent of the writer of your story is further underscored by his snide reference to Aaron Henry as "a one-time Mississippi radical who has turned moderate." Short of losing his life, no Negro in Mississippi can surpass Aaron Henry's credentials as a militant leader in the fight for racial justice. How many bombings, beatings and jailings does your writer require?

It is pertinent to note that the position of our Mississippi leadership was based on principle and that it chose for that reason to ignore the studied exclusion of NAACP participations from most of the programs conducted by CDGM. The references to NAACP in your story were thus not only untrue and unfair; they compounded an injury sought by forces in Mississippi which are dedicated to the elimination of NAACP influence from the state.

John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director
NAACP
New York, N.Y.

Your article . . . contains a number of major errors of fact and interpretation about Mississippi Action for Progress. Some can probably be explained by the press of time and the necessity to get something into type. Others are the obvious result of a deep bias in favor of CDGM, a bias which some members of MAP's present board of directors shared. But there are others for which the kindest word is untruth.

Item: MAP is not going to strip the Head Start programs which it will operate of their comunity action function. Its by-laws specifically provide for county committees which will be formed from those participating in the program in each county. These committees will have direct responsibility for program direction, policy recommendations and personnel supervision. It is MAP's deepest hope that within a very short time these committees can be spun off as independent units operating as CAP boards under separate financing and their own direction.

Item: MAP's board will not be entirely hand-picked by its first 12 members. Six additional directors will be elected by and from the counties in which MAP will operate Head Start programs. This, too, is stipulated in the by-laws.

Item: It is a lie to assert or imply that state NAACP members met secretly with Sen. John Stennis prior to or after MAP's formation. They have never done so. It is a lie to assert that the White House contacted Roy Wilkins who in turn contacted Aaron Henry to serve on the new board. The only contacts were made between MAP board members and OEO representatives. It is a lie to say that any White House assistant or Douglas Wynn had any part to play in putting the MAP board

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together. They did not. Wynn played absolutely no role in contacting or convincing anyone on MAP's board to serve.

Item: It is a mistake to say that Owen Cooper and Aaron Henry were at any time co-chairmen of MAP. At MAP's first organizational meeting, held on Oct. 6, Cooper was elected chairman and Merrill Lindsey was elected vice chairman.

Item: Oliver Emmerich is not a loyalist Democrat but a long-time Republican, having backed Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 and Nixon in 1960. Several other board members are not Democrats or Republicans but independents.

Item: It is a misstatement to say that this board is intended as a political vehicle of any kind. Owen Cooper has no intention of running for governor in 1967. If anyone knows anything about Mississippi politics at *The New Republic*, he must know that service on a biracial committee of this sort would automatically destroy any white's political ambitions in Mississippi. Further, an item in the by-laws of MAP specifically states that no board member can run for any elective office, other than relatively inconsequential local ones such as school boards.

Your zeal in CDGM's behalf is not at issue. There is no one on MAP's board who had any desire to undertake this program as a device to kill CDGM. All were assured that there would be no Head Start program for countless Mississippi children unless a new board could be formed. MAP has only one intention: to bring Head Start to as many children as possible. It does not intend to compete in any counties in which there are existing Head Start centers.

The gratuitous remarks that MAP's charter provides that it shall be kept secret is, perhaps, an understandable misunderstanding, but it is standard language in all non-profit corporation charters to say that the charter need not be made public, just as the charter also says that there will be no issuance of stock, etc. The charter itself is and was a matter of public record.

MAP is a creation of its members. There have never been any conversations, deals or manipulation with or by any Mississippi official or any White House official in establishing the organization. In this case, I would suggest that final judgment on what MAP may do be suspended until you see what MAP does do.

Hodding Carter III
Greenville, Mississippi

In reply:

What is happening to CDGM is a kind of metaphor about the whole War on Poverty. CDGM put into practice the rhetoric of the larger poverty program. "In the flat cotton counties of Mississippi," we wrote in this journal a year ago, "the federal government has come close to subsidizing a movement of poor Negroes to change the pattern of their short, nasty, and brutish lives." Now that central theme of the War on Poverty has been muted. CDGM was cut off by the OEO primarily because it was so successful in its stated goal of community action to break the cycle of poverty. The lives of poor black people in Mississippi *did* change, by the experience of running their own affairs – in this case, a system of pre-schools

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for 12,000 children at 121 centers in 28 counties throughout the state.

The impact of CDGM was not confined to kindergarten education. The thousands of parents who participated in running the schools and planning their policies, hiring staff and fighting the inevitable battles, took a new interest in their communities.

The newly activated Negroes had their "agenda" for what they wanted to happen in Mississippi. It was articulated clearly in some cases, and less explicitly in others – exactly as the political demands of Mississippi whites are expressed. But the activation of a large group of poor people with a different agenda for social development was thought to threaten those in power. CDGM's people threatened Senator Stennis, who certainly does not want a large, viable Negro opposition to develop. They threatened white leaders (and Negro "teachers and preachers") in the counties of Mississippi, who fear they are about to lose power. They also threatened those "moderates" in the state who have been trying to put together a new, Democratic coalition.

Mr. Carter is an architect of that new coalition. He is being unduly pessimistic when he says that participation in "moderate" activities destroys political futures. Quite the opposite is true; it is the hope of MAP's leaders that with the help of a base of poor Negroes on the one hand, and the services of the national Democratic Administration on the other, they can eventually emerge as the major political force in Mississippi. Mr. Carter and Aaron Henry, among others, helped found the Mississippi Democratic Conference to that end. It foundered, and its role was largely assumed by the Young Democrats, of which Mr. Carter is state chairman. The YDs have the support, to one degree or another, of the White House and of Senator Robert Kennedy. A few months ago, a Kennedy aide said that their "men in Mississippi" were Henry and NAACP director Charles Evers. One of the chief advisers to the YDs is Douglas Wynn, a long-time personal friend of President Johnson.

It is impossible to look at the complicated dealings between CDGM, the OEO, and the other Head Start groups in Mississippi, outside of that political context. Thus, when Mr. Carter says that his outfit, MAP, will "provide for county committees" and will have a "community action function," it is necessary to see that that function will be to shore up MAP's agenda for Mississippi, and the political power of the Carter-Henry coalition.

Thus, when Mr. Carter says that Oliver Emmerich backed Eisenhower in the fifties and Nixon in 1960, it is important to ask who he backed in 1964, and why he is now thoroughly associated with the group of rich Mississippians supporting President Johnson. The political map (no pun intended) of Mississippi is changing rapidly. Many 1964 Republicans were old Democrats. Many of the pre-1964 Republicans are now Democrats. And thus, when Mr. Carter says that the MAP board will not be "entirely" handpicked, it is worthwhile thinking about the mechanism of control on such a board. What kind of arrangement of power will obtain between 12 "handpicked" original members and six "elected" members from the counties? What will the pre-selection as well as the selection process be? It should be clear that the MAP board will be like most such boards – an instrument to effectuate the decisions of its most powerful members. That may not be wrong, or even unusual; but it *is* political.

About the details of the relationships between Stennis, Aaron Henry, Wynn, the OEO, the White House, Roy Wilkins, etc., which Mr. Carter questions, we can only say that we believe them all to be true as stated. Mr. Carter denies them, but offers no counterproof. Many of the items were subsequently checked and reported by other journalists, and repeated in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. That, of course, is no proof of their accuracy, but Mr. Carter ought to put in at least as much evidence on his side as the reporters did on theirs. There is firm evidence that White House aide Harry McPherson spoke with Mississippians about the future of CDGM and was instrumental in the negotiations leading to the establishment of MAP.

One minor point: When the story of the establishment of MAP was leaked to the Jackson papers, officers had not been elected. It was known that Owen Cooper was the representative of "white power" and Aaron Henry repre-

sented "black power" in the coalition. It was assumed that they would be co-chairmen. Subsequently, Cooper was elected chairman, and Henry was not. But he remains the leader of the Negro side in the organization.

It is interesting to get verification of the national NAACP's interest in CDGM from Mr. Morsell. We had not heard that he, as Roy Wilkins' assistant, had "conversations" with Aaron Henry and with OEO officials since the end of August or the beginning of September. Did he carry on these conversations without the advice and consent of Roy Wilkins?

We have learned on good authority that William Phillips, the OEO's chief lobbyist, was in Biloxi in August for a convention of the Young Democrats, and caught up with Aaron Henry at that time. He told Henry that CDGM was as good as dead, and wondered whether he would like to form a new Head Start group to take its place. Phillips was known to be opposed to CDGM on "practical" grounds: he told some OEO officials that re-funding of CDGM might cost the OEO the whole antipoverty bill in Congress this year.

Phillips also tried to get the AFL-CIO head man in Mississippi, Claude Ramsey, into the anti-CDGM camp, but Ramsey refused. For one thing, he couldn't abide the thought of having Owen Cooper as a leader. Cooper, an industrialist, has been strongly anti-union, and Ramsey has been fighting him for a long time. Ramsey's refusal was crucial: it broke up the old Democratic Conference coalition, and excluded the big labor interests. Walter Reuther soon became the leading force behind the campaign to save CDGM. Reuther (and his organizational base, the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty) was able to draw church leaders into the fight. On October 14, some 80 ministers picketed for CDGM in front of the OEO building in Washington. The late churchman, Dr. Robert W. Spike (who was murdered last week in Columbus, Ohio), directed the Citizens Crusade's "Board of Inquiry" into CDGM. Its report concluded that CDGM had been an important social invention, that it deserved refunding immediately, and that the OEO's charges against its operating procedures were either irrelevant, correctable, or untrue. THE EDITORS

Kauffmann, *from page 21*

ventional forms with unconventional love and its enjoyable sadnesses. Those films, like these novels, are high-level soap-opera: the credible dramatization of sophisticated daydreams.

In a recent survey of the current French literary scene J. G. Weightman notes "the French distinction between the inventive part of literature and that which respects already established forms and themes." Then he says: "At any given moment, a large body of writers is producing 'traditional' novels or plays and it may sometimes be the case – although a typical Parisian intellectual will never admit it – that the 'traditional' has a better chance of survival than the 'avant-garde'." The question of survival is not one with which we need afflict Miss Sagan, but Weightman's reminder – that the traditional is always continuing under the more newsworthy – is given emphasis by her work. And it reminds us that no form or method is ever dead when it is well used. The naturalistic play is dead, and we can all prove it, until an interesting one comes along, like *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* The traditional novel is dead and, according to the French, deader in France than elsewhere, until Miss Sagan writes another book and proves that Colette has a descendant. Not an equivalent, but an active descendant.

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A Poor Show

JAMES A. WECHSLER

On his return from the Asian front, President Johnson should swiftly review the tragic turmoil in Mississippi stirred up by Sargent Shriver's suspension of funds for the Child Development Group in that state. Such an inquiry into the poor politics of poverty may also involve some agonizing self-examination.

There is cruel drama in the story, with important national overtones. It is a desolate example of how a combination of misguided and mischievous men can destroy a long effort to create an integrated, militant middle in the battle for racial equality.

* * *

The CDGM "headstart" project began in the spring of 1965. It brought pre-school training and hot lunches to underprivileged kids in the state; it also enabled impoverished Negro parents to become active participants in the process of their own emancipation. To a memorable degree, as Walter Reuther and others recently pointed out in protesting Shriver's action, "poor Mississippi Negroes, for the first time in their lives, were teaching themselves and their children to stand up straight."

Inevitably such a program offended what is ponderously called the "white power structure." Many long months ago Sen. Stennis, a veteran Mississippi segregationist, opened fire on CDGM. Shriver has angrily denied that such pressures reached the White House and eventually dictated his course. One cannot pretend to read his mind or explore his subconscious. It can only be reported that the effect of his move has been calamitous and the explanations chaotic.

Responsible citizens who investigated CDGM's operations have sharply disputed the criticisms advanced as the excuse for its termination and its replacement by a more respectable anti-poverty unit called Mississippi Action for Progress, reportedly formed at the request of "high officials" in Shriver's OEO.

This alphabetical nightmare should not obscure the harsh reality; what many conscientious, thoughtful men—from Reuther to A. Philip Randolph and Dr. Kenneth Clark—viewed as one of the most meaningful breakthroughs in the poverty struggle has been scuttled, with explosive consequences.

* * *

Shriver's defense has been weakened rather than improved by obviously planted stories depicting him as the savior of Mississippi's poor from scheming extremists identified with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Previously the OEO had contended that its decision was strictly based on alleged evidence of malpractice in the Child Development Group—nepotism, payroll-padding, bad accounting. The allegations were investigated and challenged by a commission of inquiry led by Randolph.

Perhaps because of the frailty of the official case against CDGM, the new indictment is now being leaked; the organization, it is asserted, had become a playground and bank account for the "black power" SNCC faction. The scapegoats have been found: the poor remain the victims.

No serious observer doubts that some SNCC adherents have been involved in the banned group. But, as civil rights leader Joe Rauh—himself a target of some SNCC orators—remarked yesterday, "You can't blacklist SNCC's dedicated people from any real poverty program in Mississippi." He added:

"The point is that they didn't control CDGM. Shriver's action is worth three battalions to the people who are trying to build a separatist movement—and the effects will be felt throughout the country."

* * *

The sad impact of the conflict can be seen in the divergent stands taken by Mississippi NAACP leader Aaron Henry and Marion Wright, representing the NAACP's legal defense fund.

Henry, with a long record of valor in civil rights combat, felt obliged to lend his name to the new Action for Progress group because he was unhappily convinced—after a losing fight to preserve CDGM — that the alternative was abandonment of any federal anti-poverty drive in the state. He is now being harshly jeered as an "Uncle Tom." Miss Wright, a spirited, forthright young attorney, refused to go along. The split between them symbolizes the degree to which the OEO action has fractured and fragmented the ranks of those who were gallantly trying to build a progressive coalition in the face of segregationist violence and separatist diversion.

Further underlining the misfortune is the disclosure that Claude Ramsey, head of the AFL-CIO in the state, has declined to identify himself with Shriver's new project because of the presence of notorious anti-union figures. Ramsey is prepared to stand by CDGM.

* * *

Now there will be new speeches by eminent men deploring extremism in racial affairs and blaming the "black power" advocates for all retrogression in civil rights. Meanwhile the inflammatory word will go out to the ghettos that what began as a noble adventure in Mississippi has been crushed by the white political masterminds in Washington. It is almost beyond belief that Shriver, presumably with the assent if not the prodding of the President, so stubbornly defied the counsel of Reuther and Randolph in this episode. But that is how American leadership compounds its own troubles, seemingly in deference to a Senator from Mississippi.

10/25/66 N.Y. Times

Letters to the Edit

Shriver Defends Mississippi Action

To the Editor:

The Times of Oct. 19 prints an advertisement, "Say It Isn't So, Sargent Shriver," dealing with the Head Start grants in Mississippi. For over two weeks I have been saying that it isn't so, that it hasn't been so, and that it will not be so. But some people are unwilling to listen.

It is shocking to me that any Americans, and especially members of the clergy, should rush into public print impugning the motives of a public official before ascertaining the facts. Fortunately, and to their credit, a number of other individuals called for information before agreeing to sign and then withheld their signatures.

Only yesterday, I heard one of the signers of The Times advertisement, the Rev. Joseph Merchant, apologize before the Senate Appropriations Committee for any statements impugning my integrity in the Child Development Group of Mississippi (C.D.G.M.) situation.

He was speaking on behalf of 73 urban executives from the United Church of Christ, the Episcopal Church and the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. On Monday the Rev. G. H. Woodward expressly apologized for any action of theirs which impugned my honesty or integrity. I trust that others will similarly have second thoughts after they learn the facts.

Achievements Hailed

In many respects the C.D.G.M. project constitutes one of the more promising chapters in the history of the poverty program. For my associates and for myself I take great pride in this exciting chapter. Last February, despite problems and loud protests, we refunded C.D.G.M. with one of the largest Head Start grants in the country, more than $5 million.

More Office of Economic Opportunity staff time and energy went into this program than any other one in order to secure good management and good results. There is no group of individuals in the country which has sought and prayed for C.D.G.M.'s success more than we have at O.E.O. And while many others have talked, O.E.O. has actually worked to try to make C.D.G.M. successful.

As the official charged by law to authorize expenditures under O.E.O. programs, I was faced last August with reports about C.D.G.M. operations which I could not ignore. I received the unanimous recommendations of all the O.E.O. officials involved — Community Action, Head Start, auditing, inspection, civil rights, legal—that under the circumstances I could not again legally refund C.D.G.M.

The justification for this decision has been available and is available for anyone interested. Briefly, it adds up to substantial evidence of gross mismanagement and irresponsibility. We could not in clear conscience and under the law ignore findings of payroll padding, nepotism, conflict of interest and misuse of property.

I reject and resent charges that forces outside my agency made that decision—or that I knuckled under to any pressures. I did not. Nor did any other of the many officials here at O.E.O.

Criticism Questioned

It grieves me particularly that clergymen should give their names to a statement that refers to what unnamed people—referred to only as "they"—have said or charged or done. And I have heard from signatories who confess that they never read the statement before agreeing over the telephone to sign it. Now they regret they did so.

My principal associates have met with the C.D.G.M. board of directors. I will see the board next week. The channels of communication with C.D.G.M. or any other group are always open.

But the plight of Mississippi children is more important to me than the status of any single organization. The children of Mississippi have my pledge that there will be Head Start classes for them and that these will be programs of which they and we can be proud, one in which the poor themselves, Negro and white, will have a major role.

SARGENT SHRIVER
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, Oct. 19, 1966

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The Rev. David Glenn Cassie
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Say it isn't so, Sargent Shriver.

Awesome political pressures have made Poverty Chief Shriver abandon a Head Start program considered "the best in the country." 12,000 Mississippi children, and their parents, are praying that he'll change his mind.

Of all the battles Sargent Shriver has fought to keep politics out of the poverty program, none is more crucial than the campaign to save the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

At the moment, it looks as if Sargent Shriver has given up.

CDGM was started in the summer of 1965 to try to bring pre-school training, hot lunches, parental involvement and community action to Mississippi, where none had ever been before.

The aim was to get the poor to do for themselves; to operate outside of the state power structure that had made their development as individuals, let alone as members of a community, impossible.

Wrote a leading journal: "All summer long, an energetic but amateur CDGM staff struggled under intolerable conditions: the hostility of local politicians,

threat. So they want Sargent Shriver to drop CDGM and then channel the funds through a group of directors they'll approve.

They've accused the CDGM of everything from nepotism to using a school kitchen to prepare food for the Meredith Marchers. And with their charges in one hand, and a collection of political threats in the other, they may have made Sargent Shriver knuckle under. All he has to do, they say, is replace CDGM with another board. Then they will allow a grant to go through.

A panel of thirteen distinguished Americans*, chosen by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty to investigate CDGM, was in Washington last week to present their findings. The Citizens Crusade is a private action group financed by national foundations, The United Automobile Workers and other organizations and individuals.

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Wrote a leading journal: "All summer long, an energetic but amateur CDGM staff struggled under intolerable conditions: the hostility of local politicians, threats from Mississippi whites . . . makeshift facilities and utterly untrained employees." On the face of it, the program didn't have a chance of succeeding. But it did succeed.

This past summer's program covered 121 preschools in 28 counties for more than 12,000 children. Just as important, maybe even more so, the children's parents were involved. They ran the show themselves, and the difference between that and being on the receiving end of handouts was the real key to CDGM's glowing success. Poor Mississippi Negroes, for the first time in their lives, were teaching themselves and their children to stand straight.

CDGM was what Sargent Shriver had in mind when he spoke about the maximum feasible extent to which the poor may participate in the solutions of their own problems. It is, in fact, what Sargent Shriver and his poverty warriors have been battling for all along.

Unfortunately, the prospect of a self-emancipated Negro community isn't welcome everywhere in Mississippi. Some political leaders see it, with clarity, as a threat. So they want Sargent Shriver to drop CDGM and then channel the funds through a group of directors they'll approve.

They've accused the CDGM of everything from nepotism to using a school kitchen to prepare food for the Meredith Marchers. And with their charges in one hand, and a collection of political threats in the other, they may have made Sargent Shriver knuckle under. All he has to do, they say, is replace CDGM with another board. Then they will allow a grant to go through.

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Ten panel members went to Mississippi and found, among other things, that the program's participants, children and parents alike, had gained "a great sense of dignity and a great sense of participation." The CDGM, they said, has made "an outstanding contribution" and has involved poor children and adults in a "more meaningful way" than virtually any other Head Start program in the country.

The issue is clear: politics and the Poverty Program don't mix. Nobody knows it better than Sargent Shriver. Unless it's those 35,000 Mississippians who are waiting, now, to hear that they can continue the work they started.

THE NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE for the CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM in MISSISSIPPI

Room 1151 475 Riverside Drive,
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*Panel Members: A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters/Dr. Robert W. Spike, Divinity School, University of Chicago/Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir., Southern Regional Council, Inc. Philip Bernstein, Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds/Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, City College of New York/Frances Coe, Board of Education, Memphis, Tenn. Eli Cohen, Exec. Secretary, National Committee on Employment of Youth/Clarence Coleman, Director, Southern Regional Office, National Urban League, Inc., Atlanta, Ga. Robert Coles, Research Psychiatrist, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass./Ralph Helstein, President, United Packing House, Food and Allied Workers, Chicago, Ill./Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga. John P. Nelson, Jr., Attorney, New Orleans, La./Judge Justine Wise Polier, Family Court, N.Y.C.

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Goodwill Industries of Pittsburgh

Gibson Winter
Professor
Divinity School, Univ. of Chicago

Harlan R. Waite
Executive Director
All-Nations Foundation
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Rev. Herbert White
Director, Board of Urban Ministries
Rochester Area Council of Churches (NewYork)

The Rev. Arthur Walmsley
Executive Secretary
Episcopal Division of Christian Citizenship
New York, N.Y.

The Rev. Andrew Young
Associate Director
So. Christian Leadership Conference

The Rev. Philip Young
Field Associate
Board of National Missions
The United Presbyterian Church, USA
Blacksburg, Va.

The Rev. Philip Zabriskie
Home Department
Episcopal Executive Council
New York, N.Y.

The Rev. Donald E. Zimmerman
Executive, Presbytery of Chicago
The United Presbyterian Church, USA

The Rev. Walter Ziegenhals
Minister of Metropolitan Mission
United Church of Christ
Cleveland, Ohio

(IN FORMATION)

†Organizations listed for identification only.

The Washington Post
Times Herald

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1966

Manna From OEO Falls on Mississippi

By Nicholas von Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 12 Poverty gold is falling over Mississippi.

Nearly $12 million of it has been dropped on the State by Sargent Shriver and his Office of Economic Opportunity in five hasty and hectic days of philanthropy.

In at least one case the recipients got their money before they had signed an application for it.

Rust College, a small Negro institution at Holly Springs, was granted $1,200,000 last Friday for an Operation Headstart program before OEO had received formal application for the money. The college's president, Ernest A. Smith, said he hoped to complete by today an application explaining how the money he has been given would be spent.

So anxious was Washington to get the green stuff off its hands that Jule Sugarman, national Headstart Director, dispatched a representative from his office to Holly Springs

See MISSISSIPPI, A4, Col. 3

MISSISSIPPI—*From Page A1*

Manna From OEO Falls on Mississippi

with orders to draw up preliminary plans and a budget within 18 hours. The resulting budget is more than $600 per child over the recommended OEO maximum figures.

It is generally believed here that the reason for the speed is OEO's desire to eliminate the Child Development Group of Mississippi which has been running most of the State's Headstart programs. The theory in Jackson is that OEO wants to give all its money away so that there will be none left to give to Child Development.

OEO has been accusing Child Development of mismanagement of funds, of having its nursery schools infiltrated by Black Power cabalists, as being excessively centralized and even excessively decentralized. OEO's critics say the real reason Shriver wants to kill off Child Development is pressure from Mississippi's

A $700,000 money missile was landed on top of a group called Southwest Mississippi Opportunities on the strength of an application telephoned to Washington by a member of OEO's 15-man task force here.

The task force is an administrative pickup team rushed into the state a few weeks ago. Its director, Robert N. Moore, is a former Democratic congressional candidate from Tennessee who runs a 4-man management consulting firm out of Nashville and Atlanta.

"I don't think it would be correct to say that approval was given over the telephone," explained Moore, who used to be an OEO staffer, "but, yes, yes, certain documents were transmitted telephonically."

The biggest stake in the OEO Klondike belongs to Mississippi Action for Progress. This group, which is so new only 11 of its 18 board members have been selected, is meeting today in Yazoo City to pick an executive director to spend the first $3 million of a promised $10 million

The Washington Post
WSPAPER E1 SUNDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1966

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OEO has been accusing Child Development of mismanagement of funds, of having its nursery schools infiltrated by Black Power cabalists, as being excessively centralized and even excessively decentralized. OEO's critics say the real reason Shriver wants to kill off Child Development is pressure from Mississippi's two segregationist Senators, John Stennis and James O. Eastland, who have attacked the preschool program for children since its beginning two years ago.

The Rust College situation has a second shadow over it. The college's board chairman, W. Astor Kirk, is a Shriver employe. Reached in his Austin, Texas, office where he is OEO's Deputy Regional Director, Kirk appeared to be backing away from Washington's largessa. "I don't know what the decision of the Board will be on the grant" Kirk declared. "We meet on Oct. 26 and we'll decide whether or not to take it then."

College President Smith indicated something like abashed confusion: "We're sorry we got caught by a situation we weren't aware of. We weren't aware of all these political undercurrents."

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One of the local residents with Mississippi Action describes its genesis as follows:

"OEO got in touch with us. We didn't seek them out. That was in August. Their theme was always that the decision not to refund Child Development had been made. It was Sugarman and Berry (Theodore Berry is director of OEO's Comunity Action Program) who did the talking. Their whole thesis was for us to hustle it. They pressured us to make an announcement. They sent down two people from Washington to draw up our application.

"There still wasn't any board. We got together a rush-through charter. Most of it was copied from another organization's. We did it because some way had to be found to take care of the children."

The Washington Post
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Question of Credibility

The chief victim of Mr. Sargent Shriver's current maneuvering in Mississippi is Mr. Sargent Shriver himself. His Office of Economic Opportunity is currently trying anxiously to close the very conspicuous gap between its high-minded press releases and its coarsely unjust abandonment of the Child Development Group of Mississippi. The OEO has made a variety of charges against the Child Development Group, but none of them is wholly convincing. All of them suggest that the OEO is moving rapidly away from the great purposes that Mr. Shriver himself set in its early days.

The Child Development Group is running Head Start kindergartens, chiefly with Federal funds, in 28 counties of Mississippi. OEO charges that some of the money has been used for civil rights work, and that other money has vanished. The Child Development Group reports that it has instituted tight management procedures, under professional guidance, that ensure accountability.

One must assume that some of the Federal money has been lost, or strayed. But the Mississippi case bears comparison with the history of HARYOU-ACT in Harlem, which lost track of very large sums of money. But HARYOU-ACT continues to get heavy Federal grants. OEO is able to distinguish between the two examples, but it is a narrow and lawyerish distinction that only raises further doubt in a disinterested mind. The Child Development Group is operating almost as an underground, in a part of the country where in recent and fresh memory people have been killed for doing approximately what the poverty workers are doing. If their relationships with the white community are not as warm as OEO would like, it is at least understandable. In Harlem the OEO has deliberately subsidized open and purposeful examples of black nationalism.

The Child Development Group is run mostly by Mississippi Negroes for local Negro children. It is a highly creative, loosely organized, and by no means unsuccessful departure in unorthodox educational techniques. It has made substantial progress where there was very little upon which to build. If OEO persists in its error, and refuses further funds to this courageous and highly useful movement for these insufficient reasons, it will be guilty of an inexplicable injustice. The OEO could very properly give funds to other kindergarten and community action projects in Mississippi beside the Child Development Group, which claims no monopoly. But it cannot break off all support to the Child Development Group without tarnishing its own credit and credibility throughout the Nation.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Shriver Drops CDGM

Sargent Shriver last week officially announced termination of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, the controversial Head Start program. In September, this journal predicted he would do so. In part Shriver's decision was in response to pressures from Senator Stennis and represents the desires of the White House.

The Head Start program is to be stripped of its community action functions which had involved many poor Negroes, and handed over to an 18-man biracial board of "moderate" Mississippi Democrats. The White House was instrumental in setting up the board. The President is anxious to paste together a loyalist Democratic party in Mississippi in time for next year's gubernatorial elections, and the CDGM program has been sacrificed to this end.

Harry McPherson, Jr., special counsel of the President, negotiated the deal. About a month ago, he called Douglas Winn, a Greenville, Miss., lawyer, who is a personal friend of the President's. Following this conversation, Winn got two "moderate" Democrats to agree to be members of a new board. Owen Cooper, president of the Mississippi Chemical Corp., agreed to be co-chairman. Leroy Percy, chairman of Mississippi Chemical, would be a board member. Both Winn and Percy are members of the President's Club. Cooper is considered to be a possible "moderate" candidate for governor of Mississippi next year. The White House called Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, who in turn got in touch with Aaron Henry, a one-time Mississippi Negro radical who has turned moderate; Henry agreed to be the other co-chairman. The board draws heavily from young moderate Democrats and older men who have remained loyal to the national party. The young Democrats include people like Hodding Carter, III, an editor, and Charles Young, a Negro businessman. (He too is a member of the President's Club.) Among the older loyalists are Oliver Emmerich, a newspaper publisher, and Oscar Carr, a plantation owner.

Early in September, Henry, Cooper and Percy met with Shriver in Washington, where future plans were discussed. Representatives from the Mississippi NAACP are also understood to have met in secrecy with Senator Stennis.

On September 13, Cooper, Carter and Percy filed a charter for a new non-profit corporation to take over CDGM's Head Start programs. The three whites signed the papers; the charter stipulates that they have authority to appoint the 15 other members. This means the Negroes will be dummies. Involvement of the poor is out the window. Contrary to OEO guidelines, the corporation charter is to remain secret.

All summer the OEO had been investigating CDGM, in some instances using law students from Howard University as undercover agents.

In announcing termination of CDGM, the OEO put out a voluminous cover story. It said examination of CDGM's affairs had revealed "serious deficiencies and irregularities" in the program, and that because of the shabby state of books and records, payment of $654,000 would have to be held up. This is a curious situation. In February OEO gave CDGM a six-month grant for $5.6 million. And then, to make sure the administration of the program did not become muddled, it employed three consultants at $100 a day, and sent them, along with a staff specialist in systems management, to Jackson, where the four have been throughout the grant period. Moreover, during the six months of the grant, Ernst & Ernst, a reputable and thoroughly established accounting firm, with a local office at Jackson, has been employed to audit the books. This cost an estimated $40,000. In July, Ernst & Ernst in a letter to officials at CDGM said, "As you know, various persons from OEO and from the GAO have had occasion to visit your operation . . . and it is believed that those who have visited and inspected the accounting system and the system established for internal control and check have found it acceptable and for the most part praiseworthy."

October 15, 1966

HEAD START TALKS RESUME IN CAPITAL

MISSISSIPPI

Reconciliation Is Sought on Mississippi Project

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 — The controversy over Mississippi's suspended Head Start project was back on the negotiating table at the Office of Economic Opportunity tonight.

Spokesmen for the project, called the Child Development Group of Mississippi, entered the meeting hopefully at 3 P.M., But two hours later the conferees were reported talking about "gasoline receipts."

One of the antipoverty agency's complaints about the project was its management and accounting procedures, including a lack of receipts or canceled checks. Sources at the project have pointed out that gasoline stations and other retailers in Mississippi are not accustomed to giving receipts or accepting checks from Negroes, nor are poor Negroes accustomed to doing business that way.

Autonomy a Vital Point

The preoccupation with these details suggested to those on the outside that the negotiations had not taken up such essential points as the right of th e Missi sippi group to select its own board of directors and executive officers. The office of Economic Opportunity's conditions for refinancing the project included the replacement of the Rev. James McCree, board chairman, and John Mudd, executive director.

The office financed the transportation of the project's board from Mississippi for the meeting today. Nine or 10 made the trip. Also present for the group were Mr. Mudd and Kenneth Neigh of th e Board of Presbyterian Missions, which with Mary H olmes Junior College ar the nominal sponsors of the Mississippi pr oject.

Julie Sugarman, who runs the Head Start program for the office of Economic Opportunity, and Donald M. Baker, the office's general counsel, were the principal representatives of Sargent Shriver, director of the antipoverty agency. Vice President Humphrey, who has offere to help toward a settlement, was reported standing by.

4 Committees Fight

The cutoff of funds for the Mississippi project more than two months ago have provoked a national protest by religious and civic groups and individuals who accused Mr. Shriver of giving in to Senator John Stennis and other powerful Mississippi Democratic officials. At least four committees of the project's backers have been formed to fight for a renewal of funds.

Mr. Sugarman's most recent important communication to the project, dated Nov. 25, said: "O.E.O.'s October decision not to refund Mary Holmes [a cosponsor] was based on the judgment that the organization could not be refunded within the terms of our legislation, which requires a finding of administrative and program competence.

"Therefore there must be a clear and significant change in the organization before we can consider a further grant. As my previous letter indicated, changes in leadership at both the board and administrative levels of C.D.G.M. are an absolute requirement."

$8,000 in Jewels Stolen

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 14 (UPI)—Jack Diamond, a jewelry salesman from Brooklyn, reported to the police last night the theft of his automobile containing two cases of jewelry worth more than $8,000.

GOP Aims at Eastman In Hard-Fought Campaign

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 3 — Mississippi Republicans are turning what historically has been routine general election affirmation of Democratic primary nominations into a hard-fought campaign.

Theme of the GOP effort to unseat Democrat Sen. James O. Eastland and four of his party's congressional standard-bearers is "countdown for '66." It is being shaped in a series of workshops tutored by Raymond V. Humphreys, director of education and training for the Republican National Committee.

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Clarke Reed of Greenville, chairman of the state party, said Mr. Humphreys' participation, along with other national party political organization professionals "is clear evidence of the importance the national party places in our state and our people."

The Republicans are making President Johnson's Great Society the issue and tying in the Mississippi Democrats for local color.

GOP SPOKESMEN assert the Mississippi Democrats "talk one way in the state and another in Washington." It is an obvious reference to the Democrats holding on to their affiliation in the state party which has repudiated the national organization's platforms and policies and claiming their rights in the party's congressional ranks in Washington.

Cognizant of the 1964 Republican presidential elector win in Mississippi which swept into office the state's first Republican congressman since the Reconstruction Era, the Democrats are taking the challenge seriously.

Republican Congressman Prentiss Walker, who is relinquishing his fourth district post to oppose Sen. Eastland, has more or less set the pattern of the opposition. He said "no one can be loyal to two people when they have as divergent views and philosophies as the people of Mississippi and those in the national Democrat party."

POINTING to Sen. Eastland's consistent support of the national party presidential candidates, Mr. Walker called on Mississippians to "repute Jim Eastland for his political game of playing both ends against the middle by paying only lip service to the people of Mississippi while showing his true loyalty lies within the framework of the national Democrat party."

Mr. Walker has been making a swing around the 82 counties, while Sen. Eastland has confined his campaigning up to now to speeches before various group meetings. Sen. Eastland will formally open his campaign later this month at Forest in central Mississippi's Scott county where he was born.

The Eastland forces are concerned for two reasons — the increased Negro vote, now estimated at 159,000 to the white's 561,000, and the attitude of labor. It's not that those groups are pro-Walker, but anti-Eastland.

TWO STATE senators, elected as Democrats, have swung over to the Republican side. Sen. W. B. Alexander of Cleveland in the heavily Negro populated delta, switched too late to be nominated by the Republicans in the first congressional district but is running as an independent endorsed by the GOP. He is opposing Democrat Congressman Thomas Abernethy of Okolona, in the white-hill sector of northeast Mississippi.

Sen. S. B. Wise of Jonestown in the delta's Coahoma county, is opposing Democrat Congressman Jamie Whitten of Charleston, also in a delta county—Tallahatchie.

Mississippi

Laurel Pools Ordered Mixed

LAUREL (AP) — U. S. Dist. Judge Harold Cox Friday ordered the City of Laurel to post signs at both city owned swimming pools advising that "Any citizen regardless of race or color is invited to make use of the pool."

Cox issued oral instructions following a hearing in the case filed by the Justice Department.

The government had asked an injunction restraining the city from further segregation of the pools. Cox did not issue an injunction but said the matter would be left open "to await further developments."

The Justice Department claimed that last summer white civil rights workers were refused admission to the Oak Park Pool for Negroes and Negroes were refused at the Daphne Park Pool.

Clip & file each state

Associated Press Wirephoto

FIRST LADY AND THREE WHO WANT TO BE

JACKSONVILLE, April 2—Wives of four candidates for governor, including Florida's First Lady Mrs. Haydon Burns, are shown at the Florida League of Wobmen Voters convention here. They are (L-R) Mrs. Richard Muldrew of Melbourne, Mrs. Burns, Mrs. Scott Kelly of Lakeland and Mrs. Robert King High of Miami. Mrs. Muldrew's husband is a Republican, the others Democrats.

Urban Position Strengthened In Reapportionment Proposal

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., April 2—A reapportionment plan strengthening the urban position in the rural-controlled Mississippi legislature has been offered the current general assembly to ward off federal court distribution of the 122 House seats and 52 Senate posts among the 82 counties. It completely disregards the racial makeups of the political subdivisions.

A three-judge federal court has served notice that the present apportionment must be squared with the "one man-one vote" guideline set by the United States Supreme Court before the 1967 elections and accomplished at the present session before it adjourns the no-limit meeting. Final adjournment late in May is expected for the assembly which ended its 13th week Thursday.

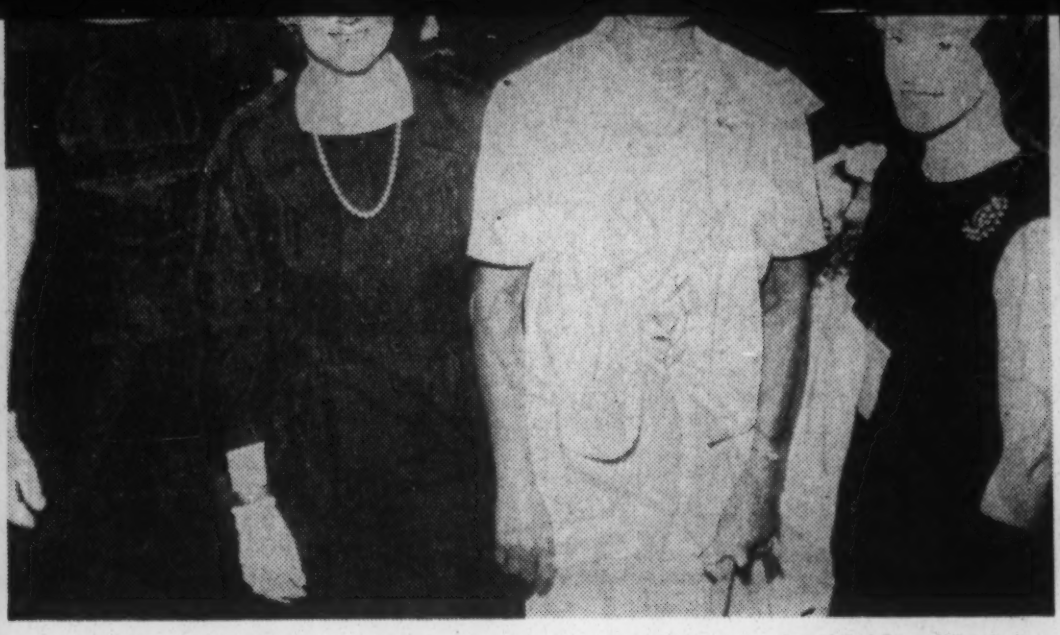
The present House apportionment is based on each county getting one representative and the other 40 distributed on a population formula. The Senate is based on geography with consideration for population which gives 22 counties one senator, and the others assigned to two-county and three-county districts.

INDICATIVE of the urban trend in the proposal by Rep. Sherman Muths of Harrison County (Gulfport), the most populous Hinds County (Jackson) now with nine representatives would go to ten, and instead of one senator would get four.

county districts which now total four. There would be two four-county districts compared to the present one, and four-county districts established.

THE SENATE norm is one senator for each 41,887 population. That is in contrast to the 187,045 populated Hinds County which has one senator, along with Harrison whose population is 119,489.

Indicative of the disregard for the racial population feature, the Muths plan would give Leflore (Greenwood) and Washington counties, both with Negro majorities each an additional representative for four each.



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INDICATIVE of the urban trend in the proposal by Rep. Sherman Muths of Harrison County (Gulfport), the most populous Hinds County (Jackson) now with nine representatives would go to ten, and instead of one senator would get four.

Likewise, the second most populous county of Harrison with six would go to seven representatives and three instead of one senator. Also, Washington County (Greenville), would have its representatives increased from three to four, and with populous Bolivar County (Cleveland), share three senators instead of the one each they now have.

Under the proposal, instead of Mississippi having 59 counties with one representative each, there would be only 39 with single representation. In place of the 22 counties each with a full senator, the number would be reduced to the six most populous.

ALSO, instead of 16 two-county districts, there would be 28, and 15 three-county areas instead of five. The lone four-county district would be abolished.

Rep. Muths sets up a norm of one representative for each 17,854 population. That is in sharp contrast to the present apportionment under which Issaquena County (Mayersville) with a population of 3,576 has one representative.

On the Senate side, there are 22 one-senator counties which would be reduced to six, while the 24 two-county districts would be increased to 24, the same number of three-county districts which now total four. There would be two four-county districts compared to the present one, and four-county districts established.

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Voter Impact

M188155IPP)

Ross Knows Negroes Are Part Of State

By KENNETH FAIRLY
In the Delta Democrat-Times

A most astute county politician sat in his office and summed up next year's governor's race.

"Ole Ross ain't gonna mention the nigger in the first primary. You watch and see .He's gonna be on TV and on the stump and talking about how much industry he got to come to Mississippi, how many jobs he created, how he got that big Standard Oil Refinery down at Pascagoula single-handed.

"No sir, he won't mention race. He'll make it to the second primary and then he'll hang the nigger around sombody's neck, whoever it is in the second—Carroll Gartin or William Winter."

He was referring to Ross R. Barnett who bungled his way through four years as Mississippi's governor and who has been running for a second term since Gov. Paul Johnson succeeded him in 1964.

Barnett, moulded from the cast which produced the state's Vardamans and Bilbos, has made only one public statement on voting rights, and that came last year before Mississippi decided to relax its registration requirements.

A fence-straddling statement when compared to Barnett's defiant "go-to-jail" TV appearance prior to James Meredith's enrollment at Ole Miss, it really haid nothing. Barnette took a Lincolnese stand. "This is a government of the people, for the people and by the people—let us keep it that way."

Although he is reported in Jackson to be secretly meeting with Ku Klux Klan leaders and people from Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, Barnett here would appear to indicate that he finally admits Negroes are a part of Mississippi and the United States and that they have a voice in the conduct of public affairs.

Barnett, in the 1967 governor's race, will have to overcome the Negro vote, whatever its number. He is seen as a race-baiter and the concensus is that Negroes will never be taken in by his promises and statements.

Dr. Douglas Conner, Negro doctor at Starkville, says of Sen. James Eastland, "He represents something disgusting to the Negro—his image as a great white father, the white plantation owner. It is unthinkable that a Negro would vote for Eastland." But Negroes generally picture Barnett in the same frame as Eastland. One said, "As fearful as it is, we would vote for Walker (Prentiss Walker, running on the Republican ticket against Sen. Eastland), a Goldwater Republican in preference to Eastland." It is a matter of the lesser of two evils."

If this feeling remains when Barnett offers for office again, he could begin his race with a possible deficit of 125,000 to 200,000 votes if all registered Negro voters were to go to the polls.

But Kenneth Dean, executive director of the Mississippi Human Relations Council with headquarters at Jackson, sees no unity of Negro vote by race or by specific area in upcoming elections.

He is acutely aware of the deep division between the NAACP and MFDP. He describes it this way: "There are individuals in both organizations who want power. These individuals will eventually see that if they want power, they must come together."

This rift was underscored by Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville who has described the NAACP as a "snob" group of benefit to middle and upper class Negroes but of little use to those in the lower economic brackets.

She said it should be called "The National Association for the Advancement of CERTAIN People." A member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which seems to comprise the bulk of FDP, once wrote that the only qualification Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary, had was that his brother Medgar was shot to death while engaged in the civil rights struggle.

Whatever the degree of disorder within the civil rights ranks, Dean believes that the white power structure is going to make a very strong attempt to establish a climate in which the Negro will vote, but at the same time, take necessary steps to keep him out of political office.

Dean does not believe that the Democratic Party has a corner on the Negro vote in Mississippi at this time and predicts that it would go strongly in favor of a Rubel Phillips type candidate on a Republican ticket next year, over a Ross Barnett or John Bell Williams.

"But both groups feel that the Negro vote is neither large enough nor well enough organized to count in a statewide election now," he said.

It is a case then, of not being able to determine exactly what impact the Negro vote will have in the next year or two in Mississippi.

If Charles Evers in coalition with Claude Ramsey's Mississippi Labor Council could launch an effective voter education campaign and bring into it dissident members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, this could develop into a formidable factor in state politics.

It is difficult to forget what a sheriff in a Mississippi hill county said, evaluating the importance of the Negro vote: "Give me 500 Negro votes to start with and there ain't a man in the county who could catch me."

The editor of the University of Mississippi's daily newspaper, The Mississippian, stated it a bit differently when he said, "However it may develop, the potential of as many as 175,000 Negroes registered to vote in 1967 is not being overlooked by possible candidates for office. Most of them are convinced that how they figure or misfigure the Negro vote in the next election could spell the difference between success or defeat."